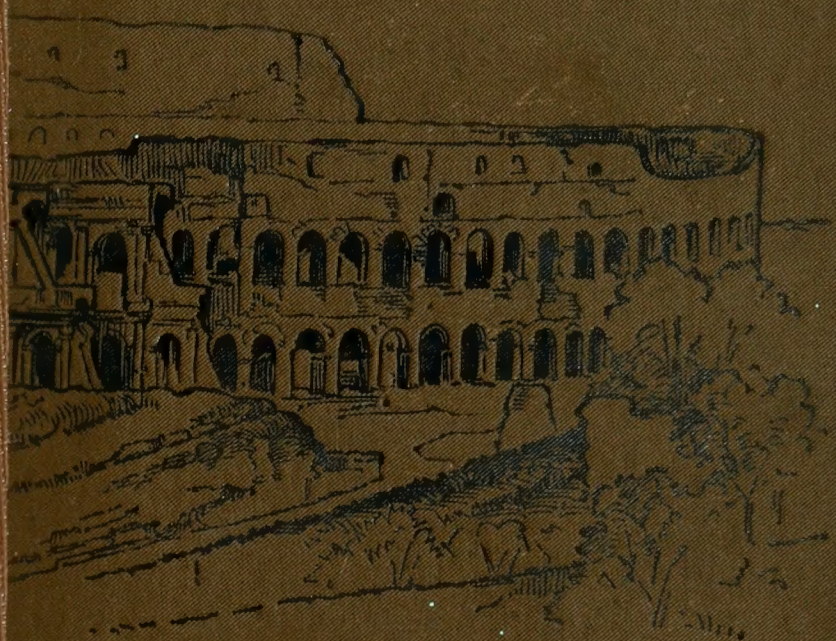
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HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.



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Restauration par M. Bartholdi, au Musée de Saint-Germain.

HISTORY OF ROME,

AND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE INVASION OF THE BARBARIANS.

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Containing over Three Thousand Engravings, One Hundred Maps and Plans,

AND NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

VOLUME I.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

IT is the duty of those who offer to the public so large a work on a subject already treated in English books, to justify its position and explain the principles followed in translating and editing it. Strange to say, though some of the greatest English historians have devoted themselves to Roman history, there does not exist any standard English work on the whole subject. Portions of it have been thoroughly handled, but a complete survey is not to be found except in little handbooks; so that the Englishman or American who wants as a work of reference for his library a history of Rome down to the close of its pagan days, has hitherto been unable to find it. Even if he can read French and German, he will encounter the same difficulty; nor is it in any way satisfactory to supply the want by two or three special histories. No doubt the English edition of Mommsen's History, the large work of Merivale, and the incomparable Gibbon cover the ground, but they cover it writing from widely different standpoints, in various styles, and without any general index which could enable the ordinary reader to find any fact required. Moreover, the very original and suggestive work of Mommsen on the early history of Rome is totally unsuited for ordinary readers and for ordinary reference, inasmuch as he treats with silent contempt most of the popular stories, and re-arranges the remnants of tradition according to new and peculiar principles of his own. To a public ignorant of his special researches, — his *Römische Forschungen* and *Römisches Staatsrecht*, — the History, published without references or explanations, must be often quite unintelligible.

The account of the early reforms in the Constitution, and of the relations of the Three Assemblies, are so totally opposed to the accounts in ordinary English histories, that the thoughtful reader is completely at a loss to find out when all these novelties were discovered, or how they are to be justified. An edition of this fine book, with some such information in foot-notes, would have made it a work of far greater value; for it represents a school of thought which is as yet quite foreign to England, and which, under the able expositions of Rubino, Mommsen, Soltau, and others, bids fair to displace the views of Niebuhr, even when corrected and modified by Schwegler, Lange, and Clason.[1] But as yet these matters are within the field of controversy; and to assume all his own views as proved may indeed be admitted as lawful in the historian, but cannot be regarded as satisfactory in a work professing to give all the facts of Roman history.

The broad difference between the older school of Niebuhr and that of Mommsen is this: that while Niebuhr sifts tradition, and tries to infer from it what are the real facts of early Roman history, Mommsen only uses tradition to corroborate the inferences drawn concerning early Roman history from an analysis of the traditional facts and usages still surviving in historical days, and explained as survivals by critical Roman historians. Thus, the usages in appointing a dictator or consul lead him to infer that of old the kings were appointed in like manner, these magistrates having taken the place of the king. Such researches are naturally only of value in reconstructing early *constitutional* history.

The work of Duruy does not adopt this method, and stands on the ground of Niebuhr, or rather of Schwegler, whose valuable History, like that of our own Thirlwall, is regaining its real position after some years of obscuration by a more brilliant, but not impartial, rival. Indeed, the newer critical school in Germany cannot yet, and perhaps never will, furnish a real history of early Rome, such as Niebuhr's, Ihne's, Schwegler's, or the present, but only acute and often convincing essays on the Constitution. It was beyond my duty to introduce these newer views by way

[1] The first glimpse of these new lights in English is to be found in Mr. Seeley's Introduction to his edition of *Livy;* Ihne's *Essay on the Roman Constitution* and his *History* are original and independent labors on the general lines of Niebuhr.

of foot-notes, even though often convinced of their truth; for I undertook to edit Duruy's great work, and not to supply anything more. Accordingly I have confined myself here and there to mentioning a fact or suggesting a different view of some event, but have avoided stating any conflicting theory. Additional books of reference, however, and these principally of the newer school above described, have been sometimes cited, and a great deal has been done to improve another capital feature of the book, — the illustrations. In this respect Duruy's book stands alone, giving the reader all kinds of illustration and of local color, so as to let him read the history of Rome, as far as possible, in Italy, and among the remains of that history, with all the lights which archæological research can now afford us. In many places I have left out a cut which seemed of little authority, and supplied from photographs (collected in Italy and Sicily) better and truer pictures. I have had recourse to contemporary art, and given some ideal pictures of great events in Roman history, as imagined by artists learned in the local color and the dress of the period. Here and there I have also ventured to curtail the descriptions of battles, which are borrowed from the ancient historians, as they were composed from purely rhetorical considerations, and have no claim to accuracy. Enough, and more than enough, has been left to show the views of these patriotic historians. It is a perpetual cause of offence and annoyance in the extant classical historians, that instead of giving us some intelligible account of military movements, they supply us with the most vulgar and often absurd platitudes concerning tactics, and with the invented harangues of the respective leaders.

I will add, in conclusion, that the publishers have met all my demands and requirements with the largest liberality. So far as they are concerned, everything has been done to make the book the best and the most complete which has yet appeared on Roman history.

Trinity College, Dublin.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE PRE-ROMAN EPOCH.

I.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF ITALY.



COIN OF ANTONINUS REPRESENTING ITALY.[1]

HORACE was afraid of the sea; he called it *Oceanus dissociabilis*, the element which separates; and yet it was, even for the ancients, the element which unites.

Looking at the mountains which run from Galicia to the Caucasus, from Armenia to the Persian Gulf, from the region of the Syrtes to the Pillars of Hercules, we recognize the higher parts of an immense basin, the bottom of which is filled by the Mediterranean. These limits, marked out by geography, are also, for antiquity, the limits of history, which never, save towards Persia,

[1] The letters TR. POT., an abbreviation of *Tribunicia Potestas*, signify the tribunician power with which the Emperors were invested: the letters COS. III. mean that Antoninus was, or had been, Consul for the third time: and S.C. that it was by order of the Senate, "Senatus Consulto," that the piece of money was coined. Antoninus having had his third Consulship in A. D. 140, and the fourth in 145, the medal was issued during one of the years which intervene between these dates. The Senate of the Empire only coined bronze money. The first *trib. pot.* dated from the day of the prince's accession: since Trajan's time, all are dated from the 1st of January; hence the number of the *trib. pot.* gives the number of the years of the reign.

departed far from the coasts of the Mediterranean. Without this sea, the space it occupies would have been the continuation of the African Sahara, — an impassable desert; by means of it, on the contrary, the people settled on its shores have interchanged their ideas and their wealth; and if we except those ancient societies of the distant East which always have remained apart from European progress, it is around this coast that the first civilized nations have dwelt. Italy, therefore, by its position, between Greece, Spain, and Gaul, and by its elongated shape, which extends almost to the shores of Africa and towards the East, is in truth the centre of the ancient world, — at once the nearest point to the three continents which the Mediterranean washes and unites. Geography explains only a portion of history; but that portion it explains well, — the rest belongs to men. According as they show in their administration wisdom or folly, they turn to good or evil the work of nature. The situation of Italy, therefore, will easily account for her varied destinies in ancient times, and in modern up to a recent period; it will account for the vigor and energy she manifested outside her limits, so long as her inhabitants formed a united people, surrounded by divided tribes; later, for the evils which overwhelmed her from all points of the horizon, when her power was exhausted and her unity destroyed, — it accounts for Italy, in a word, mistress of the world around her, and Italy, the prize for which all her neighbors contend.

There is another important consideration. If the position occupied by Italy at the very centre of the ancient world favored her fortune in the days of her strength, and procured her so many enemies in the time of her weakness, was not this very weakness, which at first delivered the peninsula to the Romans, and after them, for fourteen centuries, to the stranger, chiefly due to her natural conformation?

Surrounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth by the Alps, Italy is a peninsula which stretches towards the south in two points; while at the north it widens into a semicircle of lofty mountains, above which towers majestically, with its sparkling snow, the summit sometimes called by the Lombards "La Rosa dell' Italia." The summit next in height to Mont Blanc is this Monte Rosa; it is not six hundred feet lower than the



MONTE ROSA.

giant of Europe.[1] Italy, then, is in part peninsular, and in part continental, the two regions being distinct in origin, configuration, and history. The one, a vast plain traversed by the great river whose alluvia have formed it, has been in all ages the battle-field of European ambitions; the other, a narrow mountain-chain, cut into deep ravines by countless torrents, and torn by volcanic shocks, has almost always had an opposite destiny.

This peninsula is the true Italy, and it is one of the most divided countries in the world. In its innumerable valleys, many of which are almost shut off from the outside world, its population grew into that love of independence which mountain races have manifested in all time; but, with it, into that need of an isolated life which so often endangers the much-loved liberty: in every valley, a state; for every village, a god. Never would Italy have emerged from obscurity had there not been developed in the midst of these tribes an energetic principle of association. By dint of skill, courage, and perseverance, the Roman Senate and its legions triumphed over physical obstacles as well as over the interests and passions which had grown up behind their shelter, and united all the Italian peoples, making of the whole peninsula one city.

But, like the oak half-cleft by Milon, which springs together when the strength of the old athlete gives way, and seizes him in turn, Nature, for a time conquered by Roman energy, resumed its sway; and when Rome fell, Italy, left to herself, returned to her endless divisions, until the day when the modern idea of great nationalities accomplished for her what, twenty-three centuries earlier, had been done by the ablest statesmanship, served by the most powerful of military organizations.

By her geographical position, then, Italy was destined to have an important share in the world's history, whether acting outside her own territory, or herself becoming the prize of heroic struggles. Nor is Rome an accident, a chance, in the peninsula's history; Rome is the moment when the Italian peoples, for the first time united, obtained the object promised to their joint efforts, — the power which springs from union. Doubtless History has often been compelled to say with Napoleon: "Italy is too long and too much divided." But

[1] Mount Elbourz, in the Caucasus, is now known to be the highest (eighteen thousand five hundred feet).

when from the Alps to the Maltese Channel there was but one people and one interest, an incomparable prosperity became the glorious lot of this beautiful land, with its two thousand miles of sea-coast, its brave population of sailors and mountaineers, its natural harbors and fertile districts at the foot of its forest-covered hills, and its command of two seas, holding as it did the key of the passage from one to the other of the two great Mediterranean basins. Between the East, now breaking up in anarchy, and the West, not yet alive to civilization, Italy, united and disciplined, naturally took the place of command. This phase of humanity required ten centuries for its birth and growth and complete development; and the story of these ten centuries we call the History of Rome.

A modern poet gives in a single line an exact description of this country, —

"Ch' Apennin parte e 'l mar circonda e l' Alpe." [1]

That portion of the Alpine chain which separates Italy from the rest of Europe extends in an irregular curving line from Savona to Fiume, a distance of about seven hundred and fifteen miles; the breadth of this mountain mass is from eighty to ninety-five miles in the region of the St. Gothard and the Septimer (the Pennine Alps), and rather more than one hundred and sixty miles in the Tyrol [2] (the Rhaetian Alps). The perpetual snows of these high summits form huge glaciers, which feed the streams of Upper Italy, and trace a glittering outline against the sky. But the watershed, lying nearer Italy than Germany, divides the mass unevenly. Like all the great European mountain-chains,[3] the Alps have their more gentle slope towards the North, — whence have come all the invasions, — and their escarpment towards the South, — which has received them all.[4] Upon the side of France and Germany the mountains run to

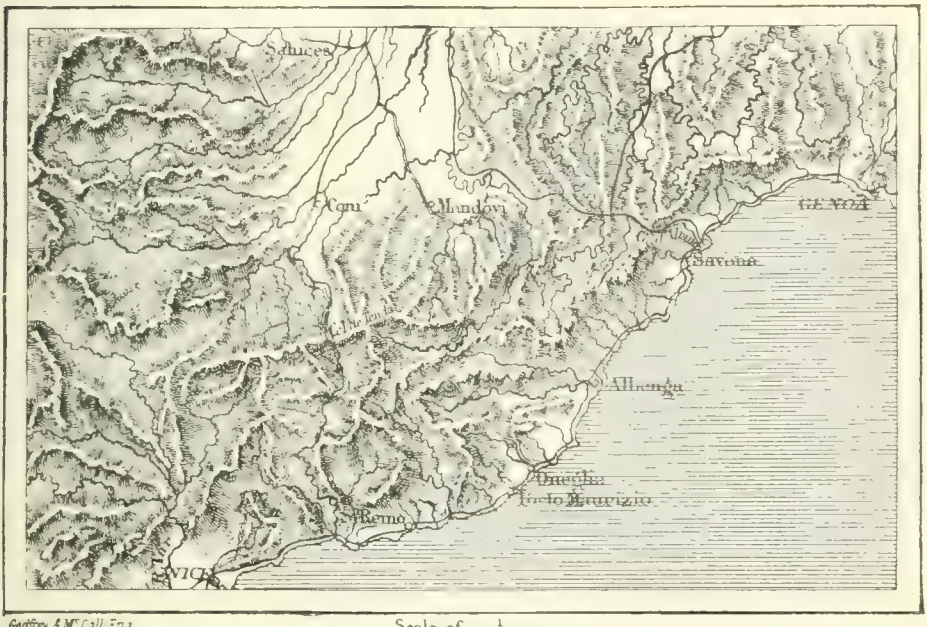
[1] "Which the Apennine divides, and the sea and the Alps surround."

[2] From St. Gothard to the Straits of Messina, Italy measures 625 miles, with a mean breadth of from 88 to 100 miles; in area, 185,000 square miles.

[3] With the exception of the Caucasus, whose northern slope is much steeper than that of the south.

[4] This is true, especially for the Maritime, Cottian, Graian, and Pennine Alps; but the Helvetian and Rhaetian Alps send forth to the south long spurs, forming the high valleys of the Ticino, of the Adda, the Adige, and the Brenta. Geographically, these valleys belong to Italy (canton of the Ticino, the Valteline, and part of the Tyrol); but they have always been inhabited by races foreign to the peninsula, which have never protected her against invasions from the north.

the plain by long spurs, which break the descent, while from the Piedmont side Mont Blanc appears like a wall of granite, sheer for about ten thousand feet down from its summit. Man stops at the foot of these cliffs, on which hold neither grass nor snow; and Northern Italy, having little Alpine pasture-land, is not like the Dauphiné, Switzerland, and the Tyrol,[1] defended by a race of brave mountaineers.



THE LIMIT OF THE ALPS & APENNINES.[2]

This difference between the incline and extent of the two sides indicates one of the causes which insured the first successes of the expeditions directed against Italy. Once masters of the northern side, the invaders had only a march of a day or two

[1] These Alps are covered with beautiful forests, which Venice at the time of her power turned to profit; intractable mountaineers live there, like the inhabitants of the Sette Communi. One of the characteristics of the Julian Alps is the number of grottos and subterranean channels which they embrace. From the River Isonzo to the frontiers of Bosnia there are more than a thousand; and the natives of the country say that there are as many streams below the soil as there are over it. Channels of this kind, when not filled with water, afford an entry into the Sette Communi.

[2] The question of the boundary between the Alps and the Apennines has been long a subject of debate; the engineers have decided it by making a railroad above Savona over the Col d' Altase, which is not sixteen hundred feet in height, whence one descends into the famous valleys of the Bormida and the Tanaro.

to bring them into the richest country.[1] Thus Italy has never been able to escape from invasions or to keep aloof from European wars, despite her formidable barrier of the Alps, with their colossal summits, "which, when seen close," said Napoleon, "seem like giants of ice commissioned to defend the approach to that beautiful country."[2]

The Alps are joined, near Savona, by the Apennines, which traverse the whole peninsula, or rather, which have formed it and given it its character. Their mean height in Liguria is 1,000 mètres (3,275 feet); but in Tuscany they are much higher, where the ridges of Pontremoli, between Sarzana and Parma, of Fiumalbo, between Lucca and Modena, of Futa, between Florence and Bologna, attain the height of 3,300 to 3,900 feet. Thus Etruria was protected for a long time by these mountains against the Cis-Alpine Gauls, and for some months against Hannibal.

The highest summits of the whole chain of the Apennines are to the east of Rome, in the country of the Marsians and the Vestini: Velino, 8,180 feet; and Monte Corno, 9,520 feet, whence can be seen the two seas which wash Italy, and even the mountains of Illyria, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. At this height a peak of the Alps or the Pyrenees would be covered with perpetual snow; in the climate of Rome it is not cold enough to form a glacier, and Monte Corno loses its snow at the end of July; but it always preserves its Alpine landscape, with the bears and the chamois of great mountains.

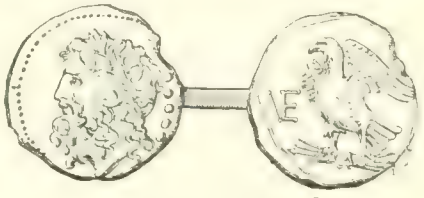
Three branches separate at the west from the central chain, and cover with their ramifications a considerable part of Etruria, Latium, and Campania. One of these branches, after sinking to the level of the plain, rises at its extremity in a nearly detached rock forming the promontory of Circe (Monte Circello), where is shown the grotto of the mighty sorceress. Tiberius, who on the question of demons believed neither in those of the past nor in those of the present, had a villa built near this dreaded spot.

[1] Augustus understood it; and in order to defend Italy, he carried the Roman outposts as far as the Danube. Marius also had gone beyond the Alps to meet the Cimbri; while Catulus, who wished only to defend the Italian side, was forced to retreat without a battle behind the Po. Thus it was not in the mountains, but behind the Adige, that General Bonaparte established his line of defence in 1796.

[2] Cicero, *de Prov. Consul.* 14, said more simply: "Alpibus Italiam muniverat antea natura, non sine aliquo divino numine."

From the eastern side of the Apennines there are only some hills detached, which descend straight towards the Adriatic. But, like Vesuvius on the opposite coast (3,948 feet), Monte Gargano forms, over the Gulf of Manfredonia, a solitary group, of which one summit rises to the height of 5,283 feet. Ancient forests cover this mountain, ever beaten by the furious winds which toss the Adriatic.

Below Venosa (Venusia) the Apennines separate into two branches, which surround the Gulf of Taranto; the one runs through the land of Bari and Otranto, and ends in a gentle slope at Capo di Leuca; the other forms, through the two Calabrias, a succession of undulated table-lands, one of which, the Sila, 4,910 feet[2] high, is not less than fifty miles long from Cosenza to Catanzaro. Covered



COIN OF VENUSIA.[1]



CAPE SANTA MARIA DI LEUCA.

formerly with impenetrable forests, the Sila was the shelter of fugitive slaves (Bruttians), and was the last retreat of Hannibal in Italy. Now fine pastures have partly taken the place of

[1] On the obverse the head of Jupiter; on the reverse, an eagle bearing a thunderbolt; the letters AE (AES) signify that the piece is bronze money, and the five oooooo that it was a quincunx, that is to say, that it weighed 5 oz., — the *as libralis*, or Roman pound, weighing 12 oz. Rome never struck the quincunx; it was found only in the South of Italy.

[2] The highest top of the Sila, the Monte Nero, is nearly six thousand feet high.

these forests, whence Rome and Syracuse obtained their timber. But the temperature there is always low for an Italian country, and notwithstanding its position in latitude 38°, snow remains during six months of the year.[1] Still farther to the south, one of the summits of the Aspromonte measures 4,368 feet high. Furthermore, while beyond Capo di Leuca there is only the Ionian Sea, beyond the lighthouse of Messina we come to Etna and the triangle of the Sicilian mountains, — an evident continuation of the chain of the Apennines.

The two slopes of the Apennines do not differ less than the two sides of the Alps.[2] On the narrow shore which is washed by the Upper, or Adriatic, Sea, are rich pasture-lands, woody hills, separated by the deep beds of torrents, a flat shore, no ports (*importuosum litus*),[3] no islands, and a stormy sea, inclosed between two chains of mountains, like a long valley where the winds are pent in, and rage at every obstacle they meet. On the western side, on the contrary, the Apennines are more remote from the sea, and great plains, watered by tranquil rivers, great gulfs, natural harbors, numerous islands, as well as a sea usually calm, promote agriculture, navigation, and commerce. Hence a population of three distinct and opposite kinds: mariners about the ports, husbandmen in the plains, and shepherds in the mountains; or, to call them by their historical names, the Italiotes and Etruscans, Rome and the Latins, the Marsians and the Samnites.[4]

Yet these plains of Campania, of Latium, of Etruria, and of Apulia, notwithstanding their extent, cover but a very small part of

[1] Bruguière, *Orographie de l'Europe*.

[2] However, Apulia, with its extinct volcano, its great plains, its Lake Lesina, its marshes, situated to the north and to the south of Mount Gargano; beyond this the marshy but extremely fertile lands watered by the Gulf of Taranto; lastly, the numerous harbors of this coast, — reproduce some of the features of the western coast.

[3] All the islands of the Adriatic, with the exception of the unimportant group of the Tremiti, are on the Illyrian coast, where they form an inextricable labyrinth, the resort of pirates, who have in all times levied contributions on the commerce of the Adriatic.

[4] All the extinct as well as active volcanoes are west of the Apennines, except Mount Vultur in Apulia. It is these numerous volcanoes which have driven the sea far from the foot of the Apennines, and have enlarged this coast, whereas the opposite shore, where not a single volcano is to be seen, is so narrow; whence come also those lakes in the midst of ancient craters, and perhaps a part of the marshes. It is known that in 1538 the Lucrine Lake was changed into a marsh by a volcanic eruption. The lowest part of the Pontine Marshes is on a line joining Stromboli to the ancient craters of Bolsena and Vico.



PHYSICAL ITALY.

a peninsula which may be described generally as a country bristling with mountains and intersected by deep valleys. Why need we wonder at persistent political divisions in a country so divided by Nature herself? — Aelian counted up as many as 1,197 cities, each of which had possessed, or aspired to, an independent existence.

The Apennines possess neither glaciers, nor great rivers, nor the pointed peaks of the Alps, nor the colossal masses of the Pyrenees. Yet their summits, bare and rugged, their flanks often stripped and barren, the deep and wild ravines which furrow them, all contrast with the soft outlines and the rich vegetation of the sub-Apennine mountains. Add to this, at every step, beautiful ruins, recalling splendid traditions, the brightness of the sky, great lakes, rivers which tumble from the mountains, volcanoes with cities at their foot, and everywhere along the horizon the sparkling sea, calm and smooth, or terrible when its waves, lashed by the Sirocco, or by submarine convulsions, buffet the shore, and beat now upon Amalfi, now upon Baïae or Paestum.

Europe has no active volcanoes but in the peninsula and islands of Italy. In ancient times, subterranean fires were at work from the Carinthian Alps, where are found some rocks of igneous origin: these reach as far as the Island of Malta, a part of which has sunk into the sea.[1]

The basaltic mountains of Southern Tyrol and of the districts of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua; near the Po the catastrophe of Velleja buried by an earthquake; in Tuscany subterranean noises, continual shocks, and those sudden disturbances which made Etruria the land of prodigies; on the banks of the Tiber the tradition of Cacus vomiting forth flames,[2] the gulf of Curtius, the volcanic matter which forms the very soil of Rome, and of all its hills, the Janiculum excepted; the streams of lava from the hills of Alba and Tusculum; the immense crater (thirty-eight miles in circumference), the sunken edge of which shows us the charming lake of Albano and that of Nemi, which the Romans used to call

[1] The *Travels* of Major de Valenthienne. The volcanic action used to reach still farther in the same direction. Many extinct volcanoes and lava are found in the regency of Tunis towards El-Kef (Sicca Veneria). Cf. *La Régence de Tunis*, by M. Pelissier de Reynaud.

[2] This legend is true so far as concerns the recollection of the volcanic eruptions of Latium, but it is false in placing them on the Aventine, the abode of Cacus.

the Mirror of Diana; the legend of Caeculus building at Praeneste walls of flames; the enormous pile of lava and debris on the sides of Mount Vultur;[1] the islands rising from the sea, of which Livy speaks; the Phlegraean fields, the ancient eruptions of the Island of Ischia, of Vesuvius, and of Etna, and so many extinct craters, — all these show that the whole of Italy was once situated on an immense volcanic centre.

At the present time the activity of the subterranean fires seems to be concentrated in the middle of this line, in Vesuvius, whose eruptions are always threatening the charming towns which insist on remaining close to this formidable neighbor; in Etna, which, in one of its convulsions, tore away Sicily from Italy;[2] and in the Lipari Islands, situated in the centre of the seismic sphere of the Mediterranean. In the north we find only craters half filled up,[3] — the volcanic hills of Rome, of Viterbo, and of St. Agatha, near Sessa; the hot streams and springs of Tuscany; the fires or "hot springs" of Pietra, Mala, and Barigazzo; and lastly those of the "Orto dell' Inferno," the Garden of Hell.[4]

Before the year 79 A. D. Vesuvius appeared to be an extinct volcano; population and culture had reached its summit; when, suddenly reviving, it buried Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae under an enormous mass of ashes and dust. In the year 472, according to Procopius, such was the violence of the eruption, that the ashes were carried by the winds as far as Constantinople. In 1794 one of these streams of incandescent lava, which are sometimes eight miles long, from 300 to 1,200 feet in breadth, and from twenty-four to thirty feet in depth, destroyed the beautiful town of Torre del Greco. Stones were hurled to the distance of 1,300 yards; vegetation far away was destroyed by mephitic gases; and within a radius of ten miles people went with torches at midday.

[1] Tata (*Lett. sul Monte Volture*), considers this extinct crater as one of the most terrible of pre-historic Italy.

[2] The name of the town of Rhegium (now Reggio), on the Strait, signifies "rupture."

[3] Lakes Avernus, Lucrine, Albano, Nemi, Gabii, Regillo, San Giuliano, Bracciano, etc. Earthquakes are still frequent in the neighborhood of Belluna and Bassano.

[4] With regard to the "Salse" of the neighborhood of Parma, Reggio (di Emilia), Modena, and Bologna, which are also called volcanoes of mud, we must not confound them with true volcanoes, although they possess some of the features of volcanic eruptions. In the Salse, carburetted hydrogen, the inflammable gas of the marshes, predominates.



NAPLES AND MOUNT VESUVIUS.

Humboldt has observed that the frequency of the eruptions varies inversely with the size of the volcano. Since the crater of Vesuvius has diminished, its eruptions, though less violent, have become almost annual. Its terrors are no more, its curiosity remains. Rich travellers come from all parts, and the Neapolitans, who have short memories, while exhuming Herculaneum and Pompeii, say of their volcano, "It is the mountain which vomits gold."

In 1669 the inhabitants of Catania had likewise ceased to believe in the old tales of the fury of Etna, when an immense stream of lava came down upon their town, passed through the walls, and formed in the sea a gigantic mole in front of the harbor. Fortunately this formidable volcano, whose base is 113 miles in circumference, from whose summit there is a view of 750 miles in extent, and which has grown, by excessive piles of lava, to the height of 10,870 feet, has very rarely any eruptions. Stromboli, on the contrary, in the Lipari Islands, shows from afar by night its diadem of fire, by day a dense mantle of smoke.

Enclosed between Etna, Vesuvius, and Stromboli, as in a triangle of fire, Southern Italy is often shaken to her foundations. During the last three centuries no less than a thousand earthquakes are recorded, as if that part of the peninsula were lying on a bed of moving lava. That of 1538[1] cleft the soil near Pozzuoli, and there came forth from it Monte Nuovo, 459 feet high, which filled up the Lucrine Lake, now only marked by a small pond. In 1783 the whole of Calabria was wrecked, and forty thousand people perished. The sea itself shared these horrible convulsions; it receded, and then returned 42 feet above its level. Sometimes new islands appear; thus have risen one after another the Lipari Islands. In 1831 an English man-of-war, on the open sea off the coast of Sicily, felt some violent shocks, and it was thought she had grounded: it was a new volcano opening. Some days after an island appeared, about 230 feet high. The English and the Neapolitans were already disputing its ownership, when the sea took back in a storm the volcano's gift.[2]

[1] Livy speaks (iv. 21) of numerous earthquakes in Central Italy and in Rome itself in 434. The overflowing of the Alban Lake during the war with the Veientines is perhaps due to an event of this kind.

[2] In these same parts the cable from Cagliari to Malta was twice broken in 1858 near Maretimo by submarine eruptions.

For Southern Italy the danger lies in subterranean fires; for Northern and Western Italy it lies in water, either stagnant and pestilential, or overflowing and inundating the country and filling up the ports with sand. From Turin to Venice, in the rich plain watered by the Po, between the Apennines and the Alps, not a single hill is to be seen; and consequently the torrents, which rush down from the belt of snowy mountains, expose it to dreadful ravages by their inundations.[1] These torrents have, indeed, created the whole plain, by filling up with alluvial deposits the gulf which the Adriatic Sea had formed there, and whose existence is proved by the remains of marine animals found in the environs of Piacenza and Milan,[2] as well as by the sea-fish which still haunt its lakes.

Springing from Mount Viso, and rapidly swelled by the waters which run down from the slopes of the Alpine Giant,[3] the Po is the greatest river of Italy, and one of the most celebrated in the world. If it had a free outlet into the Adriatic, it would open to navigation and commerce a magnificent territory. But the condition of all rivers flowing into seas which, like the Mediterranean, have no tides, renders them unfit for sea navigation. The Italian torrents bring to the Po quantities of mud and sand, which raise its bed,[4] and form at its mouth that delta before which the sea recedes each year about 220 feet.

Adria, which preceded Venice in the command of the Adriatic, is at the present day more than 19 miles inland; Spina, another

[1] ". . . Sic aggeribus ruptis quum spumeus amnis,
Exiit oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,
Fertur in arva furens . . .
Cum stabulis armenta tulit."

VERGIL: *Aeneid*, ii. 496.

[2] Ramazzini believed also that the whole country of Modena covers a subterranean lake. This would explain the prodigy, which startled the whole Senate, of fish which came forth from the earth under the ploughshare of the Boian peasant. Near Narbonne there had also been a subterranean lake, where they used to fish with a lance. Cf. Strabo, IV. i, 6. They are found in many places.

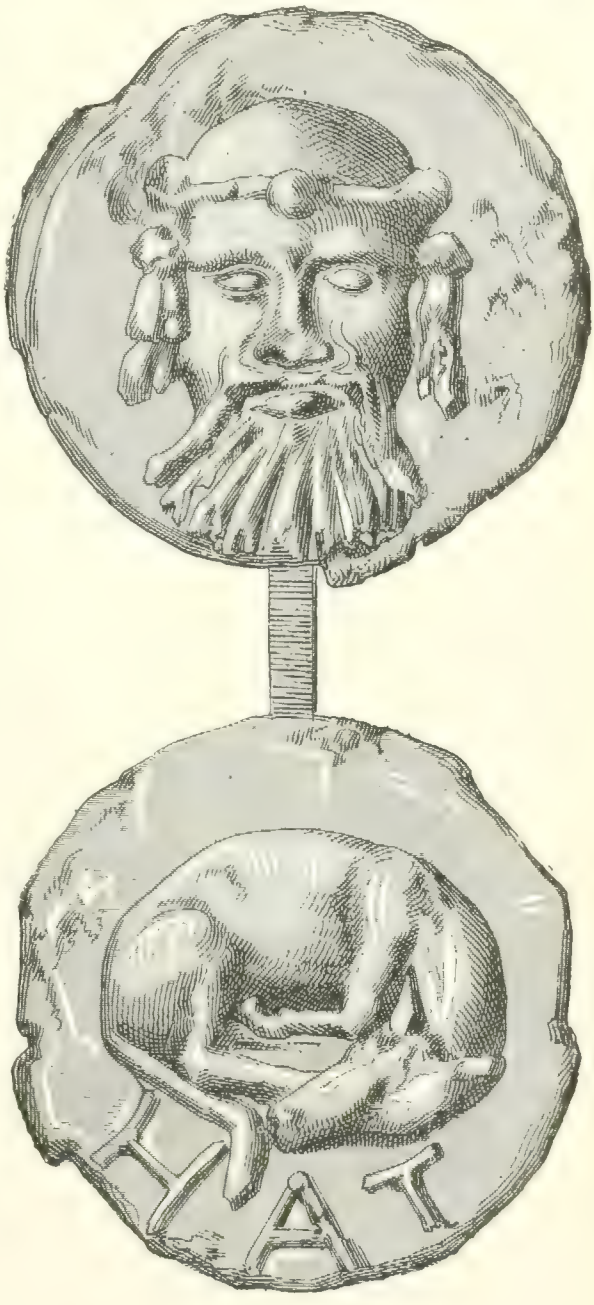
[3] The height of Mount Viso is 12,550 feet. The tributaries of the Po: on the right bank, the Tanaro, the Trebbia, whose banks have been the scene of great battles; the Reno, where was the Island of the Triumvirs; on the left bank, the Ticino, the Adda, the largest tributary of the Po, the Oglio, and the Mincio.

[4] Napoleon I. thought of having a new bed dug for the Po; for in its present state imminent dangers threaten the country which it traverses in the lower part of its course, where the rising of its bed has caused a rise in the level of the waters, which overflow the surface of the country. (De Prony, *Recherches sur le Système hydraulique de l'Italie.*) During the last two centuries only, M. de Prony has calculated the prolongation of the delta by 230 feet a year.

great seaport, was in the time of Strabo 30 stadia from the coast, which in former times it used to touch;[1] and Ravenna, the station of the imperial fleet, is now surrounded by woods and marshes. Venice, also, has too long suffered the channels of its lagoons to be stopped up by the alluvium of the Brenta. The port of Lido, from which the fleet which carried forty thousand Crusaders went forth, is now only navigable for small boats, and that of Albiola is called the "Porto secco" (dry port).

The north-east extremity of Italy is surrounded by a semicircle of mountains, which send forth to the Adriatic several streams, whose ravine-beds afford an easy defence against any invasion from the Julian Alps. Of all these obstacles the last and most formidable is the Adige, a broad and mighty river at its very departure from the mountains.

In peninsular Italy

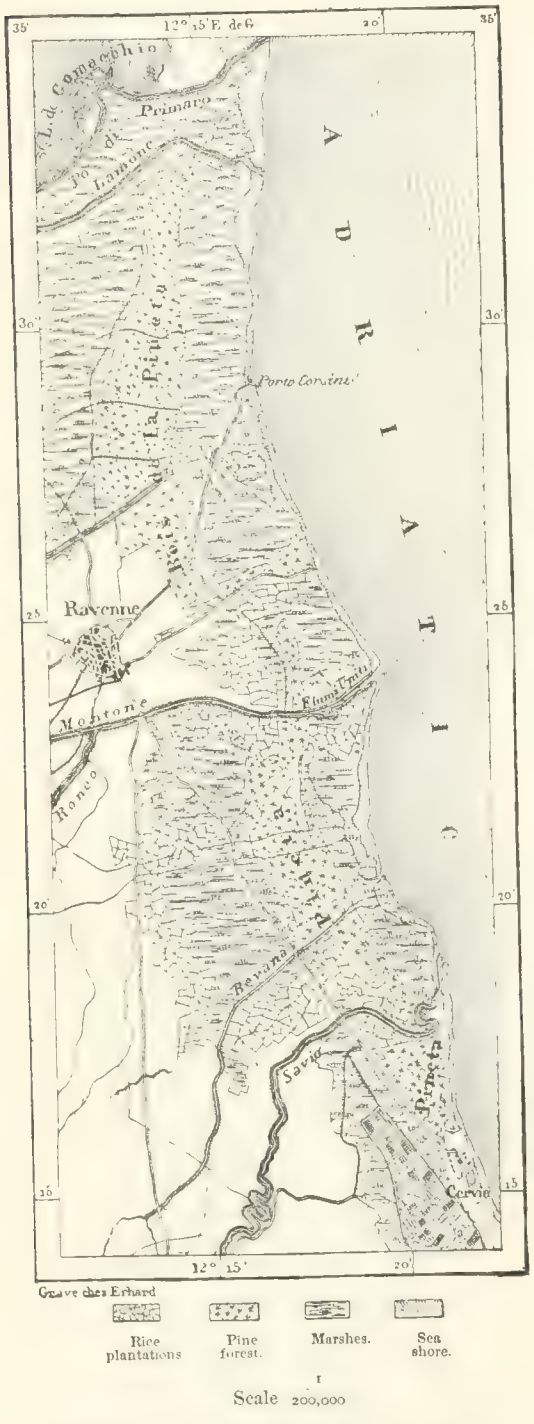


AS OF ADRIA.[2]

[1] Strabo, V. i. 7. It had a treasure-house at Delphi, and is conjectured to be the present village of Spina.

[2] We cannot say whether this medal, one of the beautiful bronzes of the French National

the Apennines are too near both seas to send them great rivers. However, the Arno is 75 miles long, and the Tiber 190 miles. But this king of ancient rivers is sad to look at. Its waters, constantly filled with reddish mud, cannot be used for drinking or bathing; and in order to supply the deficiency, numerous aqueducts brought into Rome the water of the neighboring mountains. Hence one of the characteristics of Roman architecture: triumphal arches and military roads for the legions; amphitheatres and aqueducts for the towns. Moreover all the watercourses of the Apennines have the capricious



PRESENT STATE OF COAST TO THE SOUTH OF THE MOUTHS OF THE PO.

Collection, and which bears the head of a bearded Bacchus, belongs to Adria on the borders of the Po, or to that of Picenum. The character of the three letters on this piece, H A T (for Hadria), shows that it cannot be earlier than the third century before our era. The "as" denoted with the Romans the monetary unit. It ought exactly to weigh a Roman pound; that is, exactly twelve ounces, or 288 scruples, — whence the name *as libralis*. The real weight, however, on the average, is not more than ten ounces. The Romans have without doubt kept to this usage, because ten ounces of bronze were worth in Italy a scruple of silver, or $\frac{1}{288}$ of a silver pound. (Mommsen's *Hist. of Roman Coinage*.)

[1] The Adige, 250 miles in length, the Bacchiglione 62, the Brenta 112, the Piave 129, the Tagliamento 33, the Isonzo 56.



MONTE CIRCELLO.

character of torrents:[1] wide and rapid in spring-time, they dry up in summer, and are at all times almost useless for navigation.[2] But how beautiful and picturesque is the scenery along the banks of their streams, and in the valleys where their tributaries descend! The waterfalls of Tivoli, the most charming of sights, make a delightful contrast to the wild grandeur of the Roman campagna; and near Terni, at the Cascade delle Marmore, the Velino falls into the Nera from a vertical height of 540 feet, then rushes in cataracts over the huge bowlders which it has brought down from the mountain.

All the lakes of Upper Italy are, like those of Switzerland, hollow valleys (Lake Maggiore, 39 square miles; Como, 35; Iseo, 14; Garda, 34), where the streams from the mountains have accumulated till they have found in the belt of rocks and land the depression whence they have made their escape and given rise to rivers. Those of the peninsula, on the contrary, filling up ancient craters or mountain basins, have no natural outlets, and often threaten, after long rains, or the melting of the snow, to inundate the surrounding country: such were the overflowing of Lake Albano, the signal of the downfall of Veii, and those of Lake Fucino, which at times rose 54 feet, and has lately been drained. There are others, as Lake Bolsena, a kind of inland sea, 25 miles round, and the famous Trasimene Lake, resulting from an earthquake.[3] The rains have filled up these natural cavities, and as the neighboring mountains are low, they supply just sufficient water to compensate the loss produced by evaporation. There

[1] Often and often in the Middle Ages Florence — which, by the way, was built on a dried-up marsh — was near being carried away by the Arno; in 1656 Ravenna was flooded by the Ronco and the Montone; and in the last century Bologna and Ferrara have many times been on the point of coming to blows, as the Provençals and Avignonnais did, on the subject of the Durance, to decide the spot where the Reno should join it. Thanks to the numerous cavities where during the winter the water of its sources stores itself, the Tiber does not sink much at its summer level.

[2] Other watercourses of peninsular Italy: at the west, the Magra, the boundary of Tuscany and Liguria, 36 miles in length; the Chiana, the Nera, and the Teverone (Anio), tributaries of the Tiber; the Garigliano (Liris), 70 miles; the Volturno, 83; the Sele; the Lao: at the east, the Pisatello (Rubicon); the Metauro; the Esino; the Tronto, 56 miles; the Pescara (Aternus), 83; the Sangro, 83; the Biferno, 58; the Fortore, 81; and the Ofanto, 114.

[3] There is some doubt on this point for the Lake of Bolsena, which some travellers (Dennis, *Etruria*, i. 514) and some learned men (Delesse, *Revue de Géol.* 1877) regard as a crater.

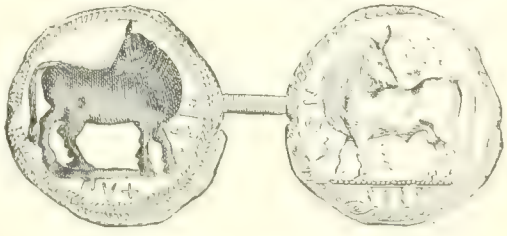
hardly issue from them even insignificant rivers. Lake Trasimene, at its greatest depth, does not reach 30 feet, and it will soon have the fate of Lake Fucino.



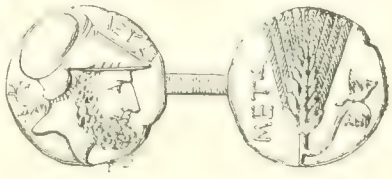
THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PONTINE MARSHES.

Stagnant waters cover a part of the coast to the west and to the south: it is the realm of fever. The younger Pliny speaks of the unhealthiness of the coasts of Etruria, where the Maremma, which the Etruscans had once drained, was reappearing. In Latium the sea formerly reached to the foot of the mountains of Setia

and Privernum, about 9 miles in from the present coast:[1] from the time of Strabo the whole coast from Ardea to Antium was marshy and unhealthy; at Antium the Pontine Marshes commenced. Campania had the marshes of Minturnae and of Linternum. Farther south, the Greeks of Buxentum, of Elea, of Sybaris, and of Metapontum had to dig thousands of canals to drain the soil before putting in the plough. Apulia, as far as Mount Vultur, had been a vast lagoon, as well as the country around the mouths of the Po, fully 100 miles south of its modern mouth.[2] Lombardy also was for a long time an immense marsh, and to the Etruscans are attributed the first embankments of the Po. The banks of the Trebia, the territories of Parma, of Modena, and of Bologna, had not been drained till the works of Aemilius Scaurus, who during his censorship (109 B. C.) made navigable canals between Parma and Placentia.[3] There is nothing so charming and so treacherous as those plains of the "Mal'aria," — a clear sky, fertile land, where an ocean of verdure waves under the sea-breeze; all around there is calm and silence; an atmosphere mild and warm, which seems to bring life, but carries death. "In the Maremma," says an Italian proverb, "one grows rich in a year, but dies in six months."



COIN OF BUXENTUM. 4



COIN OF METAPONTUM.[4]

"... La Maremma,
Dilettevole molto e poco sana."[5]

How many peoples, once flourishing and powerful, are sleeping

[1] De Prony, *Descr. Hydrog. et Hist. des Marais Pontins*, pp. 73 and 176.

[2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 20; Cuvier, *Disc. sur les Revolutions du Globe*, p. 216.

[3] In 187 B. C. the Consul Aemilius Lepidus continued the Flaminian Road from Rimini to Bologna and to Placentia, and from thence to Aquileia, ἐγκυκλούμενος τὰ ἕλη (Strabo, V. i. 11). In the year 160 B. C. the Consul Cethegus received as his province the duty of draining the Pontine Marshes (Livy, *Épitome*, xlvi).

[4] On the obverse, this medal bears the head of the hero Leucippos, the founder of the city; on the reverse, an ear of corn with a bird on the leaf.

[5] Very delightful and very unwholesome.

here their last sleep! Cities also can die, — *Oppida posse mori*, said the poet Rutilius, when contemplating, fifteen centuries ago, the crumbling ruins of a great town of Etruria.

To restrain and direct their streams was then for the Italians not only a means, as with other people, of gaining lands for agriculture, but a question of life and death. These lakes at the summit of mountains, these rivers overflowing their banks every spring, or changing their beds, these marshes, which under an Italian sun so quickly breed the plague, compelled them to constant efforts. Whenever they stopped, all that they had conquered with so much trouble reverted to its pristine state.[1] To-day Baïae, the delightful retreat of the Roman nobles; Paestum, with its fields of roses so much beloved by Ovid, — *tepidi rosaria Paesti*; rich Capua, Cumae, which was once the most important city of Italy, Sybaris, which was the most voluptuous, are in the midst of stagnant and fetid waters, in a fever-breeding plain, "where the decaying soil consumes more men than it can feed." Pestilential miasma, solitude, and silence have also conquered the shores of the Gulf of Taranto, once covered with so many towns; leprosy and elephantiasis in Apulia and Calabria exhibit the hideous diseases of the intertropical regions traversed by "untamed waters." In Tuscany 120 miles of coast-line, in Latium 82 square miles of land, have been abandoned to poisonous influences. Here the wrath of man has aided that of Nature. Rome had ruined Etruria and exterminated the Volscians. But water invaded the depopulated country; the malaria, extending gradually from Pisa to Terracina, reached Rome herself; and the Eternal City expiates now, in the midst of her wastes and her unhealthy climate, the merciless war waged by her legions.[2] At the point where but lately the Maremma of Tuscany and that of the States of the Church join, the saddest of solitudes meets the eye: not a hut nor a tree to be seen, but huge fields of asphodel, — the flower of the tomb. One day, about fifty years ago, a vault, hidden under the grass, gave way under the heavy tread of an ox: it was a funeral chamber. Excavations were prosecuted. In a little time 2,000 vases and

[1] Muratori (*Rer. Ital. Script.* ii. 691, and *Ant. Ital. diss.* 21) has shown how quickly the drained lands become marshy again, as soon as cultivation is suspended.

[2] Cicero, *de Rep.* ii. 6, said of Rome: "Locum . . . . in regione pestilenti salubrem;" and Livy, v. 54, "saluberrimos colles."

other objects of art were discovered,[1] and Etruscan civilization was reclaimed from oblivion.

The name of the rich city which had buried so many marvels in its tombs is not mentioned by any of the Roman historians, and must have remained unknown but for an inscription which mentioned its defeat and the triumph of its conqueror.[2] The Vulcientes had fought the last battle for Etruscan liberty. How heavy were the hands of Rome and of Time, and how many flourishing cities they have destroyed! But again, how many wonders does the Italian soil reserve for the future, when the malaria is expelled, and the towns it has slain shall deliver up their secrets.[3]

Bordering on the great Alps, and reaching to Africa, Italy has every climate, and can have all kinds of culture. In this double respect she is divided into four regions: the Valley of the Po, the slopes of the Apennines turned towards the Tuscan Sea, the plains of the Peninsula, and the two points in which it terminates.[4]

[1] M. Noël des Vergers has narrated with eloquence the emotion he felt when, in an excavation that he made in the same necropolis of Vulci: "At the last blow of the pick, the stone which formed the entrance to the crypt gave way, and the light of the torches illumined vaults where nothing had for more than twenty centuries disturbed darkness and silence. Everything was still in the same state as on the day when the entrance had been walled up, and ancient Etruria arose to our view in the days of her splendor. On their funeral couches warriors, covered with their armor, seemed to be resting after the battles they had fought with the Romans or with our ancestors, the Gauls; forms, dresses, stuffs, and colors were visible for a few minutes; then all vanished as the outer air penetrated into the crypt, where our flickering torches threatened at first to be extinguished. It was a calling up of the past which lasted not even the brief moment of a dream, and passed away, as it were, to punish us for our rash curiosity.

["Like that long-buried body of the king
Found lying with his urns and ornaments,
Which, at a touch of light, an air of heaven,
Slipped into ashes, and was found no more."

TENNYSON: *Aylmer's Field.*]

While these frail remains crumbled into dust in contact with the air, the atmosphere became clearer. We then saw ourselves surrounded by another population due to the artists of Etruria. Mural paintings adorned the crypt all round, and seemed to come to life with the flash of our torches."

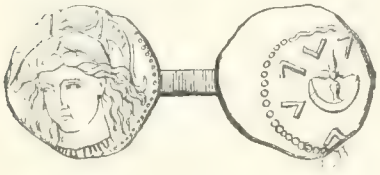
[2] *Fast. Capit.*, ad ann. 473. Triumph of T. Coruncanius in 280 for his victories over the Vulcientes and Volsinienses.

[3] Those unhealthy countries, where a thick vegetation covers the ruins, protect so well against curiosity even the monuments which are there, that a century ago the temples of Paestum were not known, and also a few years ago, the curious necropolis of Castel d' Asso, of Norchia, and of Soana.

[4] In antiquity Italy abounded more in woods and marshes, and the winter was colder. [This is proved, for historical times, not only by allusions like Horace's "Vides ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte," etc., but by the researches of Hehn in his well-known work on the spread of domestic animals and plants in antiquity. — *Ed.*]

Calabria, Apulia, and part of the coast of the Abruzzi have almost the sky and the productions of Africa: a climate clear and dry, but scorching; the palm-tree, which at Reggio sometimes ripens its fruit, the aloes, the medlar, the orange, and the lemon; on the coast the olives, which are the source, as formerly, of the wealth of the country; farther up, for two thousand feet, forests of chestnut-trees covering a part of the Sila. But from Pisa to the middle of Campania, between the sea and the foot of the mountains, the malaria reigns; the soil is abandoned to herdsmen, and although very fertile, waits for the labor of man to produce its old return. Already in Tuscany tenant-farming is driving back the Maremma, and the land is peopled again wherever it is drained.

Above these plains, on the first slopes of the Apennines, from Provence to Calabria, there extends the district of the olive, the mulberry-tree, the arbutus, the myrtle, the laurel, and the vine. This latter grows so freely that it may be seen reaching the top of the poplars which support it; and in the time of Pliny a statue of Jupiter used to be shown at Populonia carved in a vine-trunk. Farther up, on the mountain, come chestnut-trees, oaks, and elms; then fir-trees and larch. The summer snow and the freezing wind remind one of Switzerland, but for the flood of dazzling light from the Italian sky.



COIN OF POPULONIA.[1]

But it is in the Valley of the Po, when coming down from the Alps, that the traveller receives his first and most pleasant impressions. From Turin, as far as Milan, he keeps in view the line of the glaciers, which the setting sun colors with brilliant tints of rose and purple, and makes them glitter like a magnificent conflagration spreading along the sides and on the summits of the mountains. In spite of the vicinity of the perpetual snow, the cold does not descend far on this rapid slope; and when the sun bursts forth in the immense amphitheatre of the Valley of the Po, its rays, arrested and reflected by the wall of the Alps, raise the tem-

[1] On the obverse, the head of Minerva with helmet; on the reverse, a crescent and a star with the word PVPLV written from right to left in Etruscan characters. *Puplu* was the commencement of the name Populonia.



CANALS AND PINE-FOREST OF RAVENNA.

perature, and scorching heat succeeds suddenly the cold air of the lofty summits. But the number of the streams, the rapidity of their courses, the direction of the valley, which opens on the Adriatic and receives all its breezes, cool the atmosphere, and give Lombardy a most delightful climate. The inexhaustible fertility of the soil, enriched by the deposits of so many rivers, causes everywhere a very rich vegetation. In one night, it is said, grass which has been cut shoots up afresh;[1] and the land, which no culture exhausts, never lies fallow.

Such is the general aspect of Italy, — a land of continual contrasts: plains and mountains, snow and scorching heat, dry and raging torrents, limpid lakes formed in ancient craters, and pestilential marshes concealing beneath the herbage once populous cities. At every step a contrast: the vegetation of Africa at the foot of the Apennines; on their summits the vegetation of the North. Here, under the clearest sky, the malaria, bringing death in one night to the sleeping traveller: there, lands of inexhaustible fertility,[2] and above, the volcano with its threatening lava. Elsewhere, in the space of a few leagues, sixty-nine craters and three entombed towns. At the north, rivers which inundate the lands and repel the sea; at the south, earthquakes opening unfathomable depths or overthrowing mountains. Every climate, every property of the soil combined, — in short, a reduced picture of the ancient world,[3] yet with its natural peculiarities strongly marked.

[1] "Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus
Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet."
VERGIL: *Georgics*, ii. 201.

Varro (*de Re rust.* i. 7) said more prosaically, "In the plain of Rosea let fall a stake, to-morrow it is hidden in the grass."

[2] In Etruria and in some other parts of Italy the land produced 15-fold, and elsewhere 10-fold (Varro, *de Re rust.* i. 44). The fertility of the ground of Sybaris, like that of Campania, was proverbial: it used to be said that it returned 100-fold. [And even now the traveller is delighted with the sudden display of rich pasture in the Valley of the Crati, and with the splendid herds of cattle roaming through its meadows and forests. Nowhere in Southern Italy is there such verdure. — *Ed.*]

[3] This can be maintained without any systematic survey. Has not Italy the sun of Africa; the valleys and mountains of Greece and Spain; the thick forests, the plains, the marshes of Gaul; indented coasts and harbors like Asia Minor; and even the valley of the Nile in that of the Po? Both are the product of these rivers, with their delta, their lagoons, and their great maritime cities, Adria or Venice, Alexandria or Damietta, according to the age. "The Veneti," says Strabo (V. i. 5), "had constructed in their lagoons, canals and dikes like those of Lower Egypt." In another passage Ravenna recalls to him Alexandria. See in the fourth chapter of the sixth book the different causes he assigns for

In the midst of this nature, capricious and fickle, but everywhere energetic for good as for evil, there appear peoples whose diversity of origin will be stated in the following pages; but we know already, by the study of the Italian soil, that the population, placed in conditions of territory and climate varying with each canton, will not be moulded by any one of those physical influences whose action, always the same, produced civilizations uniform and impervious to external influences.

In this general description of Italy we have only glanced in passing at the hills of Rome, which, notwithstanding their modest size, surpass in renown the proudest summits of the world. They deserve careful study. The earth is a great book, wherein science studies revolutions beside which those of man are but child's-play. When the geologist examines the soil of Rome and its environs, he finds it formed, like the rest of the peninsula, from the twofold action of volcanoes and water. Remains have there been found of the elephant, the mastodon, the rhinoceros, and the hippopotamus, — proving that at a certain period of geological time Latium formed a part of a vast continent with an African temperature, and one in which great rivers ran through vast plains. At another epoch, when the glaciers descended so far into the Valley of the Po that their moraines were not far from the Adriatic, the Tuscan Sea covered the Roman plain. It formed in it a semicircular gulf, of which Soracte and the Promontory of Circei were the headlands.[1]

At the bottom of this primordial sea volcanoes burst forth, and their liquid lava was deposited by the water in horizontal beds, which, at the present day, from Rome as far as Radicofani, are found mingled with organic remains. When this lava has become solidified by time and the action of water, it becomes the *peperino*, the close-grained *tufo* of which Rome, both under the Kings and the Republic, was built. When the lava remains in a

the superiority of Italy. It has even been established that all the geological formations are represented in Italy; and although mining operations are not well prosecuted, they give rise to an annual exportation of 600,000 tons of the value of 100 millions (of francs).

[1] It is considered that the Campagna di Roma from Civita Vecchia to Terracina is 91 miles in length, and that from the Mediterranean to the mountains its breadth is more than 27 miles. As far inland as Rome, the mountains are in some parts distant only from three to five miles. The Anio falls into the Tiber at less than three miles' distance from Rome.

granulous state it produces the *pozzolana*, from which was made the tenacious cement of the Roman walls. Of this *pozzolana* the Seven Hills, on the left bank, are formed. The Capitol alone is



EXTINCT VOLCANOES ABOUT ALBA.

almost entirely composed of a porous *tufo;* a more solid substance seemed needed for the hill which was destined to be the throne of the world.[1]

When the formidable volcanoes of the Alban Hills had lifted

[1] Ampère, *L'Histoire Romaine à Rome*, i. 8.

Latium above the sea, the lava which came from their craters spread over the sides of the mountain, and one of the hot streams descended across the new plain as far as Capo di Bove.[1] From this lava, when consolidated, Rome procured the flagstones with which she paved the Appian Road, and which remain to this day.

The Roman campagna, formed in the midst of waters, whose gentle undulations or level surface it reproduces in turn, changed afterward by the volcanoes of the Alban Hills, is furrowed by little hills and low ground, — "a humpy soil," said Montaigne, whose



CATTLE OF THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA.

cavities are filled with fresh water. Once they were limpid lakes: now they are unhealthy pools;[2] and a learned man, Brocchi, attributes to the influence of the *aria cattiva* the gloomy, violent,

[1] Brocchi, *Dello stato fisico del suolo di Roma.* Capo di Bove is the part of the Appian Road where is the tomb of Caecilia Metella, the frieze of which bears heads of oxen, in remembrance of the sacrifices made before the tomb.

[2] The season of [malaria] fever [typhoid, now so common, is apparently a new scourge to the city, arising from modern causes — *Ed.*] extends from June to October. Horace especially dreaded the autumn (*Od.* II. xiv. 15; *Sat.* II. vi. 19: see also *Ep.* I. vii. 5). M. Colin, the chief physician of the French army, attributes the malaria in the Campagna di Roma less to the effluvia of the marshes, since the Pontine Marshes do not reach so far, than to the exhalations from a soil, very fertile and untilled, under a sky of fiery heat during the day-time, from July to October, and comparatively very moist and cold during the night. (*Traité des fièvres intermittentes*, 1870.)



VIEW OF THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA.

and irritable temper of those who carry in their veins the germs of the fever of the Maremma. This has been noticed by all travellers; while, under a beautiful sky, and on the shore of the bright sea of the Gulf of Naples, the people are merry, playful, and noisy, the people of Rome, on the other hand, in the midst of their majestic and stern country, are gloomy, silent, and prompt with the knife. We shall find this harshness of character running through the whole history of Rome; for though man may call himself intelligent and free, the surrounding influences of nature impress their mark upon him, and for the majority this mark is indelible.

We might assert the same influences for all animals alike; for the buffaloes and great oxen with formidable horns, which wander about the country of Roman campagna are as savage as the herdsmen who drive them; and it is dangerous for a stranger to venture near them.

While the volcano was furnishing Rome with indestructible paving for her military roads, the waterfalls of Tivoli, larger then than they are now, and the waters of the neighboring lakes, saturated with carbonic acid or sulphurated hydrogen, formed the *travertino*, — a light and whitish limestone, which hardens in the air and takes warm and orange-colored tints. With this stone Rome built all her temples, the Coliseum, and other monuments of the Empire.

The architecture of a nation depends on the materials which it has at hand. The bricks give London its dulness, while Paris owes its elegance to the French limestone, so easy to handle. Marble made Athens sparkling with beauty. Rome was severe with her grayish *peperino*, massive with her *travertino* cut in large blocks, until the time came when she was able, with the costly marbles unloaded at Ostia, to indulge in all the splendors of architecture; "so that her very ruins are glorious, and still does she retain, in her tomb, the marks and image of her empire" (Montaigne).

The Tiber was much larger than it is at the present day: for it received then all the Chiana, perhaps a part of the Arno, and carried to the sea, with the streams of the Sabine territory, those of a great part of the Tuscan Apennines. A large and

deep lake once covered the site of Rome; and on the Pincian, Esquiline, Aventine, and Capitoline Hills, fluvial shells are found, 130 to 160 feet above the present Tiber.

The river, barred probably by the Hills of Decimo, had accumulated its waters behind that obstacle, which at length it succeeded in sweeping away.

Man appeared early on this soil. In the post-tertiary strata of the basin of Rome his remains are found, and some cut or polished flints along with the bones of the *Cervus elephas*, of the reindeer, and of the *Bos primigenius*.[1] Implements of stone were followed, as everywhere, by implements of bronze. Man, then armed, was able to contend against the fauna, and afterward against Nature herself. But many centuries passed before his efforts produced any useful effects.



FLINT WEAPONS FOUND IN THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA.[2]

In the first days of Rome the Forum, the Campus Martius, the Velabrum, the valley between the Aventine and the Palatine Hills (*Vallis Murcia*), which ultimately the Circus Maximus filled up entirely, — in short, all the low-lying lands at the foot of the Seven Hills, — were marsh lands, where the river often returned, and where it still returns. It is from a slough that the most beautiful city in the world was destined to rise.

For the purpose of self-defence the Capitoline and Aventine were secure refuges; but in order to live and spread, she must descend from the hills and overcome the wandering or stagnant waters over which already the malaria began to hover. Fever had early an altar on the Palatine, where they attempted, by prayer and sacrifices, to charm away its fatal influence.[3] But though superstitious, the people were also energetic. What they

[1] *Bull. de l'Inst. arch.*, 1867, p. 4, and the *Atlas*, viii. 38. M. Capellini believes he has found quite recently (1870) in Tuscany traces of Pliocene man.

[2] *Atlas de l'Inst. archéol.*, viii. 36.

[3] For the Latins the Fever was the God Februus, to whom was consecrated the month of February, during which purificatory sacrifices were offered; hence the verb *februare*, to purify. [Yet surely it seems strange that so healthy a month should be chosen for this purpose. It may be connected with ceremonies at the end of the old year, when the 1st of March was New Year's Day. — *Ed.*]

asked from the gods they were ready to demand from their toil; and this struggle against Nature prepared the way for the struggle against men. In this work of improving the Roman soil they



ARTICLES IN TERRA-COTTA FOUND IN THE ENVIRONS OF ROME.[1]

were helped by the Etruscans, who knew how to drain marshy plains and to build imperishable monuments for the leading away of subterranean waters. The entrance of Etruscan art into Rome was a geographical necessity, as also was the laborious and rough life of the first Romans. With art many also of the civil and religious institutions of Etruria migrated to Rome.

[1] *Atlas de l'Inst. archéol.*, viii. 37.

II.

THE ANCIENT POPULATION OF ITALY—PELASGIANS AND UMBRIANS.

ITALY has not, like France, England, Germany, and Scandinavia, preserved numerous traces of a race anterior to the epoch in which man had learned to furrow the earth with implements of metal; at least, as far as our researches have reached, it seems to have possessed only in certain spots what has been called the age of stone.[1] Separated from the rest of the world by the Alps and the sea, it was peopled later than the vast countries of easy access which lie on the east, north, and west of its mountains. But when these regions were once inhabited Italy became the country of Europe where the greatest number of foreign races have met together. All the surrounding nations contributed their share in forming the population; and each revolution which disturbed them produced a new people. The Sicanians were formerly derived from Spain: now they are identified with the Pelasgic Siculi.[2] But from Gaul came the Ligurians, the Senonian, the Boian, the Insubrian, and the Cenomanian Celts; from the great Alps, the Etruscans; from the Julian Alps, the Veneti; from the eastern coast of the Adriatic Seas and from the Peloponnesus many Illyrian and Pelasgic tribes; from Greece, those Hellenic tribes which came in so great numbers into Southern Italy as to give to that part the name of Great Greece; from Asia Minor, the Lydian Pelasgians; lastly, from the coasts of Syria and Africa, the more certain colonies which Tyre and Carthage established in the two great Italian islands.[3] And if we were to trust to the patriotic pride of one of her historians,[4] Etruria would owe to

[1] However, prehistoric discoveries occur daily in the Campagna di Roma, in Tuscany, and from the Valteline, as far as Leuca, at the extremity of Italy, where M. Botti Ulderico has discovered grottoes which have served as shelters for primitive man.

[2] Cf. Benloew, *Études Albanaises*.

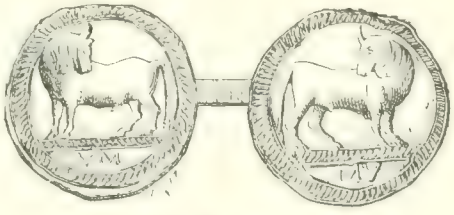
[3] [We may add at least Agylla (Caere), in Etruria, whose name, as Mommsen has shown, declares its origin. — *Ed.*]

[4] Micali, *Storia degli antichi popoli Italiani*, i. 142; cf. Fréret, "Recherches sur l'origine et l'histoire des différents peuples d'Italie," *Hist. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, xvii. 72–114.

Egypt and the distant East her religious creeds, her arts, and her sacerdotal government.

Italy was, therefore, a common asylum for all the wanderers of the ancient world. All brought in with them their language and their customs; many preserved their native character and their independence, until from the midst of them there should arise a city which formed at their cost her population, her laws, and her religion. — Rome herself, the asylum of all races and of all Italian civilizations![1]

All the Italian races belonged to the great Indo-European family, which came from the high regions of Central Asia and gradually peopled a part of Western Asia and the whole of Europe. When they penetrated into the peninsula, they had already arrived at that degree of civilization which stood midway between the pastoral, or nomad, and the agricultural, or settled, state. The most ancient geographical names are a proof of this: Oenotria was the country of the vine; Italy (*vitulus*), that of oxen; the Opici meant "laborers of the fields;" and the first means of exchange were cattle, *pecus*, — whence *pecunia*. Sybaris, like Buxentum, seems to have wished to preserve this remembrance. One of her coins bears on both sides the image of an ox.[2]



COIN OF SYBARIS.

The most ancient of these nations seem to have belonged to

[1] We must say that these questions of origin and relationship are among the historical controversies which are still being argued every day. The evidence for and against is so mixed, that both sides can accumulate contrary quotations and interpretations, so that this mass of doubtful proofs rather fatigues than enlightens the mind. Niebuhr says, as regards one of these peoples: "What abuses of imagination were not indulged in with regard to the mysteries and wisdom of the Pelasgians! Their very name is an abomination to the truthful and serious historian. It is this disgust which kept me from making any general references to that people, lest I might open the floodgates for a new deluge of writing about this wretched subject." But later on he himself could not resist "that inclination which led him, like most of his countrymen, to guess out lost history;" and the Pelasgians obtained from him sixty pages. The most recent and complete work on the ancient populations of Italy is that of Schwegler (*Römische Geschichte*, i. 154–384). [A valuable book, obscured, like our Thirlwall, by the brilliancy of a more passionate, but less trustworthy, rival. — *Ed.*]

[2] Some Samnite coins, struck during the Social War, have also *Vitelu* inscribed in place of *Italia*. It is perhaps in a letter of Decimus Brutus to Cicero (*Fam.* xi. 20) that the earliest mention is made of the name of Italy as applied to the entire peninsula as far as the Alps.

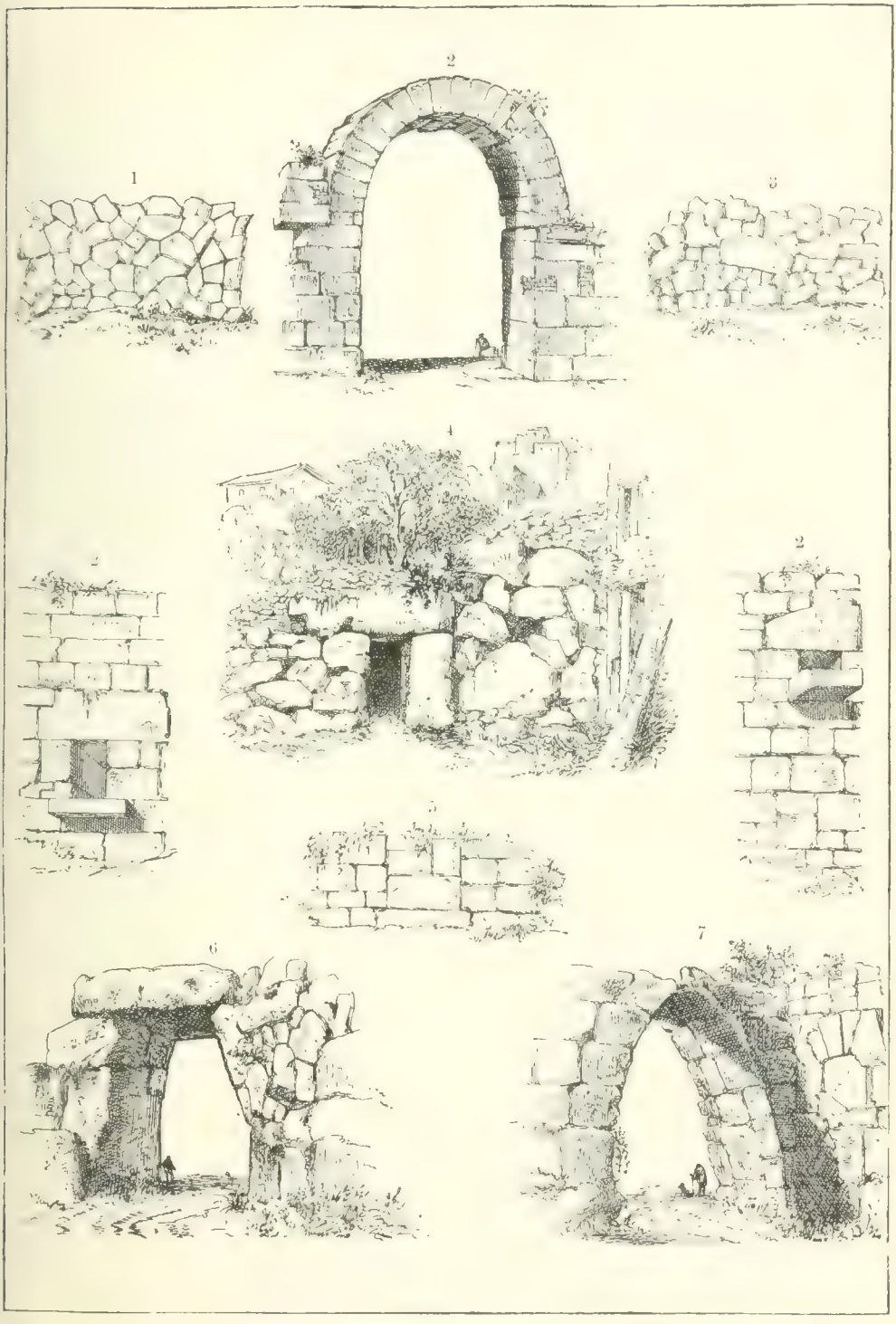
the mysterious race of the Pelasgians,[1] whom one finds confusedly at the commencement of so many histories, though there is nothing left of it but its name and its indestructible buildings. After having carried its industry and activity into Greece and its islands, into Macedonia and Epirus, into Italy, and perhaps into Spain, the race disappeared, pursued, according to the ancient legend, by the celestial powers, and suffering endless misfortunes.

At the commencement of historic times nothing but uncertain remains of that great people are found, as we discover, in the bosom of the earth, the mutilated remains of primitive creations. It is a whole buried world, — a civilization arrested, and then calumniated by the victorious tribes after they have destroyed it. Their altars were stained, they say, with the blood of human sacrifices, and, in a vow, they offered a tithe of their children. The priests directed at their will the clouds and tempests; they summoned the snow and the hail, and by their magic power they changed the form of objects; they were acquainted with fatal charms; they fascinated men and plants by their glance; on animals and on trees they poured the deadly water of the Styx; they knew how to heal, and how to compose subtle poisons. Thus in the mythologies of the North the Goths have consigned the Finns, whom they had dispossessed, to the extremities of the earth under the forms of industrious dwarfs and of formidable magicians. Like the Pelasgians, the Finns open mines and work metals; and it is they who forge for the Odinic gods the invincible shackles of the wolf Fenris, as Vulcan, the Pelasgic god, had made, for new divinities also, the chains of Prometheus.

It seems, then, that there were at the north and at the south of Europe two great nations who knew the earliest arts, and commenced this struggle against physical nature which our modern civilization continues with so much success. But both were subdued and cursed after their defeat by the warlike tribes, who looked upon work as servile labor, and made slavery the law of the ancient world.

In Italy, where their first colonies settled at a remote epoch, the Pelasgians covered, under various names, the greater part of the coast. At the north, in the low plains of the Po, and along

[1] "Pelasgi primi Italiam tenuisse perhibentur" (Serv. in *Æn.* viii. 600).



PELASGIC REMAINS.

1. Bovianum. 2. Volaterrae. 3. Lista. 4. Olivano. 5. Veii. 6. Signia. 7. Arpinum.

the western coast from the Arno, there were Siculi, the founders of Tibur, a district of which was called the Sicelion;[1] at the south-west, the Chonians, Morgetes, and, above all, Oenotrians, who had, like the Dorians of Sparta, public meals; at the south-east, Daunians, Peucetians, and Messapians, divided into Calabrians and Salentines, and said by tradition to come from Crete; at the east, lastly, Liburnians, of that Illyrian race which we must perhaps identify with the Pelasgic.[2]

The Tyrrhenians were probably one of these Pelasgic nations. According to a Greek tradition which agrees with Egyptian records, they came from Lydia. "In the days of King Atys, son of Manes, there was a great famine throughout the land of Lydia. The King resolved to divide his kingdom into two equal parts, and made his people draw lots to decide which part should remain in the land, and which should go into exile. He was to continue to rule over those who remained; the emigrants were to have his son Tyrsenus as their chief. The lots were drawn; and those who were destined to depart came down to Smyrna, built ships, put in them the necessaries of life, and went in search of a hospitable land. Having coasted for a long time, they reached the shore of Umbria, where they founded the towns which they inhabit to this day. They discontinued the name of Lydians, and called themselves Tyrseni, after the name of their king's son, who had acted as their guide."[3] These towns, of which Herodotus speaks, were built to the north of the mouth of the Tiber, and consequently very close to Rome. They were Alsium, Agylla or Caere,[4] Pyrgi,

[1] There is still near Tivoli a *valle di Siciliano*.

[2] From a number of testimonies it seems to result that people of the Illyrian race covered the whole of the eastern coast of Italy exactly opposite Illyria, while the western shore was occupied by Pelasgians: and Micali (ii. 356) identifies these two peoples. This is also the opinion of Dalmatian critics, who have found a strong analogy between the Oscan, which is akin to Latin, and the remains of the ancient Illyrian, preserved in the dialect of the Skippetars. Grote admits the relationship of the Oenotrians, the Siculians, etc., with the Epirotes. "All," he says, "have the same language, the same customs, the same origin, and can be comprised under the name of Pelasgians." He adds, "They were not very widely separated from the ruder branches of the Hellenic race" (*History of Greece*, iii. 468). The Pelasgic influence can be recognized in the oldest religion of Rome, especially in the worship of Vesta, and is found in the Sibylline books, which recommended the building of a temple to the Dioscuri, the worship of the Bona Dea, and the sacrifice of two Gauls and two Greeks. Lastly, Samothrace, the centre of the Pelasgic religion, had her relationship with Rome acknowledged by the Senate. Cf. Plut., *Marcellus*, 30.

[3] Herodotus, i. 94; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiq. Rom.*, i. 27–30.

[4] Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ibid.* i. 20) makes Pisa a Pelasgian city.

which was their port, Tarquinii, which played so great a part in Roman history, and perhaps, at the mouth of the Arno, the city of Pisa, the population of which spoke Greek.

The story of Herodotus is fabulous, but it may allude to a real emigration. In the time of the Emperors this tradition was national both at Sardis and in Etruria.[1] Whatever be their origin, the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians possessed a power which spread far their name; for notwithstanding the conquest of the country by the Rasena, the Greeks never recognized any people between the Tiber and the Arno but "the glorious Tyrrhenians,"[2] and the Athenians have consecrated, in the beautiful frieze of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates,[3] the memory of the exploits of one of their gods against the pirates who came forth from the harbors of Tyrrhenia.

But while admitting the existence of these Tyrrhenians, it is not necessary to sacrifice the Etruscans to them. The Romans, who certainly had not learnt it from the Greeks, called the Rasena, their neighbors, Tusci or Etrusci,[4] and the Eugubine tables, an Umbrian monument, also call them Turscum, — a plain proof that the name of the Tyrrhenians was national also in Etruria. What can this native use of two names mean, if not the co-existence of two nations? After the conquest the Tyrrhenians were neither exterminated nor banished; their name even prevailed with foreign nations, as in England the name of Anglo-Saxons over that of the Norman conquerors; and the subsequent progress of Etruscan power appeared to be that of the ancient Tyrrhenians.

The Pelasgians, then, formed along the western coast of the peninsula a first stratum of population, which was soon covered by other nations. In the midst of these new races the ancient masters of Italy, like the Pelasgians of Greece, lost their language, their manners, their liberty, and even the remembrance of what they had been. Nothing remained of them but the Cyclopean walls of Etruria and of Latium, enormous blocks of stone, set without cement, which have withstood the ravages of time as well

[1] Tac. *Ann.*, iv. 55, and Strabo, V. i. 2.

[2] Hesiod, *Theog.*, 1015 and 1016.

[3] [Pictured in Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, and since in all the histories of Greek art; it dates from 335 B. C. — *Ed.*]

[4] The Greeks said Τυρρηνοί and Τυρσηνοί: whence from the Etruscan form, Turscum, we easily arrive at Tusci, Etrusci, and Etruria.

as of man.[1] Some Pelasgians, however, escaped; and yielding to the impulse for invasion which was at work from north to south, gained by slow degrees the great island to which the Siculi gave their name, and where the Morgetes followed them.[2] Those who preferred the rule of the foreigner to exile, formed in many parts of Italy an inferior class, who rested faithful in their degradation.



THE CABIRI.

to that habit of labor which was one of the characteristics of their race. In Oenotria the low or servile occupations, that is to say, all arts and manufactures,[3] fell to their lot, as in Attica, where the building of the citadel of Athens was intrusted to them; so that the much-vaunted Etruscan arts, the figures in bronze[4] or

[1] "At Segni the walls, composed of enormous blocks, form a triple enclosure. At Alatri we still see a Pelasgian citadel. The walls are 40 feet high, and some stones are 8 to 9 feet long. The lintel of one of the gates of the town is formed of three blocks placed side by side. These stones have been carefully cut, and set with skill. The joining of the stones is perfect. It is a work of giants, but of clever giants." — AMPÈRE: *L' Histoire Romaine à Rome*, i. 135. For the description of these monuments see Abeken, *Mittel Italien vor den Zeiten Römischer Herrschaft*.

[2] Thucydides (vi. 2) shows the Siculi fleeing into Sicily before the Opici.

[3] It is to Temesa (Tempsa, in Bruttium) that the Taphians came to exchange brass for glittering iron (*Odys.*, I. 184). In the time of Thucydides, the Siculi still inhabited this town. *Stephanus Byz.* (sub voce χῖοι) says that the Italian Greeks [Italiotes] treated the Pelasgians as the Spartans did the Helots.

[4] According to tradition it was the Pelasgic Telchines — half men, half sprites — who

terra-cotta, the drawings in relief, the painted vases,[1] like those of Corinth, etc., would be the work of the Pelasgians, who remained as slaves and artisans under the Etruscan Lucumons.

Their religion was as obscure as their history. It was connected with the worship of the Cabeiri of Samothrace, Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos, and Casmilos, cosmic deities, personifications of earthly fire and celestial fire, — the religion of a nation of miners and smiths. Later on the Cabeiri were identified with Greek divinities. Thus on a famous Hermes of the Vatican, Axiokersos is associated with Apollo-Helios, Axiokersa with Venus, and Casmilos, "the ordainer," with Eros. Axieros, the supreme god, remained above the trinity who emanated from him.



THE CABEIRI.

It has been said that all the ancient religions have been the worship "of nature naturalizing (*naturantis*), of nature naturalized (*naturatae*)." The expression is barbarous, but it is just. Of these religions the first belonged to simple naturalism; the second have given rise to anthropomorphism, in which all terminate. The Cabeiri being considered the cause of things, the symbol of generation played an important part in their figurative worship and

had discovered the art of working metals, and who had made the first images of the gods. Niebuhr has remarked the singular coincidence which exists in Latin and in Greek between the words for a house, a field, a plough, husbandry, wine, oil, milk, oxen, pigs, sheep, apples (he could have added *metallum*, *argentum*, *aes*, and *agere*, with their derivatives, *abacus*, etc.), and generally all the words concerning agriculture and a peaceful life; while all the objects which belong to war or hunting, *duellum*, *ensis*, *sagitta*, *hasta*, are denoted by words foreign to Greek. This fact is explained if we consider that the peaceful and industrious Pelasgians formed the foundation of the population in Greece and Italy, especially in Latium, where the Siculians remained mingled with the Casci. [Niebuhr's acute remark anticipated what Pictet and others have shown to result from the common Aryan, not Pelasgian, ancestry of Greeks and Romans before they settled in either country. The common roots indicate what culture each race brought with it into its adopted home. — *Ed.*]

[1] [We must not forget the direct importation of these things from Attica. — *Ed.*]

history. On a Tusco-Tyrrhenian mirror of the fourth century before our era, two of the three Cabeiri, transformed into the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, are seen in the act of killing the youngest under the eyes of Venus, who opens the cista in which the remains of the god are to be placed, and in the presence of the wise Minerva, calmly and serenely witnessing his death, which is no real death. Life in reality comes from death; the god will revive when Mercury has touched him with his magic wand.

The initiation into the mysteries of the Island of Samothrace remained an act of deep piety with the Romans as with the Greeks. Rome was, by the legend, even put in direct relation with the Pelasgic island.[1]

The Palladium and the Penates, carried away by Aeneas from the flames of Troy, to be the pledge of power to the Eternal City, were taken by the Pelasgian Dardanus, it is said, from Samothrace to the banks of the Scamander, whence they passed to Rome.

Vesta, the goddess of the inextinguishable fire, who played so great a part in the Italian religions, must also have been a deity of the Pelasgians; but she belonged to all the people of the Aryan race, for she was the feminine representative of the Agni of the Vedas.

The Pelasgians, and those who imitated their method of building, rendered a service to the pretended descendants of the Trojans which has not been sufficiently noticed. The Cyclopean walls, with which they surrounded so many towns of Central Italy, saved Rome in the Second Punic War, by preventing Hannibal from occupying a single one of those impregnable fortresses which defended the approaches to the "Ager Romanus." During sixteen years the great Carthaginian held little beyond the enclosure of his camp.[2]

For two centuries the Pelasgians had the mastery of Italy; when the Sicanians, expelled from Spain by a Celtic invasion, and some Ligurians, who had come from Gaul,[3] spread themselves along

[1] See the *Revue archéol.* for December, 1877.

[2] See plate of the walls of Norba. Twenty centuries ago this town, taken and burned down by Sylla, ceased to exist; but its walls are the most curious Italian specimen of the architecture called Cyclopean. The town was built on a declivity commanding the Pontine Marshes. The enclosure remains almost entire; it has no tower to defend the foot of the wall, but the principal gate is flanked by two quasi-bastions.

[3] For a long time the Ligurians were believed to be Iberians. "Their language is Indo-European," says M. d'Arbois de Jubainville (*Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*); "it is

the shores of the Mediterranean from the Pyrenees to the Arno. In Italy they occupied, under various names, a great part of Cis-Alpine Gaul and the two slopes of the Northern Apennines. Their constant attacks, especially those of the Sicanians,[1] who had advanced farthest south, forced the Siculians to leave the banks of the Arno. It was the beginning of the disasters of that nation, which pretended to be indigenous, in order to prove its right to the possession of Italy.

When, four centuries later, the Etruscans descended from their mountains, they drove the Ligurians from the rich valley of the Arno, and confined them within the banks of the Macra. However, bloody fights still took place for a long time between the two nations, and notwithstanding their advanced post of Luna, the Etruscans were unable to maintain themselves in peaceable possession of the fertile lands watered by the Serchio (Ausar).[2]

Not far, on the San Pellegrino, the highest summit of the Northern Apennines (5,150 feet), and in the impracticable defiles from which the Macra descends, the Apuans dwelt, who, from their lofty mountains, watching the roads and the plain, gave neither truce nor respite to the merchants and traders of Tuscany.

Divided into as many little states as they had valleys, and always in arms against each other, these nations preserved, however, the general name of Ligurians and some of the customs common to all their tribes, — respect for the character of the *fetials*, and the custom of proclaiming war by ambassadors. Their manners also were alike everywhere. They were those of poor mountaineers upon whom nature had bestowed courage and strength, in place of the wealth of a fertile soil.[3] The women labored, like the men, at the hardest work, and hired themselves out for the harvest in the neighboring countries, while their husbands traversed the sea in their frail ships as far as Sardinia and Africa, to the detriment of the rich merchants of Marseilles, of Etruria,

Celtic," adds M. Maury (*Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, 1870). M. Ern. Desjardins discusses this question in the second volume of his *Géographie ancienne de la Gaule*, and arrives at the same conclusions.

[1] Thucydides (vi. 2) admits the Sicanians as an Iberian tribe. ὡς δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια εὑρίσκεται.

[2] The country of Lucca watered by the Serchio is called the garden of Tuscany, which is itself one of the most fertile countries of Italy.

[3] "Assuetum malo Ligurem." — VERGIL, *Georgics*, ii. 168.



WALLS OF NORBA.

and of Carthage.[1] They had no towns, except Genoa, their common market, but numerous small villages, hidden in the mountains, where the Roman generals never found anything worth taking. A few prisoners, and long rows of chariots loaded with rude arms, were ever the only ornaments of their triumphs over the Ligurians.[2]

Few people had so high a reputation for hard work, for sobriety, and valor. During forty years their isolated tribes held in check the Roman power in their mountains, which succeeded in overpowering them only by forcing them away from that ungrateful soil,[3] where they saw famine ever threatening them, but where they possessed that which they esteemed their chief good, their liberty.

At the other extremity of Cis-Alpine Gaul dwelt the Veneti. The two nations are contrasted, like their countries. In the midst of those beautiful plains, fertilized by the mud of so many rivers, under the mildest climate of Italy, the Veneti, or the "victorious,"[4] as they were called, exchanged their poverty and valor for effeminate and timid manners. They had, it is said, fifty towns, and Padua, their capital, manufactured fine woollen stuffs and cloths, which, by means of the Brenta and the port of Malamocco, they exported to distant countries; their horses were in great demand for the Olympic races, and they travelled to Greece and Sicily to sell the yellow amber which they obtained from the Baltic. Their industry and commerce accumulated wealth, which often tempted the pirates of the Adriatic. But never were they seen in arms; and they accepted disgracefully, without battle, without a struggle, the Roman domination: a luxurious life had early sapped their courage.

Having entered Italy with the Liburnians of Illyria, or having come, perhaps, from the borders of the Danube,[5] the Veneti had been driven into the mountains of Verona, of Trent, and Brescia,

[1] Posidonius (ap. Strab. III. iv. 17, and Diod. v. 39). The descendants still go to the coasts of Sardinia and Algeria to get fish and coral, which the Ligurian Sea does not afford them, because of the depth of its water near the coast.

[2] Livy, xl. 34.

[3] Forty thousand Apuans, the bravest of the Ligurians, were transported into the country of the Hirpini; and thirty times, if there is no mistake in the text of Pliny (iii. 6), the Ingaunians were compelled to change their abode. "Ingaunis Liguribus agro tricies dato." [This is the Asiatic system of μετοίκισις, which we know from early Greek and from Hebrew history. — *Ed.*]

[4] This is the sense given by Hesychius to the word Heneti, sub voce Ἐνετίδας πώλους.

[5] Mannert declares them to be of Slave origin.

by the Euganei, who had possessed the country before them, and who had given their name to a chain of volcanic hills between Este and Padua.

To the north of the Veneti, the Carni, probably of Celtic origin, covered the foot of the mountains which have taken their name, and some wild Illyrians had taken possession of Istria.

At a period probably contemporaneous with the invasion of the Ligurians, the Umbrians[1] (*Amari* — the noble, the brave) arrived, who, after bloody battles, took possession of all the countries possessed by the Siculi in the plains of the Po. Pursuing their conquests along the Adriatic, they drove towards the south the Liburnians, who left only a few of their number (Praetutians and Pelignians)[2] on the banks of the Prexara, and penetrated as far as Monte Gargano, where their name is still preserved.[3] At the west of the Apennines they subdued a part of the country between the Tiber and the Arno.[4] The Sicani, who had settled there, found themselves involved in the ruin of the Siculi, and many bands of these two nations united and emigrated beyond the Tiber. But they met there with new enemies; the natives, encouraged by their disasters, drove them gradually towards the country of the Oenotrians, who, in their turn, forced them to go with the Morgetes, and find a last asylum in the island which they called by their name. The Sicanians shared a second time their fate, and passed after them into Sicily.[5]

Heirs of the Pelasgians of the north of Italy, the Umbrians ruled from the Alps to the Tiber on the one side, and as far as Monte Gargano on the other. They divided this vast territory into three provinces: Isombria, or Lower Umbria, in the partly inun-

[1] The Gallic origin of the Umbrians accredited by antiquity, has been revived by modern writers. But the inscriptions found in Umbria, on the frontier, it is true, of the Sabine country, tell of a Latin tongue; we must then connect the Umbrians with the Sabellian Osci. Pliny (iii. 14) says of them, "gens antiquissima Italiae." The recent works of M. Bréal have proved that Umbrian was an Italian dialect, — which, after all, does not solve the ethnological question. M. Ern. Desjardins makes them a Ligurian people; M. d'Arbois de Jubainville makes them akin to the Latins.

[2] Ovid, who was himself Pelignian, gives to these people a Sabine origin (*Fast.*, iii. 95).

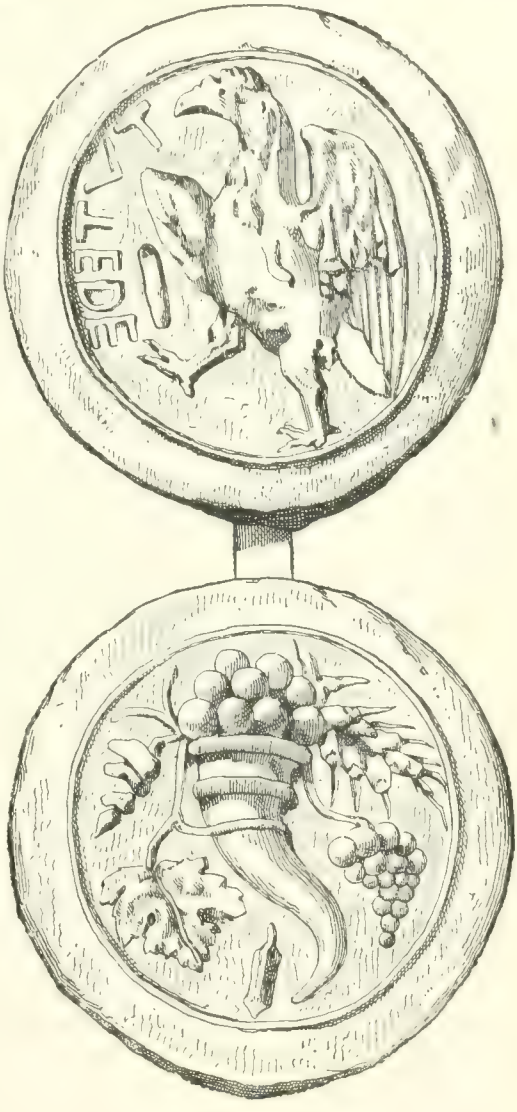
[3] Scylax (*Periplas*, p. 6). See the map of the kingdom of Naples by Rizzi Zannoni. At the centre of the group of mountains are found, besides the "Valle degli Umbri," other localities named Catino d' Umbra, Umbricchio, Cognetto d' Umbri (Micali, i. 71).

[4] The Umbro takes its name from them.

[5] Dionys. (i. 73) and Thucydides (vi. 2) fix this migration as having taken place two hundred years after the Trojan war, — of course without certainty.

dated plains of the Lower Po; Ollumbria, or Upper Umbria, between the Adriatic and the Apennines; Vilumbria, or Maritime Umbria, between the Apennines and the Tyrrhenian Sea.

Like the Celts and the Germans, they dwelt in open villages in the middle of the plains, disdaining to screen their courage behind high walls; but therefore exposed after a defeat to irretrievable disasters. It is said that when the Etruscans came down into Lombardy, the Umbrians, being conquered, lost at one blow three hundred villages. However, in the mountainous cantons of Ullumbria, after the example of the Tyrrhenian cities which were in the neighborhood, their towns were built on the summits, and surrounded with ramparts;[1] thus Tuder, close to the Tiber; Nuceria, at the foot of the Apennines; Narnia, on a rock which commands the Nar; Mevania, Interamna, Sarsina, Sentinum, etc., which by their construction are proof of a more timid, but also more advanced, civilization.

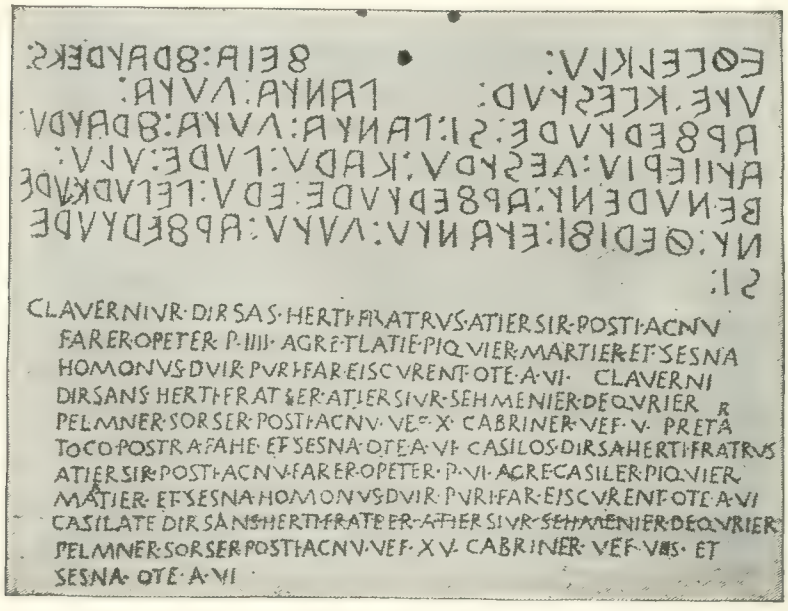


LIBRAL AS OF TUDER.[2]

[1] These fortifications are perhaps the work of the Etruscans, for Umbria remained subject to them for a long time. "Umbria vero pars Tusciae" (Serv. *in Aen.* xii. 753). Livy (v. 33) says, without any restriction, that the Tuscan empire embraced the whole width of Italy, from sea to sea.

[2] Tuder (Todi), or, as it is called on the money, TVTERE, was early an important city. What is left of the walls resembles, in its greater regularity and absence of rudeness, those of Volaterrae and Perusia. It will be observed that its money, which dates perhaps from the fourth century B. C., is of remarkable elegance.

For three centuries the empire of the Umbrians gained for that people a reputation of great power; but it was broken by the Etruscan invasion, which deprived them of the plains of the Po and of Maritime Umbria, where the attacks of the Tyrrhenians,



FRAGMENT OF EUGUBINE TABLES (FROM IGUVIUM).[1]

who remained masters of a part of the country, had shaken their power.

Shut in from that time between the Apennines and the Adriatic, they were there subject to the influence and even to the rule of their neighbors. Etruscan characters are seen on their coins; they are found, too, on the tables of *Iguvium*, together

[1] M. Bréal, the learned author of the work entitled *Les Tables Eugubines*, has been kind enough to give me this passage from Table V. in both Etruscan and Latin characters. It contains two decrees given by the brotherhood of priests who caused the Eugubine tables to be engraved. The first decree, of which only the end is here reproduced, is in Etruscan letters; the second is in Latin letters; but the language of the two documents is the same, it is Umbrian. We only give a transcription of the commencement: —

> " Ehvelklu feia fratreks ute kvestur panta muta adferture si.
> *Rogationem faciat fratricus aut quaestor quanta multa adfertori sit.*
> Panta muta fratru Atiiediu mestru karu pure ulu benurent.
> *Quantam multam fratrum Attidiorum major pars qui illuc venerint*
> adferture eru pepurkurent herifi, Etantu mutu adferture si.
> *adfertori esse jusserint [quantam] libet, tanta multa adfertori sit.*"

The date of these two passages may be placed between the first and second centuries before the Christian era, but the language of them is much older.

with some words which appear to belong to the language of the Rasena; and finally, the soothsayers of Umbria had no less reputation than the Tuscan augurs.[1]

Oftentimes they banded together against the same adversaries. Thus the Umbrians followed the Etruscans to the conquest of Campania, where the towns of Nuceria and Acerrae recall by their names two Umbrian cities; and they took part in the great expedition against the Greeks of Cumae.[2] When Etruria understood that the cause of the Samnites was that of all Italy, Umbria did not abandon her at that last hour; sixty thousand Umbrians and Etruscans stretched on the battle-field of Sutrium bore witness to the ancient alliance, and perhaps blending, of the two peoples. Finally, when the loss of liberty left them no other joy than pleasure-seeking and effeminacy, they were devoted to these, and remained united still in the same reputation for intemperance.[3] Both, too, had had the same enemies to resist, Rome and the Gauls; with this difference, — due to the position and direction of the Apennines, which protected Etruria against the Gauls, and Umbria against Rome, — that the latter had first come to be more dreaded by the Etruscans, as no barrier separated them, and the former by the Umbrians, whose country opened into the Valley of the Po. The Senones invaded a considerable portion of it, and always struck across Umbria in their raids towards the centre and south of the peninsula.

The Umbrians were divided into numerous independent tribes, of which some dwelt in towns, others in the country. Thus while the mass of the nation made common cause with the Etruscans, the Camertes treated with Rome on a footing of perfect equality; Ocriculum also obtained the Roman alliance, but the Sarsinates dared to attack the legions alone, and furnished the consuls with two triumphs. Pliny still counted in his time in Umbria forty-seven distinct tribes;[4] and this separation of the urban and rustic populations, this passion for local independence, this rivalry between towns, was always the normal state of the

[1] Cic., *de Divin.*, i. 41.

[2] Strabo, V. iv. 3; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 5; Dionysius, *Ant. Rom.*, vii. 3.

[3] "Aut pastus Umber aut obesus Etruscus." — CATULLUS: xxxix. 11. On the dissoluteness of Etruscan manners, see Theopompus, in *Athenaeus*, xii. 14.

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 14.

Romagna, of the marches of Ancona, and of almost the whole of Italy. In the fifteenth century, just as in ancient times, there were in the Romagna communities of peasants entirely free, and all the towns formed jealous municipalities.[1] Thus it happened that this energetic race, which had no knowledge of the litigious spirit of the Romans, and with whom might settled right,[2] — these men, that Napoleon declared to be the best soldiers in Italy, have, thanks to their divisions, submitted quietly to the ascendency of Rome, and came ultimately to obey the weakest of governments.

III.

THE ETRUSCANS.

OUR Western civilization has its mysteries, like the old East; Etruria is to us what Egypt was before Champollion. We know very well that it was inhabited by an industrious people, skilled in commerce, art, and war, rivalling the Greeks at the same time that they were under their influence, and for a long time powerful and formidable in the Mediterranean; but this people has disappeared, leaving us for its riddle an unknown language for a proof of what it once was, innumerable monuments, vases, statues, bas-reliefs, ornaments, objects precious both for workmanship and for materials, — a people rich enough to bury with its chiefs the means wherewith to pay an army or build a town; industrious enough to flood Italy with its products; and civilized enough to cover its monuments and tombs with inscriptions.[3] But

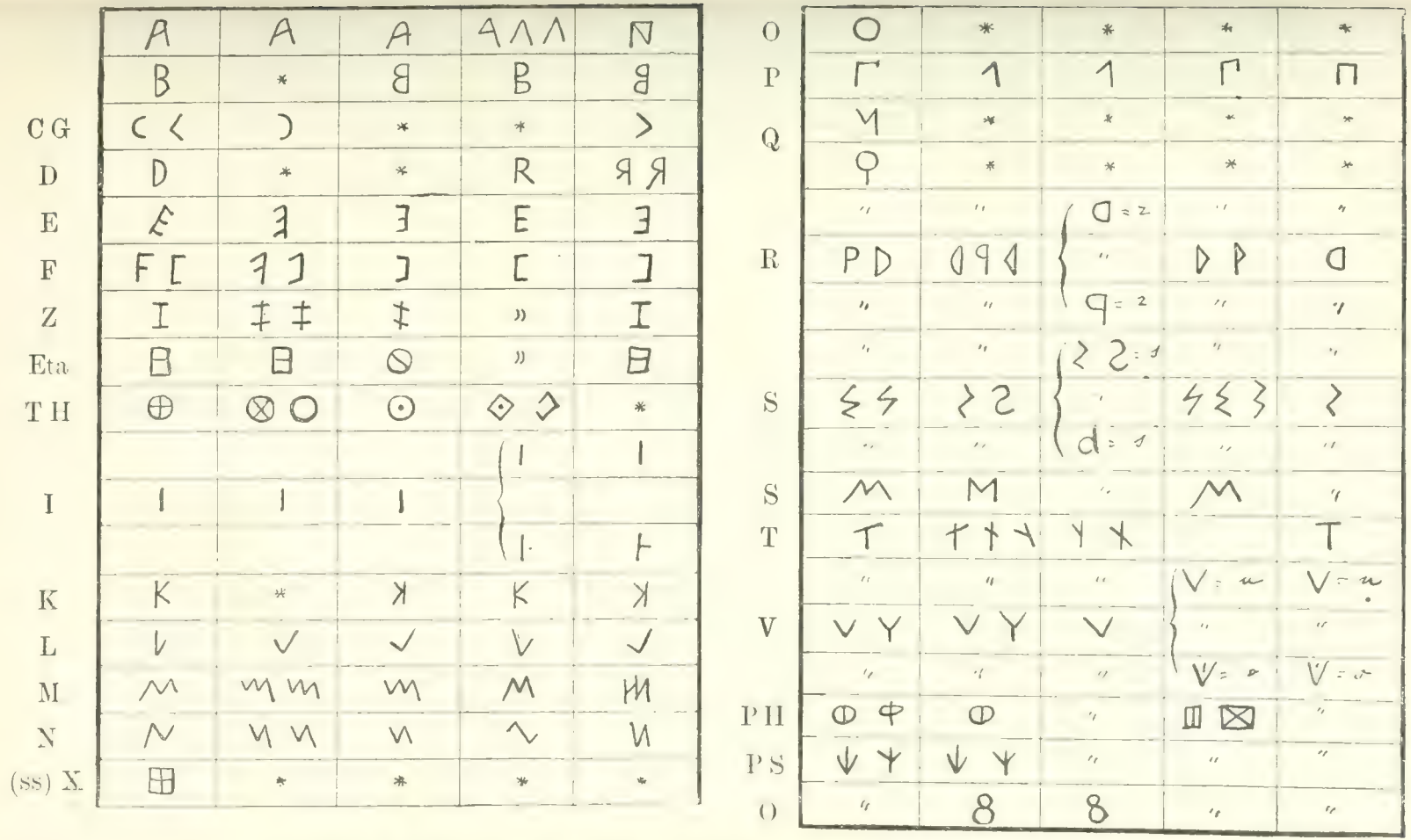
[1] See L. Ranke, *History of the Popes*, ii. 198.

[2] Ὀμβρικοὶ ὅταν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχωσιν ἀμφισβήτησιν, καθοπλισθέντες ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ μάχονται καὶ δοκοῦσι δικαιότερα λέγειν οἱ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀποσφάξαντες (Nic. Damasc., *ap.* Stob. Flor., 10, 70). Here we have the judicial duel of the Middle Ages. They said, too: Ἀναγκαῖον ἢ νικᾶν ἢ ἀποθνησκειν. (*Ibid.*, 7, 39.)

[3] M. de Longperier says of one monument, which was found at Cervetri (Caere): "It is directly connected with the Corinthian art of the seventh century, so that this tomb may give us an exact idea of what that of Demaratus, the father of Tarquin the Elder, must have been." (*Musée Napoléon III.*, explanation of pl. LXXX.) Let us note that the Etruscans interred their dead, and did not burn them: the contrary was the case in the later times of the Republic and under the Empire [or rather, both customs prevailed. — *Ed.*].



ETRUSCAN TOMB.



ALPHABETS OF CENTRAL ITALY (FROM LENORMANT'S ART IN SAGLIO'S DICT. OF ANTIQ.).

A much earlier alphabet than any of these, consisting of the old Phœnician 16 letters, has lately been found, and will be shown in Mr. Isaac Taylor's forthcoming work on Early Writing.

all this is mute, and modern science, wholly baffled, has hitherto been unable to interpret more than twenty words or so of the Etruscan language.[1] Their portraits which they have left us on their tombs tell us nothing more of them. These obese and thick-set men, with aquiline noses and retreating foreheads, have nothing in common with the Hellenic or Italiote type, and are not of the same race as the thin-featured people represented on their vases.

Whence did they come? The ancients themselves did not know. Deceived by the name of the Tyrrhenians, who had preceded the Etruscans north of the Tiber, the Greeks took them for Pelasgians, and represented them as having travelled from Thessaly and Asia Minor into Tuscany. But, on the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, their language, their laws, their customs, and their religion had nothing in common with those of the Pelasgians. Niebuhr and Otf. Müller consider that the Etruscans, or Rasena, as they called themselves, came from the mountains of Rhaetia.[2] As a matter of fact, there is no reason why the Etruscans, who placed the abode of their gods in the north, and gave[3] them the Scandinavian name of Ases,[4] should not be regarded as an Asiatic tribe, which, after having penetrated into Europe by the defiles of the Caucasus, by which the Goths afterward passed, had left on the

[1] See the work of M. Noël des Vergers, *L'Étrurie et les Étrusques, ou dix ans de fouilles dans les Maremmes Toscanes*. Varro (*de Ling. Lat.*, iv. 9) speaks of Etruscan tragedies which are lost. We have nearly two thousand inscriptions; but we cannot understand them, and Max Müller, in his *Science of Language*, is obliged to pass over the Etruscan in silence. The interpretations of Corssen, who [thought the language Indo-European, and] was for a time called "the Oedipus of the Etruscan Sphinx," have been abandoned, and the Sphinx remains mute [till we find a bilingual text. — *Ed.*].

[2] Livy (v. 33), Pliny (iii. 20), and Justin (xx. 5) maintain, on the contrary, that the Rhaetians are Etruscans who took refuge in the Alps after the conquest of Lombardy by the Gauls. Niebuhr supposes that the singular language of Groeden, in Southern Tyrol, is a remnant of the Etruscan language. Many names of places there recall the Rasena, and the Museum of Trent preserves vases and small figures in bronze with Etruscan inscriptions discovered in that province. Quite recently, in 1877, there were found in the Valteline, not far from Como, some Etruscan objects of great antiquity (*Rev. arch.*, Sept. 1877, p. 204). Ogiuli tried to prove in the *Giornale Acadico* the relationship of the Germans and Etruscans. M. Noël des Vergers, who has sought for the solution of the problem especially in the study of figured monuments, is disposed to accept the tradition of Herodotus as to their Lydian origin. But the plastic arts may have been introduced into Etruria later than the arrival of the Etruscans, by commerce, or previously to it by the Tyrrhenians. In short, the problem will remain insoluble until we decipher the Etruscan language.

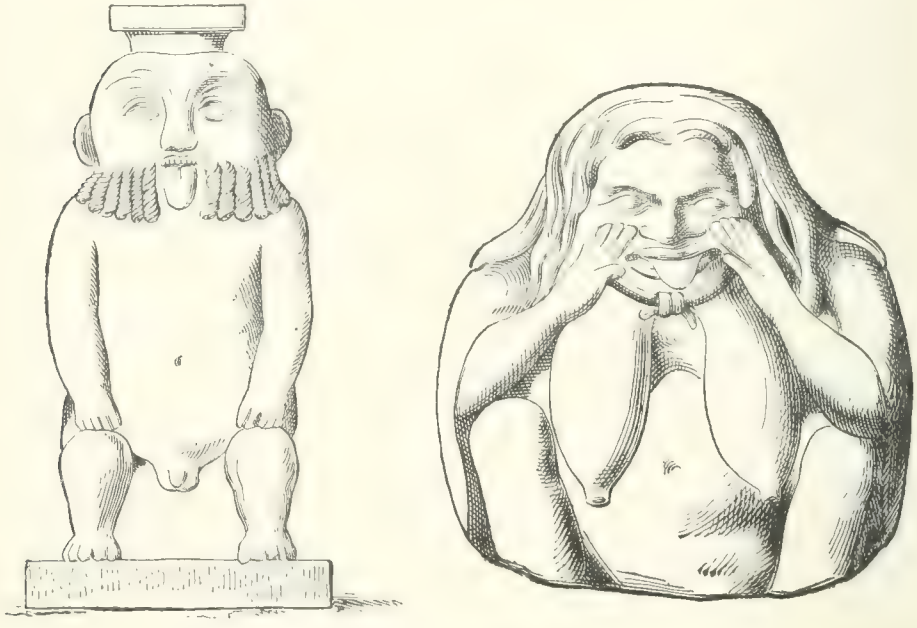
[3] Fest. s. v. "Sinistrae aves."

[4] "Aesar . . . Etrusca lingua Deus vocaretur" (Suet. *Oct.* 97).

Florentine Inscription.	Etruscan Minor.	Perugian Inscription.	Patera from Nola, No. 2.	Vase from Bomarzo.	Vase Galassi.	Patera from Nola, No. 1.
A	A A	A	A	A A	A A A	A A A A
>	C	>	>	>	> C	> >
∃	∃	∃	∃	∃	∃ ∃ ∈	∃ ∃ ∃
⅂	⅂	⅂	⅂	⅂ ⅂	⅂ ⅂ ⅂	⅂ ⅂
‡	I	ξ	‡			‡ Z
⊟	⊟	⊟	⊟	□	⊟ ⊟ H	⊟ ⊟ ⊖
⊗	⊕	O	O	◇	O ⊙ ◇ ⊡	O ⊙
I	I	I	I	I	I	I
⅃		⅃	✓	⅃	⅃	⅃
ᗰ	ᗰ	ᗰ	ᗰ	ᗰ ᗰ	ᗰ ᗰ ᗰ	ᗰ ᗰ ᗰ ᗰ
ᴎ	ᴍ	ᴎ	ᴎ	ᴎ ᴎ	ᴎ ᴎ ᴎ	ᴎ ᴎ ᴎ
∧	P	⅂	⅂	⅂	⅂ ⅂	⅂ ⅂ ⅂
ᗰ		ᗰ	ᗰ	ᗰ	ᗰ	ᗰ ᗰ
◁	ϙ	D	ϙ	◁	◁	◁ ◁ ϙ
≷	≷	≷	≷	≷	≷ ≷	≷ ≷ ≷
+	T	+	+	+	+ + T ⅄ ⅂	+ + T ⅄
V	V	V	V	⅄ V	V ⅄ ⅄	V ⅄
◊		∅		◊	∅	∅ ⊕ Φ
↓	⅄	↓	↓	⅄	↓ ↓	↓ ↓
8	♀	8	8		8 8 8	8 8

SOME ETRUSCAN ALPHABETS.

south the peninsula of the Balkans occupied by the Pelasgian races, and had ascended the Valley of the Danube as far as the Tyrolese Alps. Priestly rule, division into strictly separated classes, and the predominance of fatalism, are characteristics more and more marked in proportion as we trace back the course of centuries and approach more nearly to Asia. Etruscan civilization has also in common with Semitic literatures the omission of the short vowels,



ETRUSCAN FIGURES. (ATLAS OF MICALI, PL. XIV).[1]

the reduplication of the consonants, and the writing from right to left. The dwarf Tages reminds us of the clever dwarfs and magicians of Scandinavia; whilst the obese figures found at Cervetri; the gorgons, of which there are so many representations; the gods with four wings, two spread and two drooped towards the earth; the sphinxes, the monsters which guard the approaches to the

[1] We reluctantly reproduce these figures, to which we find none analogous in Grecian art. But the Etruscans, so clever in the manufacture of bronzes, jewels, and vases, preserve the taste of barbarous nations for monsters to serve as bugbears. When they thought to make them terrible they made them hideous. We must show this side of their plastic art. [Similarly, in old Irish illuminations and carvings, the animals introduced are simply grotesque, and the human figures as bad as possible, while both the feeling and execution of the geometrical ornament is the most beautiful which can possibly be found. — *Ed.*]

mansions of the dead; the animals unknown to Italy, lions and panthers, devouring one another; the Egyptian scarabaei, the good and evil genii, like the *dews* of Persia, which conduct souls to the lower world; finally, a quantity of details of ornamentation, — show either borrowing from the East, or memories of their early home.

We have above compared the two industrious and universally persecuted races of the Finns and Pelasgians; we might also compare the two peoples who have taken their place, — the enigmatical language of the Rasena with the Scandinavian Runes; Odin, the Ases, and royal families of the Goths, with the Tuscan Lucumons, who were at the same time nobles and priests. Like the Germans, the Etruscans united what the East separates, — religion and arms, the caste of priests and that of warriors.

If the Goths believed in the death of the gods, and dared to strive against them, the Etruscans predicted the renewal of the world, and imagined that they could by their magic formulae constrain the divine will. The grave, melancholy, and religious character of this people, their respect for women, their kindness towards slaves,[1] the length and abundance of their repasts, would also suggest Germanic manners, if it were not probable that these resemblances are purely accidental. The saying of one of the ancients has, in fact, remained the opinion of modern science: "By their language and manners the Etruscans are separated from all other nations."



ETRUSCAN GORGON (CAMPANA MUSEUM).

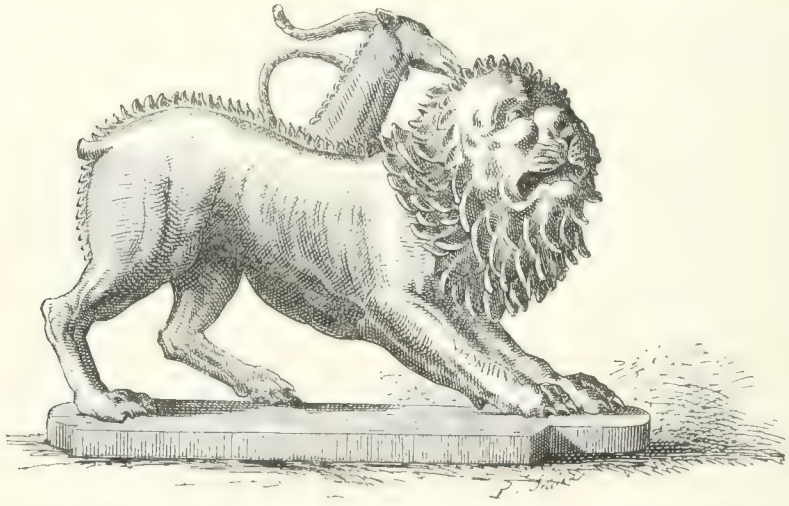
We will suppose, without firm conviction, that the Etruscans came down from the Alps into the Valley of the Po, bearing with them from Asia, which they had perhaps quitted for but a few centuries, their half-sacerdotal government, and from the mountains, where they had recently sojourned, that division into independent cantons which has existed in all time among the people

[1] Dionys. *Ant. Rom.*, ix. 5. The Veientines enrolled them in their troops.



FIGURE WITH FOUR WINGS.

of the Alps. They first stopped in Cisalpine Gaul, where they possessed as many as twelve large towns; then they crossed the Apennines, and established themselves between the Tiber and the Arno. There they found some Tyrrhenian Pelasgians in possession of Hellenic beliefs, traditions, and arts, and in commercial relations with the Greeks of Southern Italy and Ionia. These Pelasgians, protected by cities stronger than the open villages of the Umbrians, could not be expelled or exterminated, and formed a considerable portion of the new nation.[1] Is it going too far to attribute the works of drainage,[2] the Cyclopean construc-



CHIMAERA IN THE GALLERY OF FLORENCE (MICALI, ATLAS, PL. XLII.).

tions, the pretended knowledge of omens, and the industrious activity of the Etruscans, to the influence, counsels, and example of these

[1] Especially in the towns of Southern Etruria, which always display characteristics differing from those of the northern cities, and through which the Greek religion obtained an entry into Rome. At Caere there have been found inscriptions thought to be Pelasgian. Moreover Caere and Tarquinii had each its treasure-house at Delphi, like Sparta and Athens, and the painted vases of Tarquinii are exactly similar to those of Corinth. We might call to mind, too, the religious character of the people of Caere and the reputation they had of having always abstained from piracy.

[2] See Noël des Vergers, *Etruria and the Etruscans*, i. 96. The railway through the Maremma has led to the discovery of a quantity of subterranean conduits for draining the soil.

Pelasgians,[1] who are said to have excavated the tunnels from Lake Copaïs through a mountain, to have built the fortifications, still remaining, of Argos, Mycenae, and Tiryns, and who passed for magicians on account of their learning? Moreover this people never had the spirit of hostility towards strangers; the tradition of Demaratus, the mixture of Umbrian, Oscan, Ligurian, and Sabellian names in the Etruscan inscriptions, and finally the introduction of the gods and arts of Greece, show with what facility they admitted men and things of other countries.

One particular feature of Etruscan manners is, however, in absolute contradiction to the Greek manners. This sensual people loved to heighten pleasure by scenes of death. They were accustomed to human sacrifices; they decorated their tombs with scenes of blood;[2] and gave to their neighbors of the Seven Hills those gladiatorial games which the towns of half the Roman world imitated.[3]

The ruin of the Umbrians was accomplished, said the Etruscan annals,[4] 434 years before the foundation of Rome. The Rasena succeeded to their power, and increased it by four centuries of conquests. From Tuscany, the principal seat of their twelve tribes, they subdued Umbria itself, with a part of Picenum, where traces of their occupation are to be found.[5] Beyond the Tiber, Fidenae,

[1] [To account for the Etruscans by referring them to the Pelasgi, and that, too, by attributing to the latter all sorts of works without any conclusive evidence, is indeed to explain *obscurum per obscurius*, and gives new point to Niebuhr's remark already quoted by the author. — *Ed.*]

[2] This design (see p. 68), taken from pl. XXI. of the *Atlas* of Noel des Vergers, represents Achilles immolating captives to the *manes* of Patroclus. This is the reading of the names written over the head of each figure, and M. Bréal's rendering of them, going from left to right, — ACHMENRUN (Agamemnon); HINTHIAL PATRUCLES (Ghost of Patroclus); VVP (?); ACHLE (Achilles); TRUIALS (Trojanus); CHARN (Charon); AIVAS TLMUNUS (Ajax Telamonius); TRUIALS (Trojans); AIVAS VILATAS (Ajax Oileus). This scene of murder corresponded so well with the manners of the Etruscans, that when they wished to represent an episode of the Iliad, they chose the only narrative of this nature which is found in Homer. Many testimonies of ancient authors, and those which the Etruscans themselves have left on their monuments, bear witness to this odious feature of Etruscan society. Macrobius (*Saturn.* i. 7) says that Tarquin caused children to be immolated to the goddess Mania, the mother of the Lares. As for the winged figure who is standing behind Achilles, I should be inclined to take it for the genius of the hero. For the Etruscan doctrine of genii see below.

[3] [If more conjectures are encouraged, we shall soon have the Mexican Aztecs, so like the Etruscans in these and other points, declared to be their descendants. — *Ed.*]

[4] Varr., *ap.* Censor., 17; Dionysius said five hundred years. It is useless to add that these chronological data are valueless.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 5.

Crustumeria, and Tusculum, colonized by them, open the road towards the country of the Volscians and Rutulians,[1] who were brought into subjection; and towards Campania, a new Etruria was founded eight hundred years before our era, of which the principal cities were Volturnum, afterward called Capua, Nola, Acerrae, Herculaneum, and Pompeii.[2] From the cliffs of Sorrento, which were crowned by the temple of the Etruscan Minerva, they watched any vessels hardy enough to venture into the gulfs of Naples or Salerno, and their long galleys cruised as far as the coasts of Corsica and Sardinia, where they had settlements. "Then almost the whole peninsula, from the Alps to the Straits of Messina, was under their sway,"[3] and the two seas which wash the shores of Italy took and still keep, the one the name of this people, *Tuscum Mare*, the sea of Tuscany, the other of its colony of *Adria*, the Adriatic.

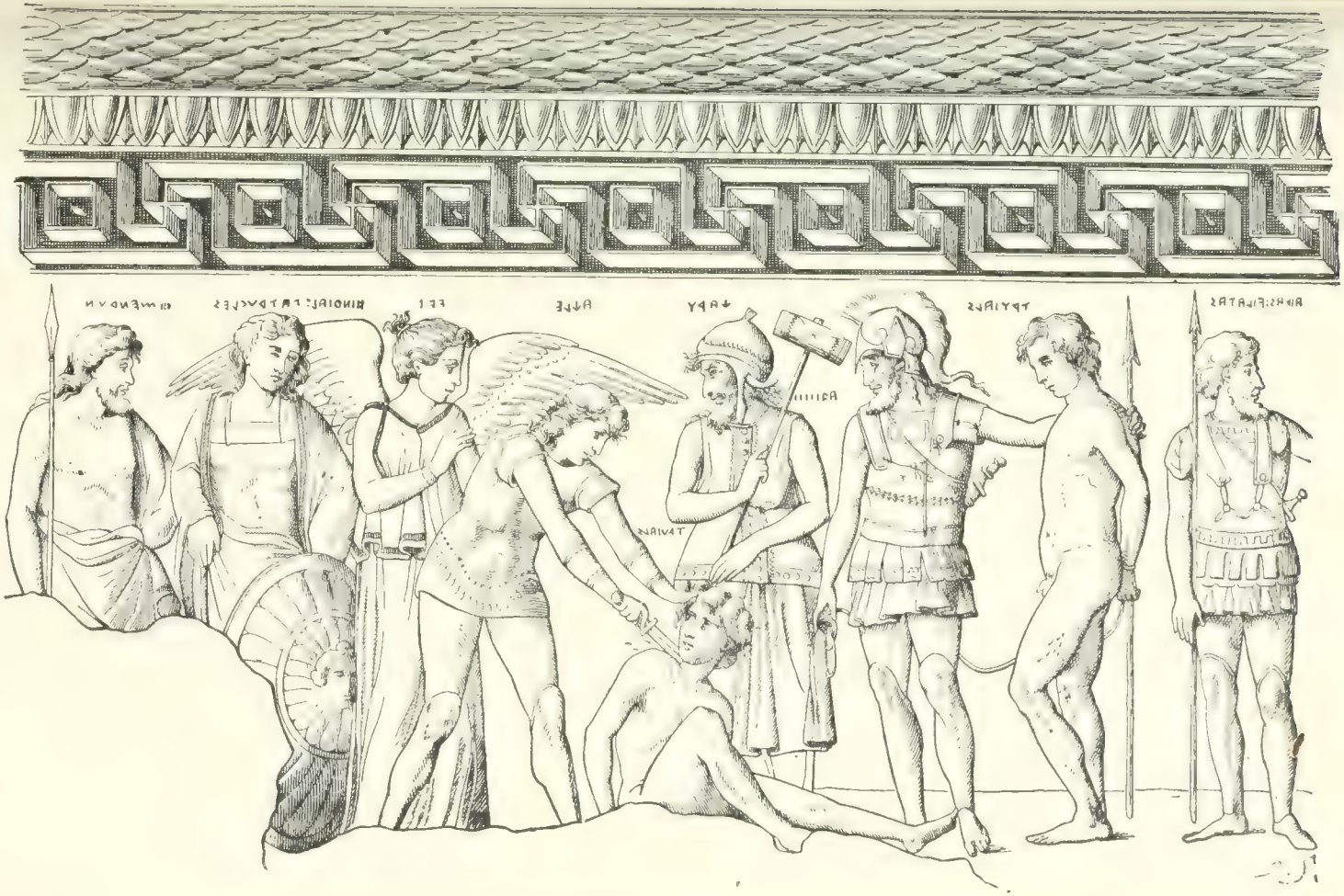
Unhappily, there was no union in this vast dominion. The Etruscans were everywhere, — on the banks of the Po, the Arno, and the Tiber, at the foot of the Alps and in Campania, on the Adriatic and on the Tyrrhenian Sea; but where was Etruria? Like Attica under Cecrops, like the Aeolians and Ionians in Asia, the Achaeans in Greece, the Salentines and Lucanians in Italy, the Etruscans were divided, in each country occupied by them, into twelve independent tribes, which were united by a federal bond, without any general league for the whole nation. For instance, when any grave circumstances occurred in Etruria proper, the chiefs of each city assembled at the temple of Voltumna, in the territory of Volsinii, to treat there concerning the interests of the country, or to celebrate, under the presidency of a supreme pontiff, the national feasts.[4] In the days of their conquests the union was doubtless very close, and, the chief of one of the twelve tribes being proclaimed generalissimo, exercised an unlimited power, indicated by the twelve lictors furnished by the twelve cities, with their fasces surmounted by

[1] Some tombs have been discovered at Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli, which appear to belong to the Etruscans, and the citadel of that town, more imposing than those of Etruria, is built, like them, of enormous stones.

[2] Livy, iv. 37; Cato, *ap.* Vell. Paterc., i. 7; Polybius, ii. 17. Lanzi adds to these five towns, Nocera, Calatia, Teanum, Cales, Suessa, Aesernia, and Atella.

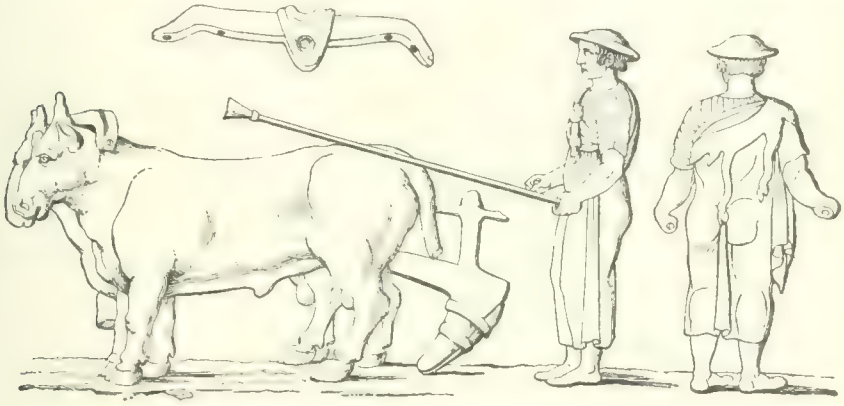
[3] Cato, *ap.* Serv. in *Aen.*, xi. 567. Livy repeats it in almost the same terms in different places (i. 2; v. 33).

[4] Livy, v. i.; and elsewhere, *principes Etruriae.*



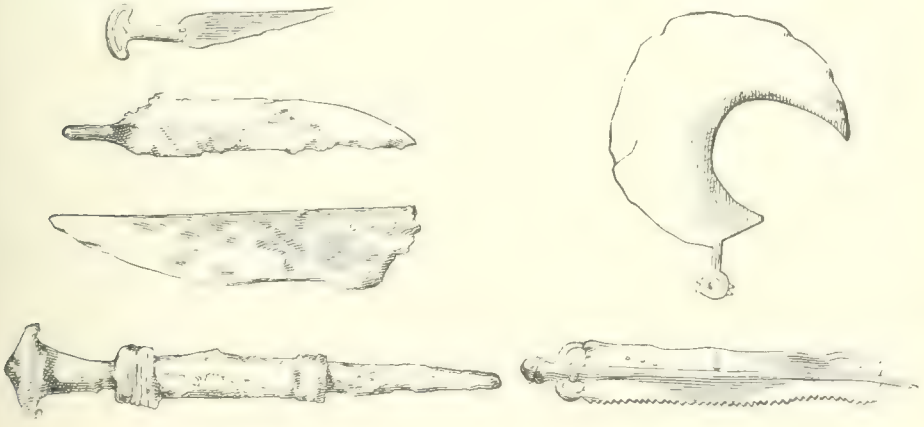
HUMAN SACRIFICE REPRESENTED IN THE CATACOMB OF VULCI.

axes. But little by little this bond was relaxed, and the Etruscans, who had at first presented the appearance of a great nation, were unable to escape this political particularism, which has been too dear to the Italians even up to our own days. At the epoch when



TUSCAN PLOUGHMAN.[1]

Rome seriously menaced Etruria, all union had decayed, and they had gone so far as to declare solemnly in a general assembly that each city must settle its own quarrels, and were not ashamed to explain that it would be imprudent to engage the whole of Etruria in the defence of one of its tribes.[2]



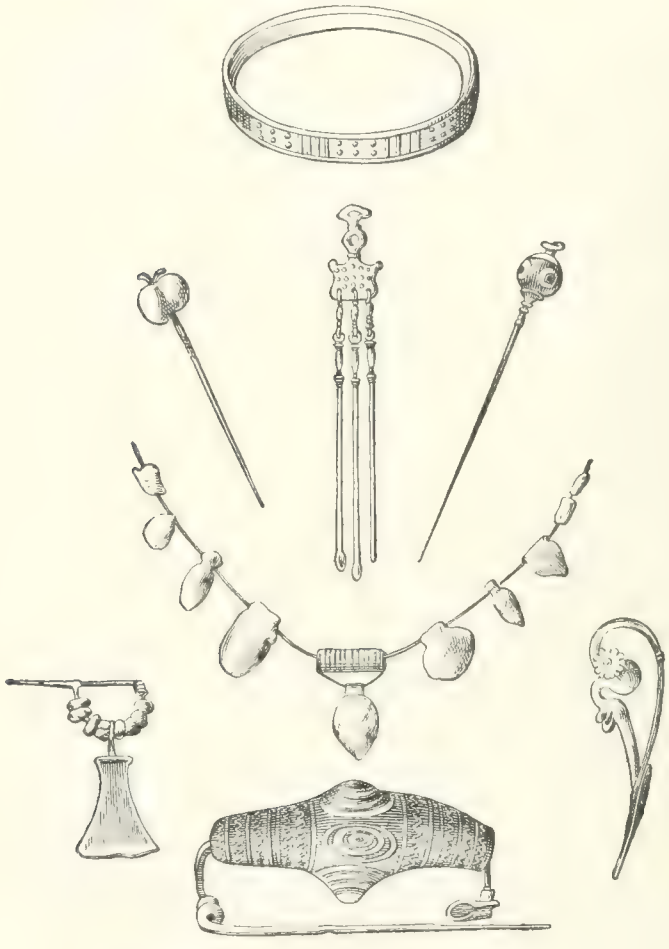
BRONZE ARMS AND TOOLS FOUND AT BOLOGNA.[3]

[1] This group in bronze, found at Arezzo, is thought to be connected with the legend of the birth of Tages.

[2] Livy, v. 17.

[3] In 1871 there were brought to light at the Chartreuse, near Bologna, 365 Etruscan tombs, and in the environs of Villanova numerous pre-historic objects, like

Each of these twelve tribes, represented by a capital which bore its name, possessed an extensive territory, and within it subject-towns were in dependence on the principal city, with inferior

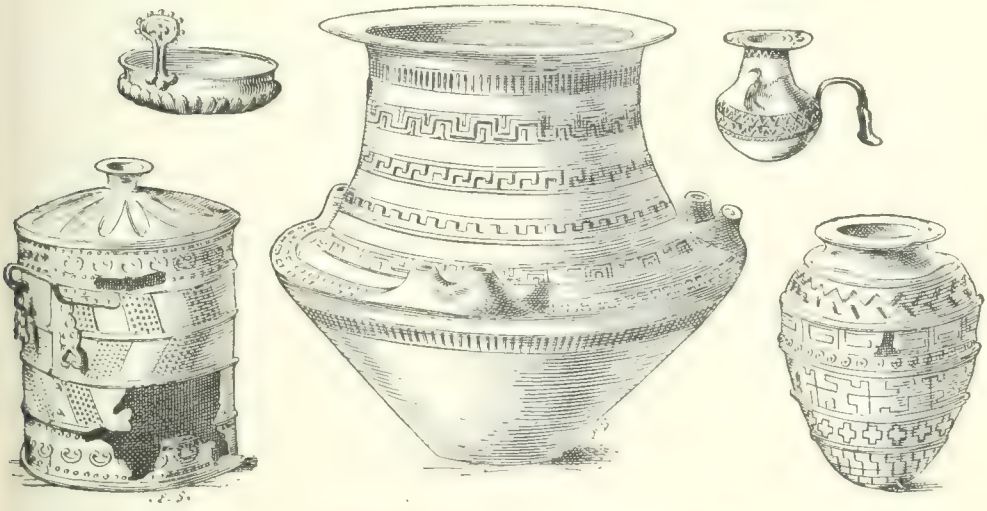


JEWELS FOUND AT BOLOGNA (SEE NOTE BELOW).

political rights; but in the capital itself the ruling power was the order of the Lucumons, the true patricians, who possessed, by

those of the lake-cities of Switzerland. In 1877 a single search at Bologna led to the discovery of an amphora 4½ feet high and 4 feet broad, buried doubtless at the moment of an invasion, and containing 14,000 bronze objects, utensils, arms, and ornaments. These bronzes were then precious and very expensive objects, spread through Italy and into the Transalpine countries by a commerce which was at once timorous and daring (*Rev. arch.* of June, 1877). Count Gozzadini places these bronzes as far back as the tenth century B. C.

hereditary right, power, religion, and learning. In some cases they governed the city in turn as annual magistrates, in others one of them governed as king,[1] but with a power limited by the privileges of that sacerdotal aristocracy which had united religion, agriculture, and the state by indissoluble bonds. The nymph Bygoïs had revealed to them the secrets of the augur's art, and the dwarf Tages the precepts of human wisdom with the science of the Aruspices. One day when a peasant was driving his plough in the fields of Tarquinii, a hideous dwarf, with the face of a child under his white



BRONZE VASES FOUND AT BOLOGNA.

hair, Tages, came out of a furrow. All Etruria flocked thither. The dwarf spoke for a long time; the Etruscans collected his words, and the books of Tages, the basis of Etruscan discipline,[2] were for Etruria what the laws of Manu had been for India, and the Pentateuch for the Hebrews.

The common people, brought up by its superstitious fears to respect the great and to submit to the laws which they had dictated, did not dispute their dominion; and this docile obedience rendering violence superfluous, the aristocracy and the people were not separated by that implacable hatred which rends states asunder. Like the subjects of Venice, still so faithful, even in the last century,

[1] "Taedio annuae ambitionis regem creavere." (Livy, v. i.)

[2] Cic., *de Div.*, ii. 23.

to the nobility of the Golden Book, the people fought for the maintenance of a social order wherein it held only the last place. But when the fortune of Etruria fell, the authority of the Lucumons was humbled. At Veii, at the commencement of the ten years' war, and at Arezzo, a century later, the plebeians dared to look their masters in the face and demand a reckoning.

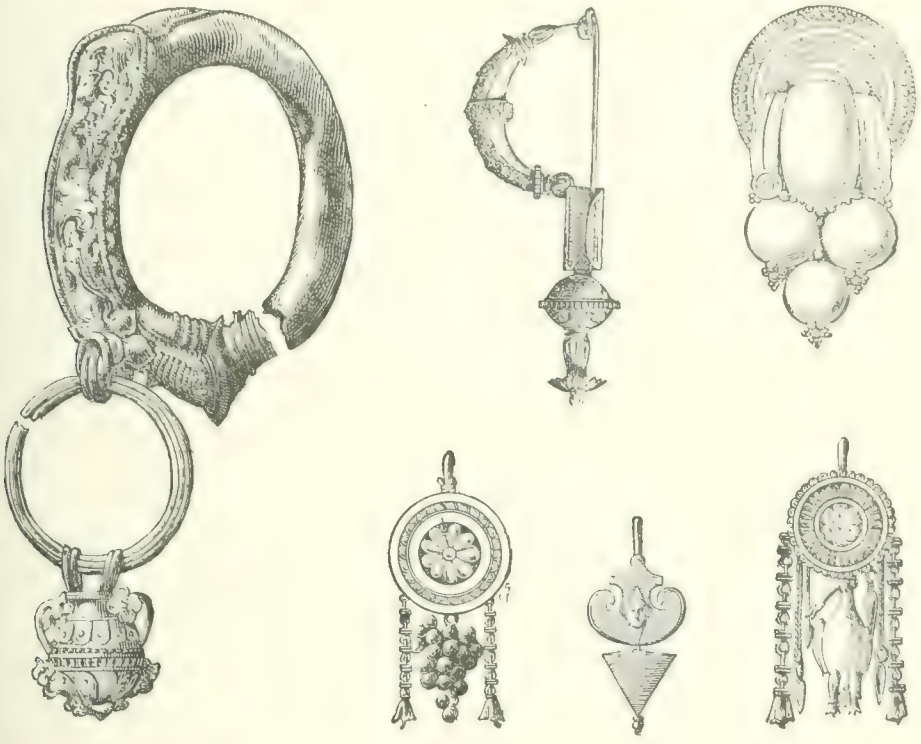


BRONZE JEWELS.[1]

The other Italian peoples lived scattered in straggling villages (*vicatim*). The Etruscans always had their towns walled, and generally placed on high hills, like so many fortresses dominating the country. Warriors, husbandmen, and merchants, they fought, drained the marshes, and dug harbors. India and Egypt, believing themselves eternal, spent centuries on majestic but idle monuments. Greece covered her promontories with temples, her roads with statues,

[1] For the description of these objects, see *Annales du Bull. archéol.* 1874, vol. xlvi. p. 249, *seq.*, and in the *Atlas*, vol. x. pl. x. *seq.*

the streets and open spaces of her towns with porticos. Here it was the disinterested genius for the arts, there a profoundly re-



ETRUSCAN JEWELS AND EARRINGS.[1]

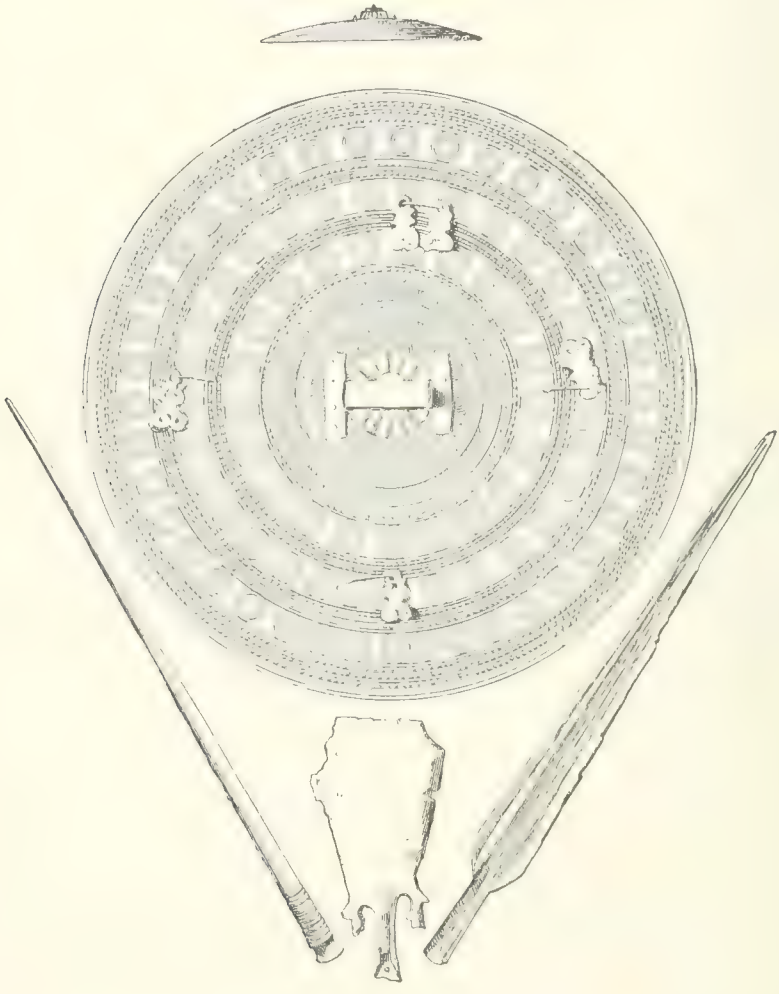
ligious sentiment and the hope of an endless existence. But Etruria knew that she and her gods must die; and anxious to live and



enjoy life before that anticipated end, she lavished time and men only on useful works, making roads, opening canals, turning aside rivers, surrounding towns with impregnable walls.

[1] These jewels are taken from Noël des Vergers' *Atlas*.

In Upper Italy, Mantua thus rose in the middle of a lake on the Mincio — a position to this day the strongest in the peninsula. Its metropolis, Felsina (Bologna), on the Reno, claims to have founded Perugia[1] also, and Pliny calls it the capital of Circumpa-



BRONZE ARMS.[2]

dane Etruria. Melpum, on the Adda, was able to stand against the Gauls for two centuries; and Adria, between the Po and the Adige, was surrounded by canals which, connecting the seven lakes of the Po, called the seven seas, rendered the delta of the river

[1] *Silius Ital.*, viii. 600.

[2] Bronze buckler and arms found in a tomb called that of the warrior at Corneto (Tarquinii); see *Atlas* of the *Bull. de l'Inst. archéol.*, vol. x. pl. x.

healthy. The waters, confined or let off, prepared the fertile lands for agriculture. Towns multiplied there; and from Piedmont to the Adige there are found Etruscan inscriptions, bronzes, painted vases, etc., relics of the rule of an industrious people.

In Tuscany the Valley of the Arno and that of the Chiana were drained, the Maremma made healthy, and six of the twelve capitals built upon that coast, now uninhabitable. While the towns carved marble, cast iron[1] and bronze, modelled clay into elegant vases, sculptured innumerable bas-reliefs, chased rich armor and precious jewels, and worked up linen for the priests, wool for the people, hemp for cordage, and wood for ships, a skilled agriculture — closely bound up with religion and an equitable division of land, which gave to each citizen his farm[2] — enriched the land, and covered it with a healthy population. Thus was realized that problem which antiquity was so seldom able to solve, — large towns in the midst of a fertile country, industry and agriculture, wealth and strength: *sic fortis Etruria crevit.*[3]

Meanwhile, from the numerous parts of the coast, from Luna, the town of the Marble Walls;[4] from Pisa, which was then nearer the sea than now; from Telamon, once a vast harbor, now only a swamp; from Graviscae; from Populonia; from Cosa; from Pyrgi; from the two Adrias;[5] from Herculaneum; from Pompeii, there sailed vessels destined for commerce, or cruising from the Pillars of Hercules to the coasts of Asia Minor and Egypt. More hardy adventurers went to Gaul to seek the tin of the Islands of the Cassiterides, necessary in the manufacture of bronze; farther still, to the shores of the Baltic, to seek the yellow amber, of which the women made their ornaments, and which was said by the Greeks to be formed of the tears of the daughters of the Sun weeping the death of Phaëthon. Silver coins of Populonia found in the Duchy of Posen show the route followed by the Etruscan

[1] The excellent ore of the Isle of Elba was brought to Populonia, where large foundries were established; the isle is only separated from the continent by a channel 10 kilom. wide (6 miles). [The mines are still worked, and give a good return. — *Ed.*]

[2] "Terra, culturae causa, particulatim hominibus attributa" (Varro, *ap.* Philarg. in *Georg.* ii. 169).

[3] Vergil, *Georg.* ii. 523.

[4] Near Carrara, *the Quarry*, where there is a mountain of white marble.

[5] The most famous between the Po and the Adige still bears the same name, but is more than 14 miles from the sea; the other, Atri, in Picenum, is 5 miles from the Adriatic.

merchants across the European continent. Carthage closed against them the Straits of Gades, beyond which they were desirous of leading a colony to a large island of the Atlantic, which she had just discovered:[1] but she gave up to them the Tyrrhenian Sea. Every strange vessel which they met westward of Italy was treated as a prize, unless some convention protected it.[2] When the Phocaeans came, in 536 B.C., to seek another country in these seas, the Etruscans united with the Carthaginians against those Greeks, whom the two nations met and fought everywhere.



COINS OF POPULONIA WITH A GORGON'S HEAD. REVERSE SMOOTH.[3]

But this union could not last. The Carthaginians, who for their commerce with Gaul and Spain needed business settlements in Corsica and Sardinia, established themselves in those two islands in spite of treaties. Thence sprang up violent animosities, and an anxiety on the part of the Carthaginians to ally themselves with the Romans.[4] The hatred of Carthage was dangerous; yet less so than the rivalry of the Greeks, who occupied the most important commercial positions in Sicily, in Southern Italy, and as far as the centre of Campania, and who, through Cumae, menaced the Etruscan colony on the borders of the Volturno. As early as the middle of the sixth century some Cnidians established themselves in the Lipari Islands, whence they harassed the whole of the Tuscan commerce. Being attacked by a numerous fleet, they gained the victory, and in the joy of this unhoped-for triumph,

[1] Diod. v. 20. *Ναυκτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἰσχύσαντες καὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους θαλαττοκρατήσαντες.*

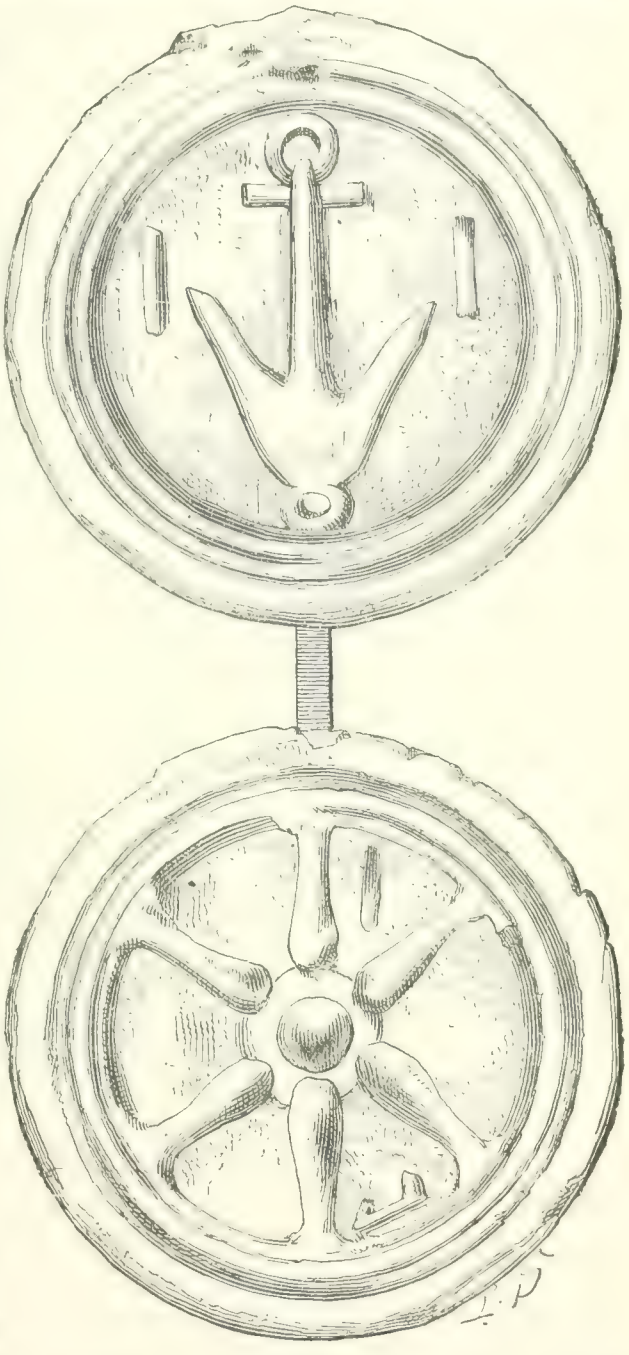
[2] Aristotle, *Pol.* iii. 6.

[3] These medals give a full-face representation of the Etruscan Gorgon, which is seen on so great a number of vases and terra-cottas; but she no longer has the hideous head which the ancient monuments of Etruria gave her. The Greeks had the Gorgon too; but they disliked ugliness. When they had made her terrible, they made her beautiful; and Lucian ends by saying that it was by her beauty she exercised her fatal power of changing those who looked upon her to stone. [Lionardo's famous Medusa suggests the same idea. — *Ed.*]

[4] Shown by treaties of 509, 348, and 279 B.C.

they dedicated as many statues at Delphi as they had taken vessels.[1] Rhodes, too, showed among its trophies the iron-bound beaks of the Tyrrhenian vessels, and the tyrant of Rhegium, Anaxilaos, drove them from the Straits of Sicily by fortifying the entrance.[2] The Etruscans, therefore, sided with Athens against Syracuse. Hiero made them pay dearly for this alliance. In conjunction with Cumae, Syracuse inflicted on the Etruscans a defeat which marked the decline of their maritime power (474), and of which Pindar sung: —

"Son of Saturn, I conjure thee, cause the Phoenician and the soldier of Tyrrhenia to remain at their own hearths, taught



BRONZE COIN ATTRIBUTED TO THE ETRUSCO-UMBRIAN TOWN OF CAMERS.[3]

[1] Pausanias, x. 12 and 16. Thucyd., iii. 88.

[2] Strabo, VI. i. 5.

[3] This coin, with the sign of the wheel and the anchor, is a *dupondius*, or piece worth two asses, which are marked on the two sides of the anchor. Coins of even ten asses were made; but all these bronze multiples of the monetary unit are rare.

by the affront that their fleet received before Cumae, and by the evils that the lord of Syracuse wrought upon them, when victorious he cast all their brilliant youth headlong from the heights of the swift poops into the waves, and drew Greece from the yoke of slavery." Hiero made an offering to Zeus of Olympia of the



A LUCUMON'S HELMET.[1]

helmet of one of the Lucumons killed in this battle, with this inscription, which he had caused to be engraved on it: "Hiero, son of Deinomenes, and the Syracusans [have consecrated] to Zeus the Tyrrhenian [arms] from Cumae."[2]

[1] [This helmet was found in 1817 in the bed of the Alpheus, and is now in the British Museum.]

[2] Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 136, *seq.*: cf. plate above.

From all quarters enemies then rose up against the Etruscans. Threatened on the north by the Gauls, in the centre by Rome, and on the south by the Greeks and Samnites, they lost Lombardy, the left bank of the Tiber, and Campania, where the Samnites made themselves masters of Volturnum, slaying all the inhabitants in one night. At the end of the fifth century B. C. they retained only Tuscany. Moreover, divisions prevailed amongst them; in the midst of the public misfortune the league had been dissolved. Veii, attacked by the Romans, was left to herself, just as Clusium was abandoned when threatened by the Gauls. Such selfishness brought its own punishment. Veii succumbed, Caere became a Roman municipality, and Sutrium and Nepeta were occupied by Latin colonies. These disasters taught them no lesson, and Etruria viewed with indifference the earlier efforts of the Samnites. At last, however, she saw that it was a question of the liberty of Italy, and she roused herself fully. But she was crushed at Lake Vadimo; a second defeat completed the work. This was the last blood shed for the cause of independence. For some time longer the Etruscans, under the name of Italian allies, might think themselves free; but little by little the hand of Rome pressed more heavily on them, and at the end of a century, without any noticeable change, Etruria found herself a province of the Empire.

Calm under the yoke, and sadly resigned to a fate which had been long predicted,[1] this nation made no effort to strive against its destiny. They tried to forget, in luxury and the love of art, the loss of their liberty; and preserving amid their sensual pleasures the ever-present idea of death, they continued to decorate their tombs with paintings, and to bury in them thousands of objects, which in workmanship and material indicate extreme opulence. Etruria, in fact, was still rich; it will be seen what its towns gave to Scipio after sixteen years of the severest warfare.

[1] In the midst of the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, the Tuscan soothsayers declared that the great day of Etruria was drawing to a close. According to the calculations of their astronomical theology, the actual world would only last eight great days, or eight times 1,100 years, and one of these days of the world was accorded to each great people (Varr. *ap. Censor*, 17). Cicero, in the *Dream of Scipio*, also believes in the periodic renewal of the world: "Eluviones exustionesque terrarum quas accidere tempore certo necesse est" (*de Rep.* vi. 21). Virgil has clothed this grand idea with his magnificent poetry: "Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum," etc. (*Ecl.* iv. 50).

But the economical revolution which followed the great wars of Rome reacted on the provinces. As in Latium and Campania, the slave took by slow degrees the place of the free man, the shepherd that of the husbandman, and small properties were lost in great domains. When Tiberius Gracchus traversed Etruria, on his return from Numantia, he was alarmed at its depopulation. Sylla completed its ruin by abandoning it to his soldiers as the price of the civil war; the Triumvirs gave it another visitation. Thenceforward Etruria never recovered. Her social organization had perished; her language, too, was gone. From so much glory, art, and learning, one thing only survived; up to the last days of the ancient world the Tuscan augur retained his fame with the country people. None could better read signs in the entrails of victims, in the lightning flashes, or in ordinary phenomena.[1] It was a vain science, which rested on the enervating dogma of fatalism, and which infected the nation with a deathlike torpor.

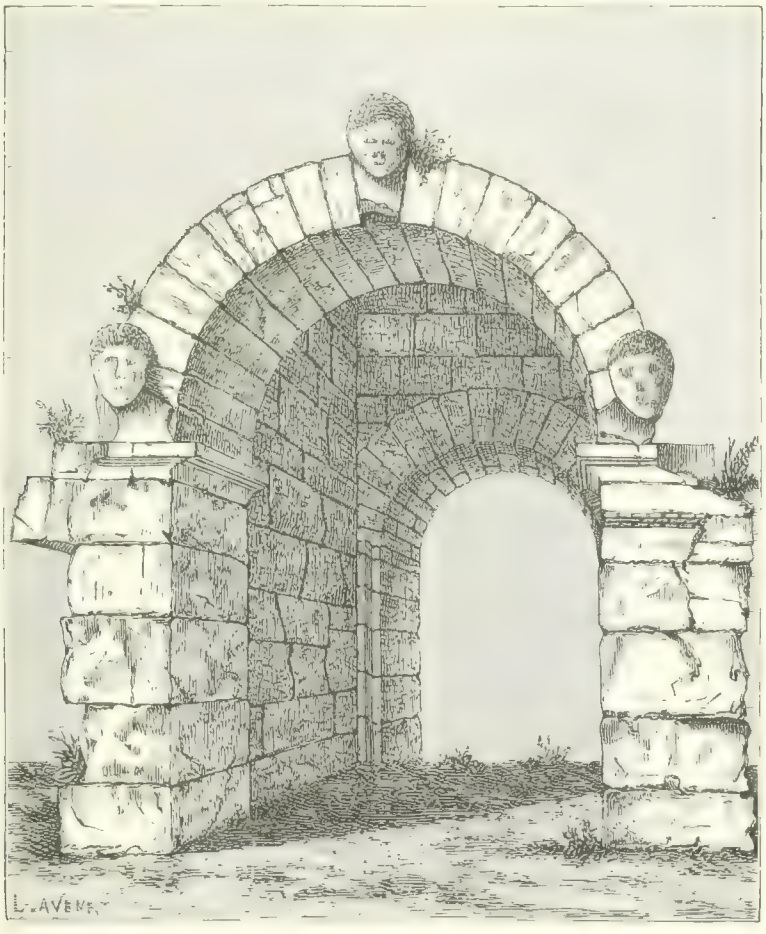
The Etrurians played a considerable part, however, in the civilization of Italy, — not by their ideas, for they added nothing to human thought; nor by art, since as regards ideal work, theirs has little originality; but by their utilitarian conception of life, by their industry, and by the influence which they exercised upon Rome.

Livy calls the Etruscans the most religious of nations, the one which excelled in the practice of established ceremonies; the Fathers of the Church looked upon Etruria as the mother of superstitions. We shall see that she deserved this report. Their augurs' doctrine was famous among the ancients. They believed that the great events of the world were announced by signs; and they were right in believing it, if only, instead of observing the phenomena of physical nature, they had studied those of the moral order, — since the best policy is that which discovers the signs of the times. But the augur's art was only a collection of puerile rules, which held the mind in bondage, and made first them, and then the Romans, the greatest formalists in the world.

If we except the Greeks settled on the shores of the gulfs of Naples and Tarentum, they were the most civilized of the Italian

[1] Cicero, *de Divin.* ii. 12, 18. *Exta, fulgura,* et *ostenta* were the three parts of the science of divination.

nations. Their artisans were skilful, their nobles loved pomp in their ceremonies, and magnificence in their dress; and they gave Rome these tastes, together with their horse-races and athletic combats. They gave them, too, their massive architecture, which was a clumsy imitation of the Doric order. The temple of Jupiter



GATE OF VOLATERRA.

on the Capitol derived from them that flattened look which suited so well the dull Roman imagination, but so ill the God of the lofty heavens.[1] The gate of Volaterra and the Cloaca Maxima prove that they knew how to construct arches and vaults, which

[1] [This was mainly the result of the wide separation of the pillars, which give the Etruscan style a feeble and sprawling look, as compared with the Greek. The effect of widening these inter-columnar spaces is very marked. — *Ed.*]

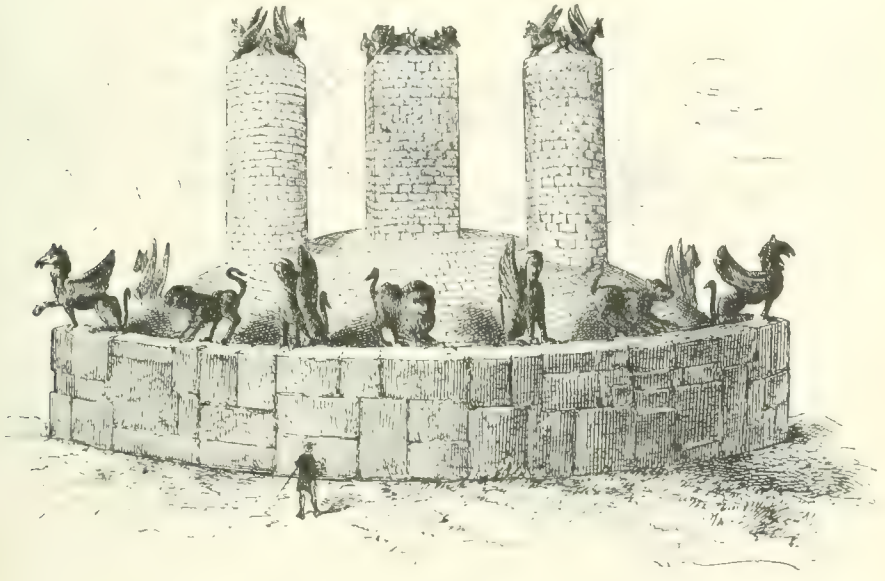
the Greeks of the grand epoch had forgotten [or neglected]. The rude ogive of some Cyclopean gate had doubtless inspired them with the idea, and architecture was endowed by them with a new and precious future. They do not appear to have turned it to account for majestic constructions, as did the Romans of the Empire; but they employed the vault in their canals and tunnels to carry off the water and render the country healthy.

The senators of Rome, who lodged their gods in the Etruscan manner, lodged themselves like the Lucumons of Veii or Tarquinii: the *atrium*, which was the characteristic feature of patrician villas, is borrowed from the Etruscans; and from the Roman *atrium* came the *patio* of the Spaniards or Moors, and the Catholic cloister.[1] But whilst the Romans placed their tombs on the surface of the soil, as we do, the Etruscans dug funereal chambers underground, or in the rocky sides of their hills. Some of these, as, for instance, in the valley of Castel d'Asso, have a singular likeness to those which are seen at Thebes in Egypt. Sometimes they raised strange structures over the excavation which contained their dead, of which the fabulous tomb of Porsenna would be the most complete representation, if the description which the ancients have left us could be reduced to the conditions of probability.

Varro, if Pliny has copied him accurately, had made himself the echo of vague memories which tradition had preserved and embellished in its own fashion. "Porsenna," says he, "was buried beneath the town of Clusium, in the place where he had caused a square monument of hewn stone to be built. Each face is 300 feet long and 50 feet high. The base, which is square, enclosed an inextricable labyrinth. If any one entered it without a ball of thread, he could not regain the outlet. Above this square are five pyramids, four at the angles and one in the middle, each 75 feet broad at the base, and 150 feet high; so exactly equal that with their summits they all bear a globe of brass and a kind of cap, from which bells are suspended by chains, which when moved by the wind, emit a prolonged sound, such as was heard at Dodona. Above the globe are four pyramids, each 100 feet

[1] [More probably this method of house-building was common to all the Aryans of Southern Europe, certainly to the Homeric Greeks, as well as the Italians. It is the form now adopted all through the Mediterranean countries. — *Ed.*]

high. Above these last-mentioned pyramids, and on a single platform, were five pyramids, whose height Varro was ashamed to note. This height, according to Etruscan fables, was the same as that of the whole monument."[1] It has been attempted to explain this impossible construction by saying that the pyramids were not placed upon one another, but upon retreating surfaces.[2] This legend was, however, only half fabulous. Even at Chiusi, there have been discovered sepulchral chambers, forming a sort of labyrinth, through the narrow passages of which it is difficult to



THE CUCUMELLA.

make one's way, and the *Cucumella* of Vulci leads to the supposition that the glorious king of Clusium had a sumptuous tomb.

The Cucumella, situated in a plain, now an uninhabitable waste, is a *tumulus*, or conical mound of earth, from 45 to 50 feet high, probably higher in ancient times, and 650 feet in circumference. Though it has been searched several times, this tumulus has not given up its secret. Tombs have been met with, it is true, in the excavations; but only the obscure dead had their last abode there, and, like faithful servants, guarded the approaches to the place

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 19.

[2] Quatremère de Quincy, *Recueil de Dissert. arch.*, 1836.

where their master reposed. The Lucumo and his kin were further in, in a central crypt, the access to which had been shut by a wall of such thickness that the workmen could not break through it. All efforts made to discover the entrance to this singular monument were useless: the pyramids of Egypt have not defended their sepulchral chambers so well. In the cuttings made round the outer wall were found animals in basalt, winged sphinxes, lions standing or couched, watching over this palace of the dead to drive away the audacious visitor who should attempt to pass the gate. On the summit were still seen the bases of partially crumbled



BRONZE VESSELS.[1]

towers. With the help of these remains it was possible to restore this mysterious tomb with some appearance of probability.[2] The edifice is utterly devoid of grace. But purely Etruscan art had not that gift which Greece received from Minerva; and strange as this construction appears, it is not more so than the *tumulus* of the Lydian king, Alyattes, on the banks of the Hermus.[3]

[1] For the description of these objects, see *Annales du Bull. arch.* for 1874, vol. xlvi. p. 249 *seq.*, and in the *Atlas*, vol. x. pl. 10–12.

[2] This restoration was made under the directions of the Prince of Canino, whose domain comprised the site of Vulci.

[3] Herodotus, i. 93; Stuart, *Mon. of Lydia*, p. 4; Texier, *Description de l'Asie min.* iii. 20.



VALLEY OF CASTEL D' ASSO.

To bury their chiefs under great *tumuli* was the custom of the Scythians, Germans, Celts, and Lydians, and consequently of the Pelasgians: it is therefore quite natural to find it again in Etruria, especially in the region where the Tyrrhenians had settled. The type of the Egyptian tombs shows itself, on the contrary, in the valley of Castel d' Asso, five miles from Viterbo.[1] The town has been destroyed, but its necropolis exists, excavated in the rock like the tombs of Medinet Abu. The façade is of the Doric order, — a general feature of Etruscan architecture, — and the gates, narrowing at the top, the decorations in relief, and the mouldings, recall the monuments on the banks of the Nile. Soana and Norchia, too, have their valley of tombs; those of Castel d' Asso were still unknown in 1808. In former days an immense nation moved in those solitudes, wherein the traveller dare no longer venture, as soon as he feels the close and deadly effluvia of the spring time in the Maremma.



BLACK VASES OF CLUSIUM (CHIUSI).[2]

The Etruscan excavations have yielded us an innumerable quantity of bronzes, terra-cottas, jewelry, and domestic utensils, all of excellent workmanship. Their *toreutic* was renowned even in Athens; the chasings, candelabras, mirrors of engraved bronze, gold cups and jewels from the land of the Tyrrhenians were sought for everywhere; and

[1] Castel d' Asso corresponds to the village of Axia, *Castellum Axiae*, which was situated "in agro Tarquiniensi" (Cic. *pro Caec.*, 20). See the description which Dennis gives of it, *Etruria*, i. 229–242; also the *Bull. arch.* for 1863, pp. 18–86. The cut is taken from the *Atlas* of the *Bulletin*, vol. i. pl. 60.

[2] Taken from Noël des Vergers' *Atlas*, pls. xvii., xviii., and xix; see the explanation of these cuts on pp. 12–14 of the same work.

when, some years ago, the Campana Museum brought these marvels to our knowledge, the modern goldsmith was obliged to conform for a time to the Etruscan fashion.

Their figures have the rigidity of Egyptian statuary: the style had not reached even that of Aegina. Yet they furnished Italy with many bronze and terra-cotta statues of large dimensions. The Romans, who were niggardly even with their gods, thought that terra-cotta statues were a sufficient decoration for their temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and they placed some of them upon the pediment.[1] They provided themselves yet more cheaply with statues of bronze, when they carried off two thousand at the sack of Volsinii.



BLACK VASE OF CLUSIUM.[2]

The ancients, who only learned very late to make wooden casks, were the best potters in the world: our museums contain more than fifteen thousand antique vases. The red pottery of Arezzo and the black pottery of Chiusi are purely Etruscan. The form is sometimes odd, but often very elegant. The ornaments in relief which decorate them, the fantastic animals seen upon them — sphinxes, winged horses, griffins, and sirens — recall subjects familiar to Oriental artists, and lead us to the conclusion already propounded on the diverse sources of Etruscan civilization. Some of these vases might even be taken for Egyptian *canopes*, those urns of which the cover is formed by a man's head. Among the specimens which we give is a ewer in the shape of a fish; the Campana Museum has another in the form of a bird. The learned are agreed to consider these black vases as very ancient, and Juvenal asserted that good King Numa had no others —

> "... quis
> Simpuvium ridere Numae, nigrumque catinum ...
> Ausus erat?"[3]

As for the painted vases, they are copied from Greek vases, or

[1] [But it is not unlikely that the same fashion existed in Greece before they had learned to carve in deep relief or set up marble figures in the pediment itself. — *Ed.*]

[2] Taken from Noël des Vergers' *Atlas*, pls. xvii., xviii., and xix; see the explanation of these cuts on pp. 12–14 of the same work.

[3] *Sat.*, vi. 343.

else they were imported in the active commerce which Italy carried on with all the countries bordering on the eastern part of the Mediterranean — Egypt, Phœnicia, Cyprus, Rhodes, and, above all, both European and Asiatic Greece. The subjects most frequently represented on these vases are borrowed from the Epic cycle, from the mythology and heroic traditions of Hellas. Whenever they reproduce myths peculiar to Etruria, some reminiscence or imitation of the foreigner appears. Some vases of gilt bronze which were found at Volsinii have figures which remind us of the most beautiful coins of Syracuse.

We ought to give the Etruscans credit for having apprenticed themselves to those who, in the domain of art, have been the masters of the whole world, and for having preserved to us some of their masterpieces.

The most admirable of the antique vases come from the excavations at Chiusi;[1] and since an inhabitant of Vulci esteemed a Panathenaic vase precious enough to be buried with him, let us put in evidence what Etruria loved as well as what she manufactured.

[1] The François Vase at Florence, of which a representation will be found in the *Atlas* of the *Institut archéolog.*, vol. iv. pl. liv., lv., lvii.

IV.

OSCANS AND SABELLIANS.

IN their central parts, eastward of Rome and Latium, the Apennines have their highest peaks, their wildest valleys. There the Gran Sasso d' Italia, the Velino, the Majella, the Sibilla, and the Great Terminillo raise their snow-capped heads above all the Apennine chain, and from their summits afford a view of both the seas which wash the shores of Italy.[1] But their sides are not gently sloped; it seems as if they lacked space to extend themselves. Their lines meet and break each other; the valleys deepen into dark chasms, where the sun never reaches; the passes are narrow gorges; the watercourses torrents. Everywhere there is the image of chaos. "It is hell!" say the peasants.[2] In all ages this place has been the refuge of brave and intractable populations, and the most ancient traditions place there the abode of the Oscans and Sabellians, — the true Italian race.

Long driven back by foreign colonists, and, as it were, lost in the depths of the most sombre forests of the Apennines, these people at last claimed their share of the Italian sun. Whence did they originally come? It is not known; but historic probabilities, strengthened by the affinity of language and religion,[3] point to a common origin. The difference of the countries wherein they definitely settled down — the Sabellians in the mountains; the Oscans in the plain — established between them differences of customs and perpetual hostilities, which obscured their original kinship. Of these two sister nations, the one, profiting by the feebleness of the Siculi, must have descended, under the identical names of Oscans, Opici, Ausoni, and Aurunci, into the plains of

[1] [This wild Alpine country repeats itself twice again as you go southward; once along the boundaries of Apulia, where the Abruzzi, from Potenza down to the Monte Pollino, form a splendid chain, and again in Calabria, where the Sila Mountains embrace a large district of inaccessible Alpine country. — *Ed.*]

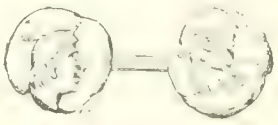
[2] They call one of these valleys *Inferno di S. Columba.*

[3] The Samnites spoke Oscan, the language of the Campanians, and the Atellan farces written in that language were understood at Rome. (Strabo, V. iii. 6.)

Latium and Campania, that ancient *land of the Opici*, which they had never, perhaps, entirely abandoned; the other must have in later times peopled with its colonies the summits of the Apennines and part of the Adriatic coasts: the latter led, in their warlike temper, by the animals sacred to Mars; the former by Janus and Saturn, who taught them agriculture, and of whom they made gods of the sun and the earth, — the sun which fertilizes, and the earth which produces.

In the time of their power the Siculi had possessed the land of the Opici; but the miseries which the invasion had inflicted on the Pelasgians of the banks of the Po gradually spread over the whole race, and a lively reaction brought the indigenous inhabitants out of their Apennine catacombs, and put them in possession of the plains which the Siculi had occupied. The Casci or Aborigines, that is to say, the oldest inhabitants of the land, began a movement which, though several times arrested by the conquests of the Etruscans, Gauls, and Greeks, finally resumed its course with Rome, and ended by substituting the indigenous race for all these foreign nations.

The latter, descending from the high land between Amiternum and Reate, established themselves south of the Tiber, where, by their union with the Umbrians, the Ausonians, and the Siculi, who remained in the country, was formed the nation of the *Prisci Latini*,[1] which occupied, between Tibur and the sea (33 miles), and from the Tiber to beyond the Alban Mount (19 miles), thirty villages, all independent.[3] In the first rank stood Alba Longa, which took the title of the Metropolis of Latium,[4] — a title which Rome, founded three hundred



ALBA LONGA.[2]

[1] Dionys., *Ant. Rom.* i. 14; Nonius, xii. 3; Cic., *Tusc.* i. 12; Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* iv. 7; Fest. s. v.

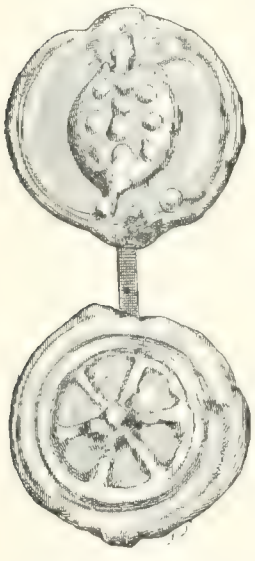
[2] On the obverse, a helmeted head of Mercury; on the reverse, a Pegasus. But this Pegasus is neither the winged horse of the Muses nor that of Aurora, the legends of which are of comparatively recent origin: he bears the thunder and lightning of Jupiter, or rather, he is the lightning itself, traversing the heavens at a bound (Hesiod., *Theog.* 281; Apollod. ii. 3, § 2 and 4, § 2; Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 785 and vi. 119). This coin, of very clumsy workmanship, is very old, and may be assigned to the third or fourth century of Rome.

[3] Strabo, V. iii. 2: *ὧν ἕνια κατὰ κώμας αὐτονομεῖσθαι συνεβαινεν ὑπ' οὐδενὶ κοινῷ φίλῳ τεταγμένα.*

[4] "Omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi." — Livy: i. 52.

years later, claimed to have inherited. A religious bond, in the lack of any other, united these nations, and common sacrifices gathered them on the Alban Mount, at Lavinium, the sanctuary of the mysterious Penates and the native gods.[1]

Thus the nation from which Rome sprang was itself only a mixture of different tribes and races. Elsewhere successive races, instead of blending, drive out or overlay each other, — one ruling, the other enslaved. With the Oscans and Sabellians there is, on the contrary, a fusion of victors and vanquished. Greek traditions, which were always so intelligent, have faithfully echoed this origin of the Latin people; and it was by intermarriages and peaceful unions that Evander, Aeneas, Tibur, and the companions of Ulysses established themselves, just as at a later period intermarriages unite Rome and the Sabines. By its local traditions, as well as by its own origin, Rome was prepared for that spirit of facile association which gives her a distinctive character among ancient polities, and which was the cause of her greatness.



COIN ATTRIBUTED TO THE RUTULIANS.[3]

In the eighth century the prosperity of the Latins was declining. The Etruscans had traversed their country, the Sabines had crossed the Anio, the Aequians and Volscians had invaded the plain and seized several Latin towns.[2] Alba herself, in tradition, seems feeble enough for a handful of men to have caused a revolution there. This weakness was of advantage to the growth of the Eternal City.

Ties of relationship and alliance united the Rutuli with the *Prisci Latini*. The Rutulian capital, Ardea,[4] was already enriched

[1] Janus, Saturn, Picus, Faunus, and Latinus were among these indigenous gods. Sacrifices were also offered in memory of Evander and of his mother, the prophetess Carmenta. One of the gates of Rome was called the Carmental.

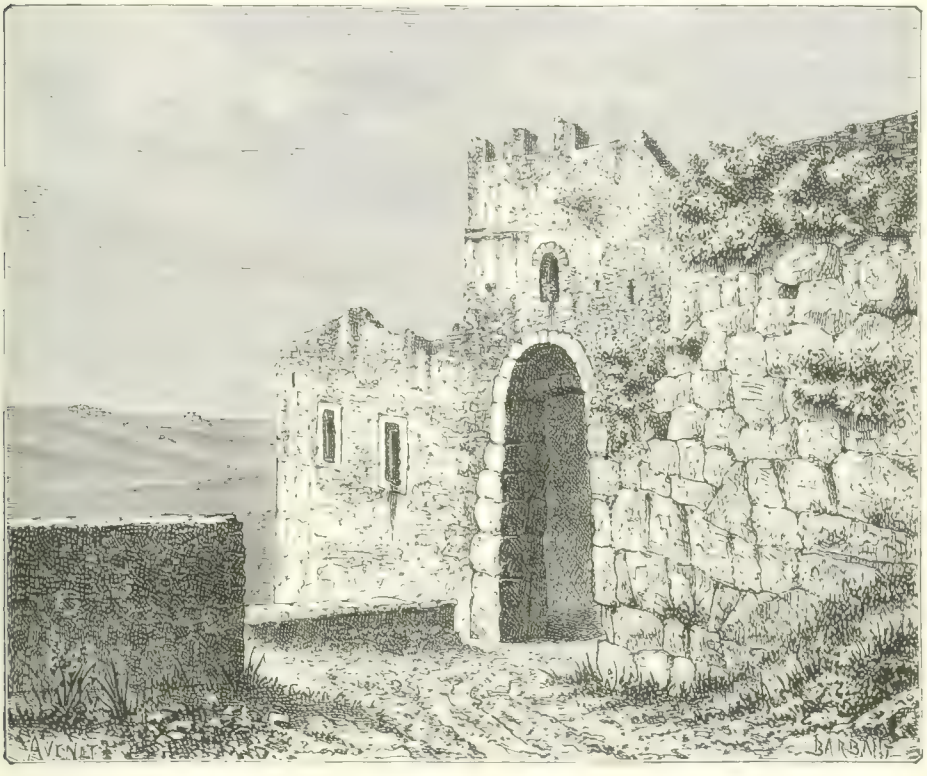
[2] In the first centuries of Rome, Latin towns are assigned in turn to the Aequians, Sabines, Latins, and Volscians.

[3] On the obverse, a tortoise with two o's, the mark of the sextans; on the reverse, a wheel, — *rota*, the root of the word *Rutuli*.

[4] "Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens ut in ea regione atque in ea aetate divitiis praepollens." — LIVY: i. 57.

by commerce and surrounded by high walls. Saguntum, in Spain, was said to be its colony.

Around this primitive Latium, which did not extend beyond the Numicius, and which nourished a stout population of husbandmen,[1] were settled the Aequians, Hernicans, Volscians, and Auruncans, all included by the Romans in the general term of Latin



WALL OF ALATRI.

people; further on, between the Liris and the Silarus, were the Ausonians.

The Aequians, a little nation of shepherds and hunters, insatiable plunderers,[2] had, instead of towns, only fortified villages, situated in inaccessible places. Quartered in the difficult region

"Et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen;
Sed fortuna fuit."—VERGIL: *Aeneid*, vii. 412.

Dionys. (*Ant. Rom.*, iv. 64) is still more expressive.

[1] "Fortissimi viri et milites strenuissimi exagricolis gignuntur."—PLINY: *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 5.

[2] "Convectare juvat praedas et vivere rapto."—VERGIL: *Aeneid*, vii. 749.

traversed by the upper Anio, they reached, by way of the mountains, as far as Algidus, a volcanic promontory, from which the Roman territory might be seen, and whose forests covered their march. Thence they suddenly poured into the plain, carrying off crops and herds; and before the people could take arms, they had disappeared. Faithful, however, to their plighted word, they had established the fetial right which the Romans had borrowed from them,[1] but which they seem no longer to have recognized at the time when, by their rapid incursions, they every year turned the attention of the people from their quarrels in the Forum. Notwithstanding their proximity to Rome, and two centuries and a half of wars, they were the last of the Italians to lay down arms.

Less given to war and plunder, because their country was



VOLSCIAN COIN.

richer, notwithstanding the rocks which covered it,[2] the Hernicans formed a confederation, the principal members of which were the cities of Ferentinum, Alatrium, and Anagnia.[3]

The imperishable walls of the two first-named towns, the linen books wherein Anagnia recorded her history, her reputation for wealth, the temples that Marcus Aurelius found there at every step, and the circus where the deputies of the whole league assembled, bear witness to their culture, their religious spirit, and their ancient might.[4] Placed between two nations of warlike temper, the Hernicans displayed a pacific spirit, and early associated

[1] Livy, i. 32.

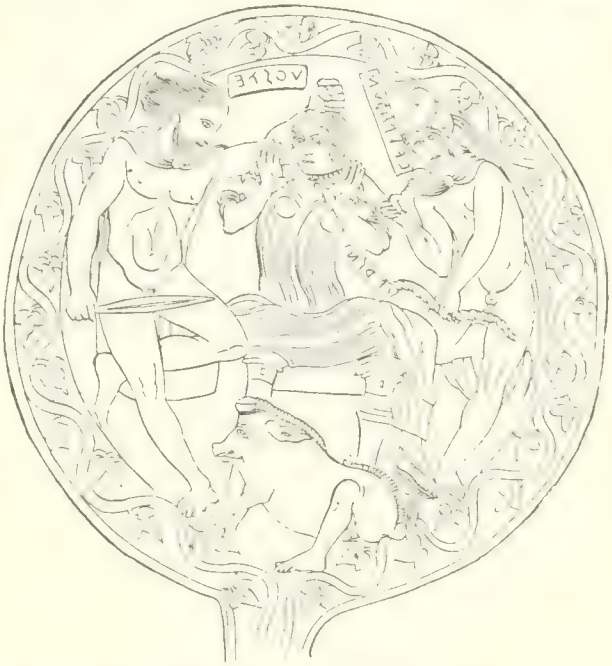
[2] "Saxosis in montibus" (Serv. in *Aen.* vii. 684); he takes them for Sabines.

[3] "Dives Anagnia" (Verg., *Aen.* vii. 684). Strabo (V. iii. 10) calls it illustrious (πόλις ἀξιόλογος).

[4] Ferentinum, on the Via Latina, between Anagnia and Frusino; Alatrium, a town of the same nation, is seven miles from the former.

themselves with the fortune of the Latins and Romans against the Aequians and Volscians.

The Volscians, who were more numerous, inhabited the country between the land of the Rutulians and the mountains which separate the upper valleys of the Liris and Sagrus. The Etruscans, who were for some time masters of a part of their country, had there executed great works for carrying off the water, as they had done in the valleys of the Arno, Chiana, and Po, and had brought under cultivation lands which yielded thirty and forty fold. These swamps, famous under the name of the Pontine Marshes, had been at first only a vast lagoon, separated from the sea, like that of Venice, by the long islands which afterward formed the coast from Astura to Circeii. They were bounded toward the south by the Island of Aea, which in later times was united to the continent under the name of the Promontory of Circeii.[2] The superstitious fears which always people deep forests and wave-beaten rocks with strange and threatening powers, placed the abode of Circe, the dread enchantress, on this promontory, as in Celtic tradition the nine virgins of the Island of Sein ruled the elements in the stormy seas of Armorica. This legend, which appears to be indigenous around the mountain, may be the remains



CIRCE, ULYSSES, ELPENOR.[1]

[1] This Etruscan mirror, taken from the *Etruskische Spiegel* of Gerhard (vol. iv. pl. cdiii.), was found at Tarquinii in 1863, and represents Ulysses, aided by Elpenor, forcing the enchantress to restore the human form to his companions, whom she had changed into swine. One of them still has a man's leg. The three names in Etruscan characters are: Cerca for Circe, Uthste for Ulysses, Felparun for Elpenor.

[2] Front., *Epist.* iv. 4.

of an ancient belief. Is not Circe, whom the Greeks connected with the ill-omened family of the King of Colchis, but who was said to be the daughter of the Sun, doubtless because in the morning, when the plain is still in shadow, her mountain is lighted by the first rays of the rising sun, — Circe, who changes forms, and compounds magic draughts of the herbs[1] her promontory still bears,[2] — may she not be some Pelasgian divinity, a goddess of medicine, like the Greek Aesculapius, who was also an offspring of the Sun, and who, fallen with the defeat of her nation, was degraded to a dread sorceress by the new comers?

The Volscians of the coast — with the Island of Pontia and the stretch of coast which they possessed; with the ports of Antium and Astura, and that of Terracina, which has a circumference of no less than nine miles;[3] with the lessons or example of the Etruscans, — could not fail to be skilful sailors; at all events they became formidable pirates. The whole Tyrrhenian Sea, as far as the lighthouse of Messina, was infested by their cruisers; and the injuries they inflicted on the Tarentine commerce nearly resulted in a war between the Romans and Alexander, the Molossian king of Epirus. Yet Rome had already conquered Antium and destroyed its fleet.

The Volscians of the interior were no less dreaded in the plains of Latium and Campania; and after two hundred years of war,[4] Rome only got rid of them by exterminating them. In the time of Pliny[5] thirty-three villages had already disappeared in the

[1] The *Crepis lucera* abounds there (Mic., i. 273); Strabo (V. iii. 6) was also aware that poisonous herbs grew there in great numbers; cf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 10, *seq.* The memory of the dread enchantress still lives there; and not long ago no peasant could have been found who would dare for any money to penetrate into the grotto said to be Circe's. (De Bonstetten, *Voyage sur le théâtre des six derniers livres de l'Énéide*, p. 73.)

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 85 (87); iii. 11 (9) thought, as indeed the appearance of the region proves, that the promontory of Circeii had been once an island, which some were inclined to recognize as the problematic Island of Aea of Homer (*Odyss.* x. 135).

[3] De Prony, "Mém. sur les marais Pontins." "Anxur . . . oppidum vetere fortuna opulentum." — Livy, iv. 59. Cf. Pliny, *ibid.* iii. 9.

[4] Livy, vi. 21. "Volscos velut sorte quadam prope in aeternum exercendo Romano militi datos."

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 9: "A Circeiis palus Pomptina est quem locum xxxiii urbium fuisse Mucianus ter consul prodidit." In the whole of ancient Latium he mentions fifty-five ruined towns.

Pomptinum, since the reign of Augustus a region of pestilence and desolation.[1]

Between the Volscian country and the River Liris, in a mountainous region where but two narrow roads gave passage from Latium into Campania, dwelt the Aurunci. Inheriting the name of the great Italian race, they seem to have possessed also its unusual stature, its threatening aspect, and its bold character.[2] Accordingly, it is at Formiae, on their coast, that tradition placed the abode of the giant Laestrygones.[3] But since historic ages this race has remained obscure; Livy names the Aurunci only to relate the pitiless war that Rome made upon them, and the destruction of three of their towns.

Southward from the Liris lay the country known to the Romans as Campania, — a mild and enervating region, where no form of government outlasted more than a few generations, and the ground itself, with its constant changes, seemed to share in the vicissitudes of human affairs. The Lucrine Lake, once so celebrated, afterward became a muddy swamp; and the Avernus, "the mouth of hell," changed into a pellucid lake. At Caserna a tomb has been found ninety feet under ground; and the beds of lava upon which Herculaneum and Pompeii were built, themselves conceal a stratum of productive soil and traces of ancient culture. "There," says Pliny, "in that land of Bacchus and Ceres, where two spring-times bloom, the Oscans and Greeks, the Umbrians, Etruscans, and Campanians, rivalled one another in luxury and effeminacy;" and Strabo, marvelling that so many nations have been by turns dominant and enslaved in this land, lays the blame on its soft sky and fertile soil, — whence, says Cicero, come all vices.[4]

The Oscans in Campania have been, since historic times, only a race subject to foreign masters and blended with them, — Greeks being established along the coast, Etruscans in the interior, and Samnites coming down from the Apennines. A few Ausonian tribes, such as the Sidicini of Teanum and the Aurunci of Cales, alone

[1] Livy, vi. 12: "Innumerabilem multitudinem liberorum capitum in eis fuisse locis, quae nunc, vix seminario exiguo militum relicto, servitia Romana ab solitudine vindicant."

[2] Dionys., *Ant. Rom.* vi. 32, and Livy, ii. 26.

[3] Homer, *Odyss.* x. 89, 134.

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 9: ". . . summum Liberi Patris cum Cerere certamen." Cf. Florus, i. 16; Strabo, V. iv. 9; Cicero, *de Lege Agrar.* i. 6, 7.

preserved their liberty in the mountains which separate the Volturnus from the Liris. In Apulia, on the other side of the peninsula, the main stock of the population was also of Ausonian origin, as is proved by names of towns in the interior, and by the prevalence of the Oscan language through a great part of Southern Italy.

The Sabines, from whom nearly all the Sabellian peoples are descended,[1] originally occupied the high region of the Upper Abruzzi around the head-waters of the Velino, the Fronti, and the Pescara,



WALL OF AURUNCA.[2]

a country where the gradual melting of the snows keeps the pasturage good long after the sun has scorched the plains below. Here they had a city, Amiternum, and hence they came down upon the territory of Reate, driving out the Casci, while by way of Mount Lucretilis they stretched across to the Tiber. On the north they crowded the Umbrians back beyond the Nera; making predatory excursions southwards, they occupied part of the left bank of the Anio,

[1] "Paterque Sabinus" (Verg., *Aen.* vii. 178).

[2] Taken from the *Ann. du Bull.*, vol. iv. 1839.

and in the eighth century they were, after the Etruscans, the most powerful people in the peninsula.[1]

The Sabines, shepherds and husbandmen, like all the Sabellians, lived in villages; and notwithstanding the large population, which brought under culture and peopled the land up to the summits of the most rugged mountains, they had scarce any towns but Amiternum and Reate. Cures, the gathering-place of all the nation, was only a large village.

They were the Swiss of Italy: their habits were severe and religious; they were temperate, courageous, and honest; they had the unostentatious but solid virtues of the mountaineer, and they remained in the eyes of Italy a living picture of ancient times.[2] History, which recognizes in them one of the principal elements of the Roman population, will not hesitate to refer to them the frugal and laborious life, the austere gravity, the respect for the gods, and the strictly constituted family which are found at Rome in the early centuries, and which were long preserved there.[3] They resemble the ancient Romans, too, in their contempt for mental culture, — in all their land not a single Sabine inscription has been found.

When in these arid mountains famine seemed imminent or some war was unsuccessful, they devoted to the gods, by a sacred spring-time (*ver sacrum*), everything which was born in March or April. Even children were offered in sacrifice. In later times the gods grew milder, only cattle were immolated or redeemed; and the children, when they reached the age of twenty, were conducted with veiled heads out of the territory, like those Scandinavian hordes, which, at fixed epochs, the law drove from the land in order to prevent famine. Oftentimes the god himself protected these young colonies, *sacranae aciei vel Mamertini*, and sent them divine guides. Thus of the animals sacred to Mars, a woodpecker (*picus*) led the Piceni; a wolf (*hirpus*) the Hirpini; and a wild bull the Samnites.[4]

[1] Livy, i. 30.

[2] ". . . Severissimorum hominum, Sabinorum" (Cic., *in Vat.* 15; *pro Lig.* 2). "Disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum" (Livy, i. 18).

[3] Verg., *Georg.* ii. 532; Servius in *Aen.* viii. 638: "Sabinorum mores populum Romanum secutum Cato dicit."

[4] Fest. s. v. "ver sacrum;" Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 18. During the Second Punic War the

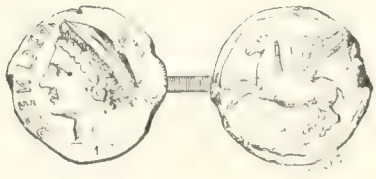
"From the Sabines," says Pliny,[1] "the Picentines are descended, by a sacred spring-time." But too many different races occupied this coast for an unmixed people to have resulted therefrom. In their fertile valleys the Picentines remained unaffected by all the Italian wars, and multiplied at leisure. Pliny asserts[2] that when they submitted to Rome, in 268, they were 360,000 in number. Among them were counted the Praetutians, who formed a distinct nation, settled in the high lands. By a singular chance, it was these poor mountaineers, scarce known to the historians of Rome, who gave their name to the centre of the peninsula, the Abruzzi.



COIN OF TEATE, CAPITAL OF THE MARRUCINI.[3]

The vast province commonly called by the name of the Samnium, and which includes all the mountains south of Picenum, and the Sabine land as far as Magna Graecia, was divided between two confederations, formed of what were held to be the bravest nations in Italy.

In the first league the Marsi and Peligni were most renowned for their courage. "Who shall triumph over the Marsi, or without the Marsi?"[4] said they. Next to the Etruscan aruspex there were no diviners more celebrated for their skill in reading signs, especially the flight of birds, than those of the Marsians. Among them we meet again with the *psylli* of Egypt and the physician-sorcerers of the natives of the New World, who



COIN OF THE FRENTANI.[5]

Romans made a similar vow, with the exception of the proscription of children (Livy, xxii. 9). Sabine traditions said, too, that Semo Sancus, also named Dius Fidius, the divine author of the Sabellian race, had substituted rites free from blood for human sacrifices (Dionysius, *Ant. Rom.* i. 38).

[1] *Hist. Nat.* iii. 13.

[2] Ibid.

[3] On the obverse, a head of Pallas, above, five o's, the sign of the quincunx; on the reverse, this same mark, a crescent, an owl standing on a capital, and the word TIATI.

[4] Appian, *Bellum civile*, i. 46. "Genus acre virum" (Verg., *Georg.* ii. 167). "Fortissimorum virorum, Marsorum et Paelignorum" (Cic., *in Vatin.* 15).

[5] A head of Mercury with the word FRENTREN in Oscan characters; on the reverse, Pegasus flying.

healed with the simples gathered in their mountains, and with their magic incantations, *uenire*.[1] One family, which never intermarried with the rest, had the gift of charming vipers, with which the country of the Marsians abounded, and of rendering their bites harmless.[2] In the time of Elagabalus the reputation of the Marsian sorcerers still remained: even to this day the jugglers who go to Rome and Naples to astonish the people by their tricks with serpents, whose poisonous fangs they have extracted, always come from what was once the Lake of Celano (*Fucinus*[3]). Now it is St. Dominic of Cullino who bestows this power; three thousand years ago it was a goddess held in great veneration in those same places, the enchantress Angitia, sister of Circe, or perhaps Medea herself, of the gloomy race of Aeetes. Names change, but superstition endures, when men remain under the influences of the same places and in the same state of ignorance.

The country of the Marsians and Pelignians, situated in the heart of the Apennines, was the coldest in the peninsula:[4] thus the flocks, which in summer left the scorched plains of Apulia, went then, as they do now, to feed in the cool valleys of the Pelignians, who moreover produced excellent wax and the finest of flax.[5] Their stronghold of Corfinium was chosen during the Social war to serve, under the significant name of *Italica*, as the capital of the Italians who had risen against Rome.

The other great Sabellian league consisted of the Samnite people, who had more brilliant destinies, great riches, a name dreaded as far as Sicily, as far even as Greece, but who paid for all this glory by fearful disasters. Being led, according to their legends, from the country of the Sabines to the mountains of Beneventum by the wild bull whose image is found on the coins of the Social war, the Samnites mingled with the Ausonian tribes,

[1] Cf. Hor., *Epod.* xvii. 29.

[2] "Spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat,
Mulcebatque iras et morsus arte leuabat."
VERGIL: *Aeneid*, vii. 754.

[3] Lake Fucinus, the area of which was 37,500 acres, and the depth 58 feet, was drained by Prince Torlonia between Aug. 9, 1862, and the end of June, 1875.

[4] The ancients had a proverbial saying, *Peligna frigora* and *Marsae niues*; now they say *freddo d' Abruzzo*.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xi. 14; xix. 2.

who remained in the Apennines, and spread from hill to hill as far as Apulia. While the Caudini and Hirpini[1] settled on the slopes of Mount Taburnus, the foot of which reached to a valley rendered famous by them under the name of the Caudine Forks, the Frentani established themselves near the upper sea, and irregular bands of them passed over the Silarus and formed on the further side the nation of the Lucanians, which early separated itself from the league. This was composed of four nations (*Caraceni*, *Pentri*, *Hirpini*, and *Caudini*), to whom belongs more particularly the glorious name of Samnites.



SAMNITE WARRIOR, AFTER A PAINTED VASE IN THE LOUVRE.

Their country, surrounded by the Sangro, Volturno, and Calore, is covered with rugged mountains (the Matese), which preserve the snow until May,[2] and of which the highest peak, Mount Miletto, rises to 6,500 feet. Thus the flocks found fresh pasturage and abundant springs among these high valleys during the scorching summer. These constituted the wealth of the country. Their produce sold in the Greek towns on the coast; the pay which they often received under the title of auxiliary troops; but, above all, the booty which they brought back from their raids into Magna Graecia, accumulated great wealth in the hands of these warlike shepherds. In the time of the war against Rome the abundance of bronze in Samnium was so great that the younger Papirius carried off more than two million pounds of it;[3] and his colleague Carvilius had made, with nothing but the armor taken from the Samnite foot-soldiers, a colossal statue of Jupiter, which he placed on the Capitol, and which could be seen from

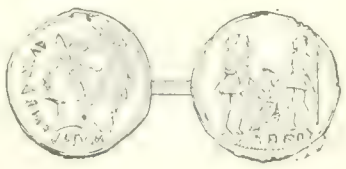
[1] Festus, s. v. *Hirpinos*: cf. Strabo, V. iv. 12; Serv. *in Aen.* xi. 173.

[2] Keppel-Craven, *Excursion in the Abruzzi*.

[3] Livy, x. 46.

the summit of the Alban Mount.[1] Like all warrior-nations, the Samnites exhibited their luxury in their armor; bright colors shone on their war-dress, gold and silver on their bucklers. Each soldier of the higher classes, arming at his own cost, was anxious to prove his valor by the splendor of his arms. And yet the wealth of the army does not imply the wealth of the people.

Calculating according to the numbers furnished by the historians of Rome, the population of Samnium has been rated at two million souls.[2] This result is an evident exaggeration, like the premises on which it rests. If the Samnites were not able to arm against Rome more than 80,000 foot soldiers and 8,000 cavalry, their population must have amounted at the most to 600,000 inhabitants. But it was sufficient for these stout soldiers, sometimes united under the supreme command of an *embratur* (imperator), to spread their raids and conquests all around their mountains. Their principal wealth consisted in their flocks; but for six or seven months the snow covered the pasture in the mountains, so that it was necessary to descend into the plains.[4] Hence came continual wars with neighboring nations.



MEDAL OF SAMNIUM.[3]

Though united in the same league, the four Samnite nations each formed under its *meddix tuticus* a distinct and sovereign society, which often neglected the general interest to follow out particular enterprises. These sons of Mars, whose ancestors religion and policy had exiled, remained faithful to their origin. They preferred to the bonds which give strength, the isolation which first gives liberty, but presently promotes slavery.

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 7 (18).

[2] Micali, *Storia*, etc. i. 287.

[3] Obverse, helmeted, the head of Mars, with the words *Mutii embratur*, in Oscan characters; reverse, two chiefs taking oath over a pig, which a kneeling soldier holds, and the legend C.PAAPI for Papius, in Oscan characters. One C. Papius Mutilus was *embratur* of the Samnites in the Social War, 90—89 B. C.

[4] We know that the tribute levied on the cattle which passed from the plains to the mountains in summer and back again in winter was the principal revenue of the kingdom of Naples, in later times nearly £800,000 per annum. The kings of Arragon had forced the tenants of the crown in Apulia to let the flocks of the Abruzzi pasture in their fields in winter. In our own days the landlords of Apulia were obliged to keep two thirds of their land for grazing; see Keppel-Craven, *Excursion in the Abruzzi*, 1.267, and Symonds, p. 241.

If the thirteen Sabellian nations had been united, Italy was theirs. But the Lucanians were at enmity with the Samnites, the latter with the Marsic confederation, the Marsians with the Sabines, and the Picentines remained strangers to all the mountaineers' quarrels. Yet Rome, which represented, as no other ancient State had ever done, the opposite principle of political unity, only triumphed after the most painful efforts, and by exterminating this indomitable population.[1] She was, moreover, compelled to undertake the work of destruction twice over. The Samnite and Second Punic wars had already made many ruins and solitudes; but when the vengeance of Sulla had passed over that desolated land, Florus could say: "In Samnium itself it would be vain to seek for Samnium." The ruin was so complete that only a few monuments of those people are left us; and more than twenty of their towns have disappeared without leaving any trace behind.

On the south-east, Tarentum and the great towns of Apulia stayed the Samnites; but towards the west the Etruscans of Campania were unable to defend that rich territory against them. Tired of their continual expeditions, the Etruscans thought to buy peace by sharing with the Samnites their fields and towns. One night they were surprised and massacred (about 423); Vulturnum took the name of Capua, and that of Campanians distinguished the new masters of the country.[2] The great Greek city, Cumae, was then taken by assault, and a Campanian colony replaced a part of the massacred inhabitants; yet without making the Oscan language and Sabellian customs supersede the Greek.[3] These herdsmen, who in their mountains raised fine breeds of horses,[4] became in the Campanian plains the best horsemen of the peninsula; and the



MEDAL OF TERINA.[5]

[1] Livy, and after him all the historians of Rome, have exaggerated this depopulation of Samnium, since according to the census preserved by Polybius, that country could furnish 77,000 soldiers after the First Punic War.

[2] Diod. xii. 31: *το ἔθνος τῶν Καμπανῶν συνέστη.*

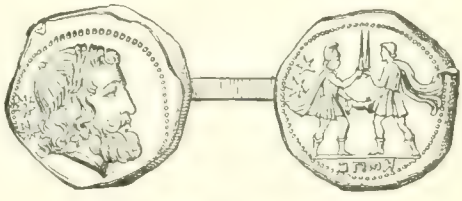
[3] See Livy, xl. 42, where the Cumaeans demand the substitution of Latin for Greek in public records.

[4] Especially in those of the Hirpini, whose country still rears an excellent breed.

[5] Silver coin: obverse, a woman's head; reverse, the nymph Lygea seated.

renown which this conquest won for them led the way to more. To the north, east, and south they were surrounded by difficult countries and warlike nations, which blocked the road to fresh enterprises; but the sea remained open, and they knew that beyond the gulfs of Paestum and Terina there was booty to be obtained and adventures to be found in Sicily. Under the ancient and expressive name of *Mamertines*, the Campanian horsemen offered to serve any one who would pay them. The rivalry between the Greek cities, the ambition of the tyrants of Syracuse, the Carthaginian invasion, and the ceaseless war which desolated the whole island, always provided them with purchasers for their valor; and this trade of mercenaries became so lucrative that all the bravest of the Campanian youth passed over into the island, where the Mamertines were soon numerous enough to lay down the law and take their own way.

But whilst beyond the straits they were become a power against which Carthage, Syracuse, and Pyrrhus strove in vain, their towns on the banks of the Vulturnus were being enfeebled by the same migrations which increased the military colony in Sicily. As early as the middle of the fourth century, at Cumae, Nola, and Nuceria, the ancient inhabitants became masters again; and if Capua maintained its supremacy over the neighboring towns, it was only by losing all its Sabellian character. The effeminacy of the ancient manners reappeared, but stained with more cruelty. In funeral ceremonies there were combats of gladiators in honor of the dead; in the midst of the most sumptuous feasts, games of blood to enliven the guests,[2] and constant murder and treason in public life.



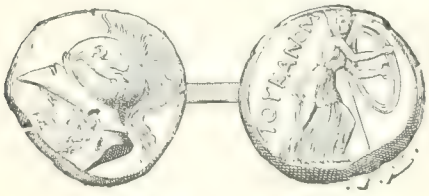
COIN OF CAPUA.[1]

We have seen how the Samnites possessed themselves of the town by the massacre of their entertainers; the first Roman soldiers who were placed there, wished, according to their example, to put the inhabitants to death. During the Second Punic War, Capua

[1] Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter; two soldiers joining swords, taking the oath over a pig.

[2] Athenaeus, iv. 39; Livy, ix. 40; Silius, xi. 51.

sealed her alliance with the Carthaginians by the blood of all the Romans settled within her walls, and Perolla wished at his father's table to stab Hannibal. When, finally, the legions re-entered it, all the senators of Capua celebrated their own funeral rites at a joyous feast, and drank poison in the last cup. No history is more bloody, and nowhere was life ever more effeminate.



COIN OF LUCANIA.[1]

The Lucanians had a destiny both less sad and less brilliant. Following the chain of the Apennines, this people entered ancient Oenotria, the coasts of which were occupied by Greek cities, and where Sybaris ruled from the Gulf of Paestum to that of Tarentum. After having slowly increased in the mountains, their population came down upon the cultivated territory of the Greek cities, and towards the middle of the fifth century, Pandosia, with the neighboring towns, fell into their power. Masters of the western shores, they turned towards those of the Gulf of Tarentum, and placed the Greeks, already menaced on the south by the tyrants of Syracuse, between two dangers. Towards 430 B. C., they were already contending against Thurii; and such was their progress in the space of thirty-six years, notwithstanding their small number, which did not exceed 34,000 combatants,[3] that a great defensive league, the first that the Greeks of this coast had made, was formed against them and Dionysius of Syracuse. The penalty of death was pronounced against the chief of the city whose troops should not have assembled at the first news of the approach of the barbarians (394 B. C.).[4] These measures were fruitless; three years afterward, all the youth of Thurii, desirous of recapturing the city of Laus, were



COIN OF THURII.[2]

[1] Helmeted head of Mars: reverse Bellona.

[2] Head of Minerva, and the bull so frequently found on the coins of Southern Italy.

[3] Diodorus, xiv. 101 102.

[4] Ibid. 91.

destroyed in a battle which gave almost the whole of Calabria into the hands of the Lucanians.[1] Dionysius the Younger, frightened in his turn, in spite of a treaty concluded with them in 360 B. C.,[2] traced from the Gulf of Scylacium to that of Hipponium a line of defence, intended to protect his Italian possessions against them.[3]

This period marked the greatest extension of the Lucanians. Thenceforth they did nothing but give way, enfeebled as they were by the lack of harmony between their different cantons, each of which had its peculiar laws and its chief (*meddix* or *praefectus*). Towards 356 B. C., the Bruttians make their appearance, whose revolt was countenanced by Dionysius; and little by little the frontier of Lucania receded as far as Laus and the Crathis. Shut in on the south by the Bruttians, who were as brave as themselves, they sought compensation at the expense of the Greeks on the shores of the Gulf of Tarentum; but this was only to call down upon them the arms of Archidamos, of Alexander the Molossian, and of the Spartan Cleonymus. Later, their attacks on Thurii brought on the war with Rome which cost them their independence.

Of all the Sabellian peoples, the Lucanians seem to have remained the most unpolished, and most eager for war and destruction. The civilization which surrounded them was not powerful enough to penetrate into those rugged mountains, into those deep forests, where they sent their sons to hunt the bear, the wild boar, and other game, in order to accustom them early to danger.[4] Not very numerous, and often divided, they nevertheless kept the conquered population rigorously enslaved, and extinguished in them even that Greek culture which had such vitality. "Having been barbarized," says Athenaeus[5] of the inhabitants of Posidonia, "having lost even their language, they had at least preserved a

[1] From Pandosia to Thurium, and even as far as Rhegium, Scylax, who wrote about 370 B. C., knows nothing but Lucanians all along the coast.

[2] Diod., xvi. 5.

[3] Strab., VI. i. 10.

[4] Justin, xxiii. 1. [The wild boar and the wolf are still found in these mountains, especially in the wild forests of the Sila. — *Ed.*]

[5] Justin, xiv. 31. [It is difficult to conceive any real forgetfulness of their Hellenic culture, with the splendid temples before them, and which now, even in their ruin, are among the finest and most suggestive remains which modern Hellenists can study. — *Ed.*]

Greek festival, during which they gathered together to re-awaken the ancient traditions, to recall the beloved names and their lost country; and then they parted weeping," — a sad and touching custom, which attests a hard slavery. At the extremity of Eastern Calabria (the land of Otranto), inscriptions have been found which cannot be assigned to any known dialect.[1] They had been left there by the Iapygians, one of the most ancient nations of the peninsula. They seem to have ruled as far as Apulia, but were early brought under Hellenic influence, and began early to lose their nationality among the Greek colonists.

V.

GREEKS AND GAULS.

WE have just spoken of truly Italian races, of those, at least, who, with the exception of the Etruscans, made use of a sister language to the Hellenic, and who gave to Rome its population, its manners, and its laws. There remain two nations to study, the Greeks and the Gauls, who established themselves later in the peninsula. The latter harassed it for a long time by their raids for plunder; the former opened it up to Hellenic civilization. A few years ago Greek was still spoken in the neighborhood of Locri;[2] in the Calabrias, a sort of sacred dance resembles that which is represented on antique vases; and at Cardeto the women have so well preserved the type of Hellenic beauty, that it is said of them, "They are Minervas." In the same way it has been thought that, from Turin to Bologna, the persistent traces of the Celtic invasion[3] are to be seen in the features and in the comparatively harsh and guttural accent of the Piedmontese, Lombards, and Romagnols.

[1] [These Messapian texts are being deciphered by Deecke, and are related to Italic dialects. — *Ed.*]

[2] [There are also five villages near Bari, where a Greek patois is still spoken; but Lenormant has lately proved, in his interesting work on Magna Graecia, that all these remains of Greek date from the repopulation of these parts of the Byzantine Empire in the ninth-eleventh centuries A. D., and not from old classical times. — *Ed.*]

[3] Dr. Edwards, in his letter to Am. Thierry.

The history of the Greek colonies in Italy is divided into two epochs. About the one, commencing in the eighth century before our era, there can be no doubt;[1] the other, ascribed to the fourteenth century, has all historical probabilities against it. It is of course possible that, in the times which followed the Trojan War, after that great disturbance of Greece, Hellenic troops, driven out of the mother country by revolutions, landed on the shores of Italy. But as to what is said of the settlement of Diomede in Daunia, or among the Veneti, who in the time of Strabo sacrificed a white horse to him every year; of the companions of Nestor at Pisa, of Idomeneus at Salentum, — although Gnossus in Crete held his tomb, — of Philoctetes at Petelia and Thurii, of Epeus



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF METAPONTUM (TAVOLA DEI PALADINI).

at Metapontum, of Ulysses at Scylacium, of Evander, of Tibur, of Telegonus, son of Ulysses, in Latium, at Tusculum, Tibur, Praeneste, Ardea, etc., — these legends, we may say, can only be regarded as poetical traditions invented by rhapsodists in order to give an illustrious origin to these towns.

[1] [On these eighth-century dates, and their invention, cf. my *History of Greek Literature*, vol. i., App. B. — *Ed.*]

Nothing was wanting to sanction these glorious genealogies: neither the songs of the poets, nor the blind or interested credulity of the historians, nor even the venerated relics of the heroes. On the banks of the Numicius the contemporaries of Augustus used to visit the tomb of Aeneas, who had become the Jupiter Indigetes, and every year the consuls and Roman pontiffs offered sacrifices there. Circeii exhibited the cup of Ulysses and the tomb of Elpenor, one of his companions;[1] Lavinium, the undecaying ships of Aeneas[2] and his Penates; Thurii, the bow and arrows of Hercules, given by Philoctetes; Macella, the tomb of this hero; Metapontum, the iron tools which Epeus used for making the Trojan horse;[3] Luceria, the armor of Diomede;[4] Maleventum, the boar's head of Calydon; Cumae, the tusks of the Erymanthian boar. Thus the inhabitants of a town of Armenia exhibited the remains of Noah's Ark.[5]

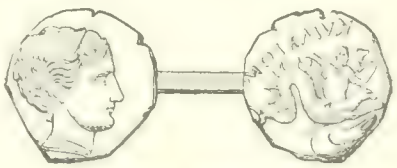
No one any longer holds to these fabulous origins, except those people of Rome who still say: *Siamo Romani*, and would willingly say like the Paduans: *Sangue Troiano*. Moreover, even if we considered as authentic the first settlements of the Greek race in Italy, we could not allow them any historical importance; for, left without intercourse with the mother-country, they lost the character of Hellenic cities; and when the Greeks arrived in the eighth century, they found no further trace of these uncertain colonies. To this class of legendary narratives belong the traditions of the Trojan Antenor, founder of Padua, and of Aeneas carrying into Latium the Palladium of Troy. The Roman nobles desired to date from the Trojan War, like the French from the Crusaders.

According to Herodotus, the first Greeks established in Iapygia were Cretans whom a tempest had cast there. Induced by the fertility of the soil, they had burned their ships and built Iria in the interior of the country. But the most ancient Grecian colony of which the establishment is beyond doubt, is that of the Chalcidians, founders of Cumae. Led by Hippocles and Megasthenes, they ventured, says tradition, across unknown seas, guided in the daytime by a dove, and at night by the sound of the mystic

[1] Strabo, V. iii. 6.
[2] Procopius, iv. 22.
[3] Justin, xx. 2.
[4] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 26.
[5] Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xx. 2.

bronze.[1] They built Cumae on a promontory which commands the sea and the neighboring plains, opposite the Isle of Ischia. Its prosperity was so rapid, owing to a position in the middle of the Tyrrhenian coast, facing the best ports and in the most fertile country of Italy, that the colony was able to become in its turn a metropolis,[2] to assist Rome and the Latins, in the time of Porsenna, to shake off the yoke of the Etruscans of the north, and to contend on its own account with those of Campania. The battle of the year 474 B. C. resounded as far as Greece, where Pindar celebrated it. But in 420 B. C. the Samnites entered Cumae. Yet, notwithstanding the estrangement, and in spite of the barbarians, Cumae remained for a long time Greek in language, manners, and memories; and every time a danger menaced Greece, she thought in her grief that she saw her gods weeping.[3] These tears repaid the songs of Pindar.[4]

In this volcanic land, near the Phlegraean Fields and the dark Avernus, the Greeks believed themselves to be at the gates of Hades. Cumae, where, according to some tradition, Ulysses had evoked the shades, became the abode of one of the Sibyls and of the cleverest necromancers of Italy: each year many awestruck pilgrims visited the holy place, to the great profit of the inhabitants.[5] It was there, too, in this outpost of Greek civilization, in the midst of these Ionians full of the Homeric spirit, that the legends were elaborated which brought so many heroes from Greece into Italy.



COIN OF CUMAE.[6]

[1] Strabo, V. iv. 4: πασῶν ἐστι πρεσβυτάτη τῶν τε Σικελικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτίδων. With the Chalcidians were mingled colonists from Cyme, on the coasts of Asia Minor, where Homer sang. The father of Hesiod was born at Cyme, and Hesiod mentions Latinus as the son of Ulysses and Circe. Eusebius in his *Chronicle* places this event in 1050. It is a very remote date.

[2] Cumae founded *Dicaearchia* or *Puteoli*, which served as its port, *Parthenope*, and *Neapolis*, which eclipsed it. Naples reckoned also amongst its founders Athenians and Eretrians. These were first settled in the Island of Ischia, whence they had been driven by a volcanic eruption (Strab., V. iv. 9). Avernus and the Lucrine Lake abounded in fish: "vectigalia magna praebebant" (Serv. in *Georg.* ii. 16).

[3] The miracle of the tears of Apollo of Cumae was renewed at the time of the war of Aristonicus and Antiochus.

[4] [No one would have been less content with such remuneration than Pindar. — *Ed.*]

[5] Cic., *Tusc.* i. 5.

[6] A woman's head, and on the reverse the monster Scylla, which defended the entrance of the Strait of Messina. The Σκύλλαιον was the rock which bounds Bruttium on the West.

After Cumae and its direct colonies, the most famous of which is *the New City*, Naples, the other Chalcidian cities were Zancle, afterward called Messina, and Rhegium, both of which guarded the entrance to the Straits of Sicily, but whose military position was too important not to draw upon them numerous calamities. The Mamertines, who took Messina by surprise and massacred all its male population, only did what, some years later, a Roman legion repeated at Rhegium.

The Dorians, who ruled in Sicily, were less numerous in Italy; but they had Tarentum, which rivalled in power and wealth Sybaris and Croton, and which preserved its independence longer than these two towns.[1] Rich offerings, deposited at the temple of Delphi, still bore witness, in the time of Pausanias, to its victories over the Iapygians, Messapians, and Peucetians. It had also raised to its gods, as a token of its courage, statues of a colossal height, and all in fighting attitude; but these could not defend it against Rome, and the conqueror who razed its walls left in derision the images of its warlike divinities. Ancona, founded about 380 B. C., in Picenum, by Syracusans who fled from the tyranny of Dionysius the Elder, was also Dorian.



COIN OF ANCONA.[2]

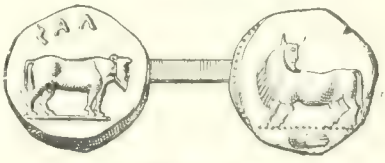
The most flourishing of the Achaean colonies was at first Sybaris, which had subdued the indigenous population of the countries of wine and oxen (*Oenotria* and *Italy*). At the end of a century, about 620 B. C., it possessed a territory covered by twenty-five towns, and could arm three hundred thousand fighting men. But a century later, in 510, it was taken and destroyed by the Crotoniates. All Ionia, which traded with it, lamented its downfall, and the Milesians went into mourning. Its land used to yield a hundredfold:[3] it is now only a deserted and marshy shore.

[1] Livy, xxvii. 16. Strabo says (VI. iii. 4): *ἴσχυσαν δέ ποτε οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καθ' ὑπερβολήν.* The wealth of Tarentum arose from its fisheries, from its manufacture [and dyeing] of the fine wool of the country, and from its harbor, which was the best on the south coast.

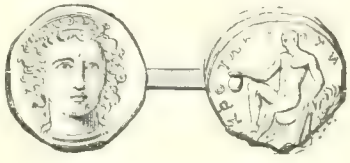
[2] Ancona in Greek signifies *elbow*, hence the half-bent arm on the reverse. The ancients often rendered a name by a figure which gave the meaning of it; thus certain coins of Sicily, the island with three promontories, have three legs pointed in different directions and united at the top. The modern Sicilians have kept this emblem, the *triquetra*.

[3] Varro, *de Re rust.* i. 44. [The site of the town is not yet accurately known, but

On the western coast of Lucania, Laus, which the Lucanians destroyed after a great victory over the confederate Greeks, and Posidonia, whose imposing ruins[1] have rendered famous the now deserted town of Paestum, were colonies of Sybaris. Other Achaeans, invited by them, had settled at Metapontum, which owed great wealth to its agriculture and to its harbor, now converted into a lagoon.[2] Crotona had as rapid a prosperity as Sybaris, its rival, but one which lasted longer. Its walls, double as great in extent (100 stadia) indicate a more numerous population, whose renown for pugilistic combats [for cookery and for medicine] would also lead us to consider the population more energetic. Milo of Crotona is a well-known name. The tyrants of Syracuse took it three times, and it had lost all importance when the Romans attacked it. Locri, of Aeolian origin, never attained to so much power. Its downfall, begun by Dionysius the Younger, was completed by Pyrrhus and Hannibal.

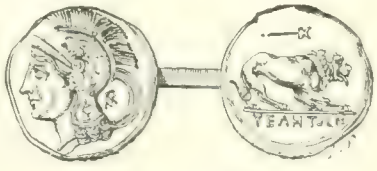


COIN OF LAUS.



COIN OF CROTONA.[3]

The Ionians had only two towns in Magna Graecia: Elea, famous for its school of philosophy, and Thurii, the principal founders of which were the Athenians. Hostile to the Lucanians and to Tarentum, Thurii, like its metropolis, entered early into the alliance of Rome.



COIN OF ELEA.[4]

It is remarkable that all these towns had a rapid growth, and that a few years sufficed for them to become states, reckoning the number of their fighting men by

is somewhere under the Crathis, which was turned over it. The plain is really rich in grass and in cattle, but much visited by malaria. Excavations, accompanied by a change in the river's course, would probably bring to light the most interesting remains yet found in Italy. — *Ed.*]

[1] The two temples and stoa of Paestum.

[2] Now Lago di Santa Pelagina. When the water is low, remains of ancient constructions are seen there; it was destroyed by the bands of Spartacus.

[3] Head of Juno Lacinia; on the reverse, Hercules sitting.

[4] Helmeted Minerva; lion couchant.

the hundred thousand. It was not only the favorable climate of Magna Græcia, the fertility of the soil, which, in the valleys and plains of the two Calabrias, excelled that of Sicily,[1] nor even the wisdom of their legislators, Charondas, Zaleucus, Parmenides, and Pythagoras, that effected this marvel, but the clear-sighted policy which admitted all strangers into the city,[2] and for some centuries converted the Pelasgian populations of the south of Italy into a great Greek nation. Doubtless distinctions were established; and there were probably in the capitals plebeians and nobles, in the country serfs of the soil, and in the conquered towns subjects; but these differences prevented neither union nor strength. It was by this means, too, by this assimilation of conquered and conquerors, that Rome increased. But Rome preserved its discipline for a long time, whereas the towns of Magna Græcia, undermined within by intestine divisions and menaced without by Carthage and Syracuse, by the tyrants of Sicily and the King of Epirus, incessantly harassed by the Italian Gauls and the Samnites, especially by the Lucanians, were, moreover, enfeebled by rivalries which prepared for the Romans an easy conquest.

If Umbria owes its name to a Gallic tribe, our fathers must have crossed the Alps the first time in a large body at a very early epoch.[3] The invasion of the sixth century is more certain.

[1] Dolomieu, *Dissertation sur le tremblement de terre de 1783.* [In natural beauty Calabria far surpasses the greater part of Sicily. — *Ed.*]

[2] Polybius, ii. 39; Diod., xii. 9. Sybaris ruled four nations and twenty-five towns (Strab., VI. i. 13). There is doubtless a great exaggeration in the figure of 300,000 fighting men; but the number of inhabitants must have been much larger than that of the towns of Greece proper. At certain of its feasts, Sybaris assembled as many as 5,000 cavalry, four times more than Athens ever had (Athen., xii. 17 and 18; Diod., fragm. of bk. viii.; Scymn., 340). It was the same at Crotona. The Pelasgians of Lucania and Bruttium showed the same readiness as those of Greece in allowing themselves to be absorbed by the Hellenes and in adopting their language and manners, and for the same reasons, — identity of origin, or at least near relationship. This influence of the Hellenes was so strong, that notwithstanding the later Roman colonies, Calabria, like Sicily, remained for a long time a Greek country. It was only at the commencement of the fourteenth century that the Greek language [re-introduced in the eleventh] began to be lost there. As to the prosperity of these towns, it is connected, more than has been shown, with that of the Greek colonies in general. Masters of all the shores of the great basin of the Mediterranean, the Greeks had in their hands the commerce of the three worlds. Continued intercourse united their towns, and every point of this immense circle profited from the advantages of all the others. The prosperity of Tarentum, Sybaris, Crotona, and Syracuse, corresponded with that of Phocaea, Smyrna, Miletus, and Cyrene.

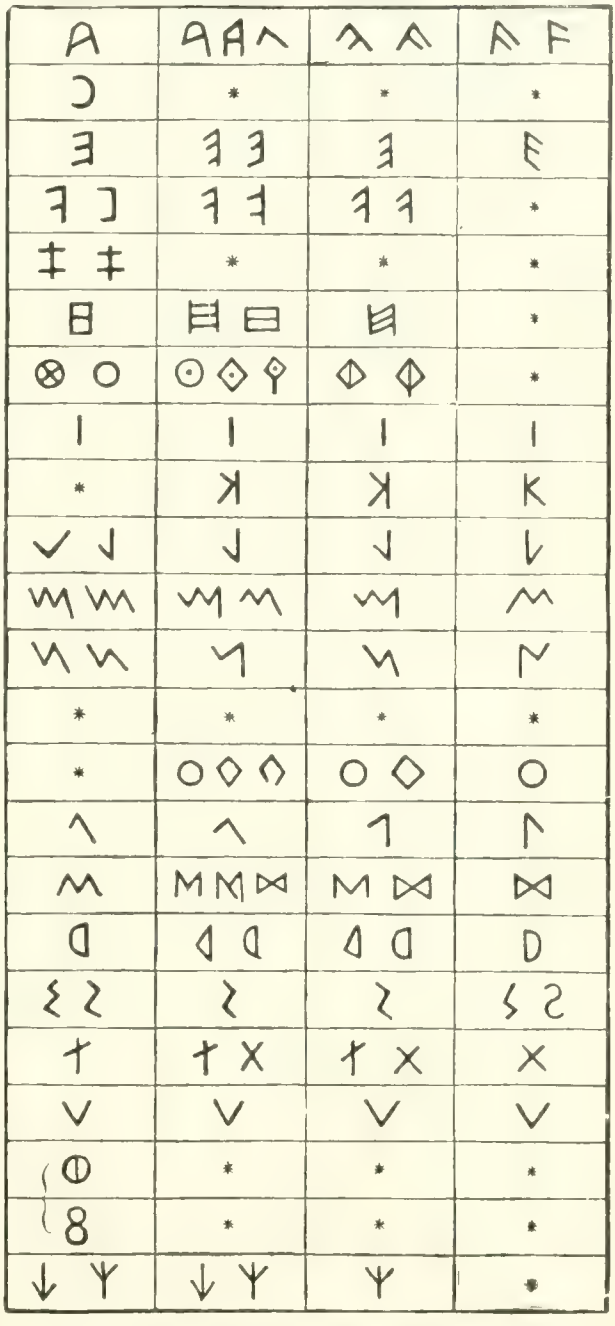
[3] Geographical names, dolmens, etc., reveal the presence, in the Valley of the Danube, from the Black Sea to the Schwarzwald, of numerous Gallic populations which may have come thence directly into Italy. In that case the Gauls of the banks of the Loire would only



HARBOR OF METAPONTUM.

It is said that the Gallic tribes of the northwest, driven back on the Cevennes and the Alps by invaders from beyond the Rhine, accumulated there, and, like waves long pent up, overflowed to the number of three hundred thousand across the Alps into the Valley of the Po. On the banks of the Ticino, the Biturigan Bellovesus overwhelmed an Etruscan army and established his people, the Insubrians, between this river, the Po, and the Adda.[1]

Bellovesus had shown the way; others followed it. In the space of sixty-six years, the Cenomani, under a chief surnamed the whirlwind (*Elitovius*), Ligurians, Boians, Lingones, Anamans and Senones,[2] drove the Etruscans from the banks of the Po and the



ALPHABETS OF NORTHERN ITALY.

have been the western group of this great nation. Cf. *Revue archéolog.* for January, 1881, p. 50.

[1] Livy, v. 34, 35.

[2] With the Senones, Strabo unites (V. i. 6) the Gesates, "The two nations," says he, "who took Rome."

Umbrians from the shores of the Adriatic as far as the River Esino (*Aesis*). Some remains of the Etruscan and Umbrian powers existed, however, in the midst of the Gallic populations, and formed small states which were free, but tributary and always exposed, from the fickleness of these barbarians, to sudden attacks. Thus Melpum was surprised by treachery, and destroyed on the same day, it is said, as the Romans entered Veii.[1]

As conquerors, the Gauls did not go beyond the limits where the invasions of the Senones had stopped. But this vigorous race, these men eager for tumult, plunder, and battle, long troubled the peninsula as they did all the ancient world, until the legions were able to reach them in the middle of their forests and to fix them to the soil. They inhabited unwalled villages, says Polybius, slept on grass or straw, and had no knowledge except of fighting and a little husbandry. Living chiefly on meat, they only valued flocks and gold, — ready wealth which does not impede the warrior, and which he carries everywhere along with him. Under their rule Cisalpine Gaul returned to the barbarism from which the Etruscans had saved it; the forests and marshes spread; the passes of the Alps especially remained open, and new bands continually descended from them, which claimed their share of the *country of the wine*. Their high stature, their savage shouts, their passionate and menacing gestures, and that parade of courage which, on days of battle, made them strip off all their clothing in order to fight naked, frightened the Italians so much that at their approach the whole population took up arms. When the young and fortunate Alexander threatened them, the Gauls of the Danube replied that they feared nothing but that the sky should fall; and the first Roman army that saw those of Italy fled terrified. Yet Rome was compelled to meet them everywhere, at Carthage, in Asia, with Hannibal, at her gates even, and up to the foot of the Capitol!

Italy in this early age has only a twilight of history, the uncertain rays of which with difficulty pierce the darkness in which the commencement of the nations is concealed. However, by this still doubtful light we can recognize some facts important to general history, and particularly to that of Rome.

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 17 (21).

Thus all, or nearly all, the Italiotes belonged to the Aryan race. They were more connected with the Hellenic tribes than the Germans are with the Celts and Slavs, which are also detached branches of this powerful stem. But if this relationship to the Greeks disposed them to yield to the influence of Hellenic civilization, they borrowed from their brothers of Hellas neither their language, nor their worship, nor their institutions of early days.

In what concerns Rome we note the following points: —

The preponderance, in the eighth century, on both banks of the Tiber, of the Sabines and Etruscans, and consequently their influence on the institutions and manners of the nation which arose beside them and which increased at their expense.

The feebleness of the Latins, which favored the beginnings of the Eternal City.

The power, but insubordinate spirit, of the Sabellians.

The political divisions of the Italian nations, sustained by the very division of the soil and the diversity of their origin.

Let us imagine in the midst of these tribes, rendered strangers to one another by long isolation, a small nation which made a necessity of war, a daily habit of the exercise of arms, a virtue of military discipline; and we shall understand that this nation, formed for conquest, must triumph over all these tribes, often related to it in origin, which, when attacked in succession, perceive too late that the downfall of each was the threat and the announcement of the coming downfall of the next.

VI.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS OF ITALY.

IN Italy, as in the rest of Europe, the most ancient civilization seems to retain something of the theocratic forms of Asia, whence it has come, — with this difference, however, that an order of priests is not found distinct from the rest of the citizens. The same men were heads of the people and ministers of the gods; so that according to the more *human* and more political spirit of the West, the relations were the reverse of what they had been in the East: the warrior took precedence of the priest; before being pontiff or augur, the noble was a patrician; he did not shut himself up in a sanctuary, but lived before the public gaze; he did not remain tied to unchangeable forms, but modified them, according to the wants of the state; religion, in fact, was for him not only an end, but a means and an instrument all the more formidable, because it was employed by believers, so that statecraft could bring fanaticism to its aid.

Among the Etruscans the two characters of the priest and warrior appear in equilibrium. Their lucumos, alone instructed in the augur's science, alone eligible by hereditary right for public functions, guardians of the mysteries and masters of everything divine and human, form a military theocracy founded on divine right and the antiquity of families. Among the Oscan and Sabellian nations the balance seems disturbed, to the advantage of the warrior. The chief is the man revered for the antiquity of his race and the grandeur of his house, powerful by the extent of his domains and the number of his relatives, slaves, and clients.

Agricultural and shepherd nations, for the very reason that they remain in contact with nature, follow it closely in their institutions; for them, Jews and Arabs, Celts of Scotland and Ireland, or natives of Latium and the Sabine country, the family is the first element of society, and the patriarchal authority of the

chief who, like Abraham, fights and sacrifices in turn, is the earliest government. At Rome, all rights came from the family; the heads of the state were the fathers, *patres* and *patricii*; property was the *patrimonium*; the country, the common property of the fathers, *res patria*. Yet the right of primogeniture, which is found among so many nations, was unknown on the banks of the Tiber. With the family are connected the servants, devoted for life and death to him who nourishes and protects them, who leads them to battle, and enriches them with spoil, like the German *comites*, the Aquitanian *soldurii*, the members of the Scotch clans, — like, in fact, the Italian clients, as regards their patron. Patronage, *patrocinium*,[1] and the patriciate ought then to be raised from the rank of a particular institution, in which historians have long placed them, to that of a law of the very organization of primitive societies. When there are no institutions, it is very necessary for the nascent state that there should be, between the strong and the feeble, between the rich and the poor, an early association, — an association with varying obligations, granting here more, there less, to the liberty of the protected and to the rights of the protector. At Rome, this relation was called clientship; in the Middle Ages, feudalism.

Like the Etruscan lucumos, the Latin and Sabine patricians were the priests of their families and clients; they sacrificed to the domestic Penates; they fulfilled the public ceremonies, and held the magistracies, — in a word, they had both religious and political authority. But in Latium, religion, because it was more popular, protected their privileges less than in Etruria. So the great men of Rome lost no time in borrowing from the Etruscans their augural knowledge, and in buying, at a great price, the Sibylline books, in order to place by the side of the popular religion, accessible to all, a state religion, reserved for themselves alone.

From this union between statecraft and religion, from this

[1] Dionysius Hal. (ii. 10, 9) expressly regards Roman *patronage* as an old Italian custom. The Javan *tiatias* and Albanian *phars* rest upon the same principle; they are families composed of a head, relatives, and servants, all depending upon him. Clientship existed among the Sabines (Livy, ii. 16; Dion., v. 40, and x. 14); among the Etruscans (Livy, v. 1, ix. 36, and xxiii. 3, Dion. Hal., ix. 5). Cf. Livy, x. 5, the *gens Licinia* at Arrezo; at Capua (Livy, xxiii. 2, 7); among the Samnites, who have their *principes, primores, nobiles, equites, milites aurati et argentati.*

double character of the Italian aristocracy, especially in Etruria, it resulted that public and private rights were closely united with religious rights, that religion, as in the East, was the bond of every city and the principle of all jurisprudence, and that ancient legislations, placed under divine sanction, gained thereby a higher authority. Moreover, as it is the essence of all religions to love mystery, especially of those that are in possession of the heads of the state, the civil laws were wrapped up in secret and mysterious religious forms.[1] "Preserved in a dumb language, and only explaining themselves by holy ceremonies, whereof some rites remained in the *acta legitima*, they were long obeyed with scrupulous piety."[2] The aristocracy, who were its sole depositaries, found therein a power which for centuries the plebeians dared not dispute.

The greatest strength of this aristocracy was, however, the possession of the soil, even in Etruria, where industry and commerce had created the movable wealth of gold beside the inconvertible wealth of land. To possess land was, as in the Middle Ages, not only the sign of power but power itself; for vast domains furnished a whole army of servants and dependants. Originally these domains were equal,[3] and the aristocracies, by their number and the equality of their members, were truly democracies. In the Graeco-Italian states, generally formed by a few migrations, colonies, or *Sacred Springs*, society existed before property. There were citizens before there were landowners; and when a town rose, the soil could be divided geometrically: each citizen received an equal share. The principle of feudal and continental Europe, that political rights flow from possession of property, was inverted by antiquity. At Lacedaemon it was as Dorians, as citizens and founders of the state, that the Spartans received 9,000 shares; and no new right sprang from that concession of property. Before receiving their part of the promised land,

[1] The passage of Festus about the Etruscan ritual shows clearly the sacerdotal character of Etruscan legislation. It is religion rules all things; it was there written, said he, "quo ritu condantur urbes, arae, aedes sacrentur; qua sanctitate muri, quo jure portae, quo modo tribus, ceteraque ejusmodi ad bellum ac pacem pertinentia."

[2] Vico, ii. 283.

[3] As at Sparta; the 9,000 shares given to the Spartans were inalienable. [But this was probably a modern theory, devised in the time of Agis and Cleomenes, as Grote has conclusively shown, in spite of the arguments of recent German critics. — *Ed.*]



PLAIN OF SYBARIS.

the Hebrews were all equal, all members of God's people; and after the division they remain as they were before. In Egypt, at Cyrene, in all the Greek colonies, similar divisions took place, without implying any political consequence.[1]

With us these agrarian laws would be a supremely iniquitous measure, because property now represents the accumulated fruits of the labor of many generations; in ancient times they only resulted in the increase of the number of citizens, in annulling unjust usurpations, and leading the state back to primitive equality. They were nevertheless violently rejected wherever there arose, as at Rome and in Etruria, a second people, poor and oppressed, which might have become too formidable if to the power of numbers they had joined that of fortune. To avoid these reforms even Religion was called to the aid of civil law, and made to imprint on landed property a sacred character. She it was who divided the land, who by prayers, libations, and sacrifices marked the boundaries that no one could remove without incurring the divine wrath.[2] *Numa . . . statuit eum qui terminum exarasset, et ipsum et boves sacros esse.* This religion of property had its god, *Terminus*, the immovable guardian of landmarks, who, in tradition, will not fall back even before the Master of heaven and earth. "Ill-luck," said an old prophecy, "to him who displaces Terminus, in order to increase his domain! His land shall be beaten with storms, his wheat



THE GOD TERMINUS, AFTER A STATUE IN THE LOUVRE.

[1] Joshua xx.; Plut., *Lyc.*; Herod., ii. 109; Arist., *Pol.* vii. 4.

[2] The land to be marked out was for the *agrimensor*, who was both priest and augur, an enclosure wherein a religious act was to take place. Like the sanctuary of the gods, it was a *templum*, whose limits were put in connection with the divisions which the augur established in aërial space, when he consulted the omens. An altar was raised at the limit, and the entrails of the victims were placed under the boundary stone, which by this consecration became itself a god; and the property, the *ager auspicatus vel limitatus*, could not be usurped. Cicero, in the Second Philippic (§ 40), denies that any one had the right to lead a new colony into the territory of an ancient one not yet destroyed. "Negavi in eam coloniam, quae esset auspicato deducta, dum esset incolumis, coloniam novam deduci posse."

eaten with mildew, his house overthrown, and all his race shall perish." Never has landed property been more energetically protected, and with it the hereditary power of riches. Thus it was that Roman society remained deeply aristocratic to its last day.

This consecration of property was especially the work of the Etruscans, whose conquests and influence extended the use of it into a great part of the peninsula; and no divinity, says Varro, was more honored in all Italy than the God of Limits.[1]

On this double basis of religion and property rose the old aristocracy of Italy, and in late times that of Rome. Uniting these two elements of strength, which each separately confer power, what might not be its duration and ascendency? As long indeed as the city did not assume the proportions of an empire, no families arose possessing power by hereditary right. The magistrates were almost always elected annually, like the lucumos of Etruria, the *meddix tuticus* of the Campanians,[2] and the praetor or dictator of the Latin cities. In grave circumstances a supreme chief was elected, such as the *embratur* (imperator) of the Sabellians, the king whom the twelve Etruscan cities named, each sending him a lictor in token of the power over the whole of the nation[3] which was committed to him, — such, in short, as that dictator of Tusculum, Egerius, who was recognized chief of the Latin confederation, in order to undertake the dedication of the common temple of Aricia. In the heroic age, legend tells of kings in Latium; but at the time of the foundation of Rome there were none left save in the little towns of the Sabine territory.[4] Even Alba no longer had aught but dictators; and in detestation of the royal name, popular stories were already repeated about the cruelties of Mezentius and of those tyrants who, struck by the divine anger, had been buried with their palaces at the bottom of Lake Albano. When the waters fell, it was thought that these guilty dwellings might be seen.[5]

On a hill, on the borders of a lake, or on the steep banks of some

[1] Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 639-684.

[2] Livy, xxiv. 19; Festus, s. v. *Tuticus*.

[3] Livy, i. 8.

[4] At a later epoch there were still kings among the Daunians, Peucetians, Messapians, and Lucanians. (Strabo, V. and VI. *passim;* Livy, i. 17; Paus., x. 13.) But they were perhaps only simple leaders in war, like the Samnite *embradur*.

[5] Verg., *Aen.* viii. 7 and 481; Dionys., i. 71.

river, but always in a position difficult of access,[1] rose the capital of each state, generally not very extensive, and fortified, especially in Etruria, with all the art of the times. Faesulae, Rusellae, Populonia, and Cosa, the walls of which may still be seen, were only three quarters of a league round. Volaterrae a league and a half, and Veii, the largest of all the Etruscan cities, less than two and a half leagues. The Latin cities were not nearly so large; yet they, according to the Etruscan ritual followed in Latium, preserved a free space between the nearest buildings and the walls, as well as between the wall and the cultivated fields. This was the *pomerium*, the sacred boundary of the city, within which dwelt none but true citizens, — that is to say, heads of families, the fathers or patricians, with their servants and clients (*gentes patriciae*). Plebeians and foreigners remained outside the pomerium, without the political city.

On a place set apart in the midst of the town the patricians assembled in arms,[2] like the Germans and Gauls, to deliberate on their common interest. According to the Etruscan usage,[3] they were divided into tribes, curies, and centuries, the number of which was determined by a sort of sacred arithmetic. The Eugubine tables show that this division took place in Umbria likewise; but the Oscans and Sabellians, freer from sacerdotal fetters than the Etruscans, do not appear to have recognized that mysterious authority of number which plays so great a part in Rome.

In states subjected to the authority of a powerful aristocracy, there is often found side by side with the docile population another population in revolt, which dwells in the depths of the forests and lives by pillage. These outlaws, the heroes of barbarous times, must have been very numerous in ancient Italy, where, moreover, amid so many rival cities, the military spirit

[1] Many towns of modern Italy are still in the place of the ancient cities. That of Capistrello commands the Valley of the Liris, above the point where the escape channel of Lake Fucinus, designed by Caesar and carried out by Claudius, opens.

[This peculiar character of Italian towns is still very striking to the traveller, especially in Southern or mountainous Italy. Owing to long injustice and weakness of home governments, and the raids of pirates up to the present century, isolated homesteads are a rare exception, and the population live in villages perched like eagles' nests on the top of the rocks, from which they come down to till the slopes and valleys, and return in the evening. — *Ed.*]

[2] *Quir*, lance; thence *quirites* and *curia*, the place where the quirites assembled.

[3] Fest., s. v. *Rituales;* Verg., *Aen.* x. 201.

sustained by continual warfare gave rise to bands of mercenaries who sold their services, like the condottieri of the Middle Ages, or made war on their own account.[1] We shall see how the Mamertines fared in Sicily. The fortune of a few Tuscan chiefs was no less brilliant,[2] and the Etruscan condottiere Mastarna, the son-in-law and heir of Tarquin the Elder, involuntarily calls to mind that other condottiere, Francesco Sforza, son-in-law and successor of a duke of Milan. Romulus himself, proscribed from the time of his birth, rejected by the patrician caste of Alba, associated in tradition[3] with other condottieri similarly repulsed by the Etruscan aristocracy, appears to have been nothing but one of these warrior chiefs, who knew how to choose with marvellous instinct the admirable position of Rome, and hide his eyrie between the river, the wooded hills, and the marshy plains which extend from their foot to the Tiber.

VII.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION.

EXCEPT in Etruria, ancient Italy had few mysteries or profound dogmas. Its religion was simple; from the necessities of life and from the labors of the field[4] it derived the impressions of admiration or affright which that lovely and changeable nature produced. In this essentially rural religion all services took place in the open air. The first-fruits of the field and flock were offered to the god on the altar of sacrifice which stood before the temple; there were pious songs, prayers, religious dances, garlands of flowers and foliage suspended on the sacred walls; and when the faithful were rich enough for such an outlay, a few grains of incense were burned on the altar, and perfumes in the interior of

[1] Livy (iv. 55; vi. 6) speaks of the bands who issued from the country of the Volscians without leave from the national council, and Dionys. (*Ant. Rom.* vii. 3) of the mercenaries whom the Etruscans took into their pay.

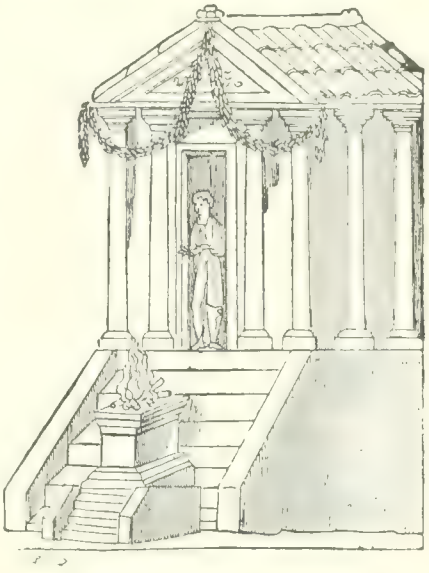
[2] Tac., *Ann.* iv. 65.

[3] Dionys., *Ant. Rom.* iii. 37. There is also mention of Oppius of Tusculum, and of a Laevus Cispius of Anagnia, in the time of Tullus Hostilius. (Varro, ap. Fest. *Septimontium.*)

[4] The oldest Roman almanac (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. i. p. 375) mentions none but rural festivals.

the sanctuary, where the actual presence of the god filled the soul with pious awe.

One of the features which distinguished these creeds of Central Italy is the moral superiority of their gods, — as, for instance, Vesta, the immaculate virgin, who protects both the private and public hearth (*focus publicus*);[1] the Penates, the protectors of human life and of the city; Jupiter, arbiter of the physical and moral world, the sustaining father and supreme preserver; the gods Terminus and Fidelity, who punish fraud and violence; the Bona Dea, who fertilized the earth and rendered unions fruitful, though she herself ever remained a virgin;[2] and that touching worship of the Manes, *dii manes*, which, restoring life to those who had been loved, showed ancestors watching beyond the tomb over those whom they had left among the living. Three times every year the Manes left the infernal regions, and the son who had imitated the virtues of his fathers could see their revered shades.



ENTRANCE OF A SHRINE.[3]

The gods of Greece are so near to man, that they have all his weaknesses; those of the East are so far from him, that they do not really enter into his life at all, notwithstanding their numerous incarnations. The Italian gods, the guardians of

[1] Vesta is the Agni of the *Véda*. The Pelasgians had brought the worship of this divinity of fire from Asia. There were Vestals at Lavinium (Serv. in *Aen.* iii. 21), at Tibur (Tivoli), and elsewhere. The temple represented on page 124, was dedicated, according to some, to Vesta, according to others, to the Sibyl Albunea, "Domus Albuneae resonantis" (Hor., *Odes*, I. vii. 12); others again see in it the temple of Hercules: it is *adhuc sub judice*. The main point is that the ruin is lovely. To the right of the round temple there is another square one about which the same uncertainty exists.

[2] It is Varro who says so, in Macrobius, *Saturn.* I. xii. 27. . . "nec virum unquam viderit vel a viro visa sit:" but others related her adventures, and her festivals, at least in the time of Caesar, were considered as licentious, though all men were rigidly excluded from them.

[3] After a miniature from the Vatican Vergil.

property, conjugal fidelity, and justice, the protectors of agriculture, the dispensers of all earthly good, preside over the actions of men without sharing their passions, but also without raising their mind above selfish interests. Art and science feel the loss, morality gains.[1] We shall not find the Roman Olympus either teeming with life, light, and beauty, like that of Greece, or profound, mysterious, and terrible, like those of Egypt and India. We shall find its gods inglorious and practical,[3] whom during long years, selfish worshippers dared only address with just prayers. Their service will be a means of preservation for a society devoid of enthusiasm, not an element of progress.



OPS, OR WEALTH.[2]

These modest divinities could not display the terrible requirements that are found in larger theogonies. They very rarely demanded human blood on their altars;[4] but they accepted a voluntary sacrifice, the redemption of the people by the devotion of a victim, — a Curtius, who closes the gulf in the heart of the city by leaping into it,[5] and a Decius, who by his death changes defeat into victory.



GOOD SUCCESS.[6]

Another characteristic of the Italian gods is their infinite multitude. Every town has its tutelar divinity. At Narnia it is Visidianus, at Ocriculum Valentia, at Casinum Delventius, at Minturnae Marica, among the Frentani Palina, at Satricum Matuta

[1] Saint Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, vii. 4) remarks that Janus was the hero of no questionable adventure. Ovid, however, has compromised him somewhat (*Fast.* vi. 119, *seq.*); but in the time of Ovid the sense of the ancient rites was lost.

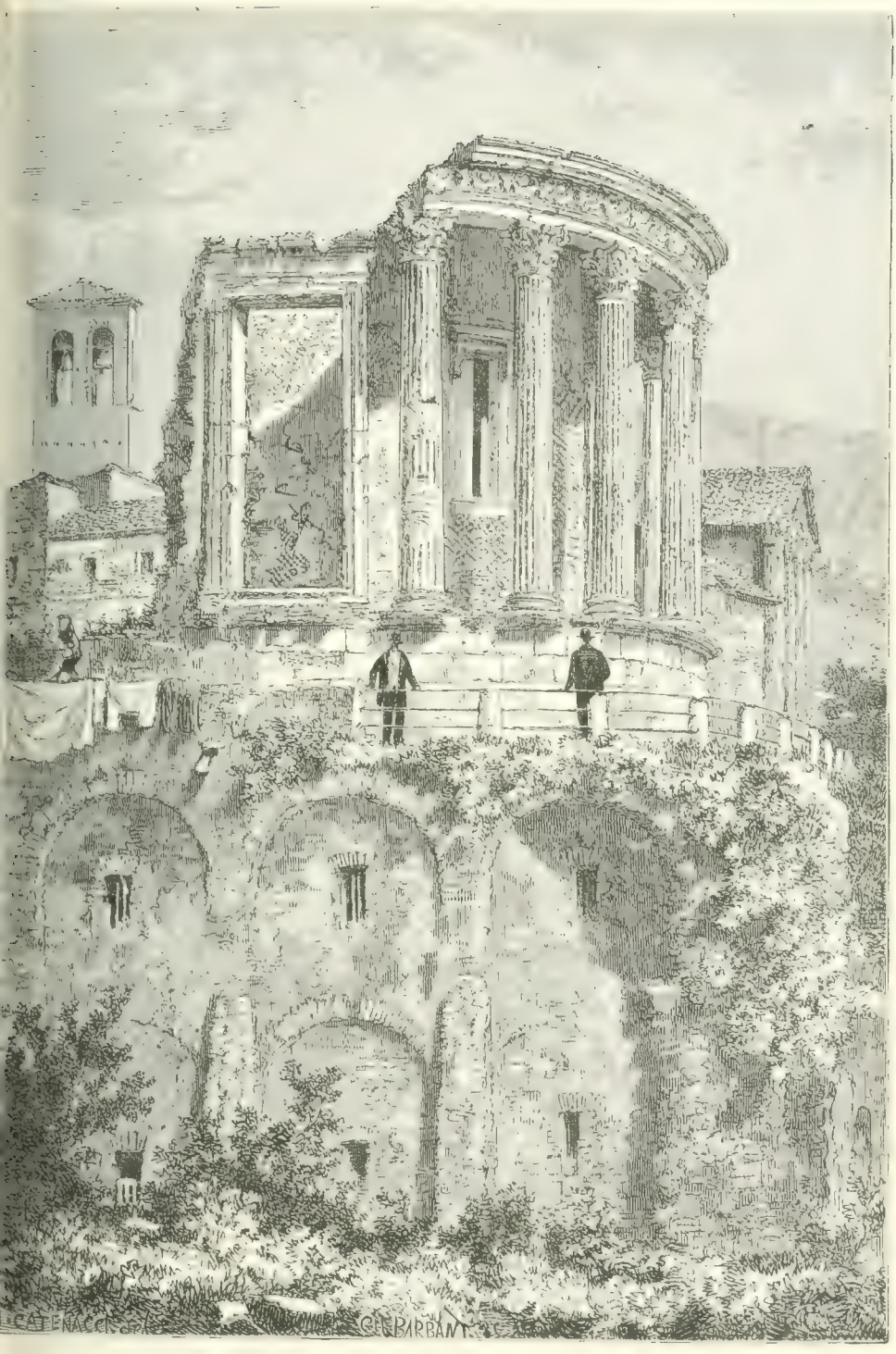
[2] She holds some ears of corn. Gold coin of Pertinax, struck at the close of 192 A.D.

[3] *Sator*, seed; *Ops*, work in the fields; *Flora*, flower; *Juventas*, youth; *Fides*, faith; *Concordia*, concord; *Fors*, fortune; *Bonus Eventus*, good success. [The reader will notice that among Greek authors Xenophon alone, following the homely side of the Socratic religion, exhibits this selfish and vulgar piety. Cf. my Social Life in Greece, p. 370. — *Ed.*]

[4] See page 139, note 1.

[5] This gulf was but ill closed by Curtius; at least as far as we are concerned; for in modern times alone it has re-opened three times, in 1702, 1715, and 1818 A. D. (Wey. *Rome*, p. 36.)

[6] Success (*Bonus Eventus*) standing, holding a bowl and ears of corn; at his feet an altar burning. Bronze coin of Antoninus, struck by order of the Senate (S. C.) during his second consulship (*Cos.* II.) in 139 A. D.



TEMPLE OF VESTA, OF THE SYBIL, OR OF HERCULES, AT TIVOLI.

Mater; in the Sabine country Nerio, who was identified by the *gens Claudia* with the Roman Bellona, the wife or sister of Mars.[1] To these must be added the numerous *Semones* or *Indigetes*, the nymphs, heroes, and deified virtues: Concordia, Flora, Pomona, Juventas, Pollentia, Rumina, Mena, Numeria, and the swarm of local divinities which Tertullian calls *decuriones deos*, and the gods of the lower world, Larvae and Lemures, and those of the *indigitamenta*, those books which were both collections of prayers whereof the priests kept the secret, and lists of divine beings whom Tertullian compares to the angels of the Bible; one might add that they call to mind the saints of the popular beliefs of Roman Catholic countries.



CONCORD.[2]

Not only each town, but each family, each man, paid honor to special gods and to genii who protected his life and goods (Lares, Penates): there were gods for every act of man's life, from the cradle to the grave.[3] Thus at the close of the Republic Varro could count as many as thirty thousand gods. With nations in their infancy, imperfect language supplies, by the variety of particular names, the absence of the general terms which represent the unity of the species. The Italians possessed so many deities only because their minds were incapable of rising to the conception of one only God, — a defect which lasted a long time with them, and which, with others, lasts even till now.


YOUTH.[4]

This divine democracy necessarily escaped from the control of the greater gods and their priests. This is the reason why religious

[1] Nerio appears to have denoted strength; the inscription is known *Virtuti Bellonae* (Orelli, 4,983).

[2] Concord (*Concordia*), seated, leaning with her elbow on a horn of plenty, and holding a patera. Gold coin of the Emperor Aelius Hadrianus, struck in the second year of his tribunitian power, and during his second consulship, consequently in the year 118 A. D.

[3] See in Saint Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, vi. 9) the manifold and very humble employments of these gods, after Varro, who himself had doubtless described them in the order of "indigitamenta, a conceptione . . . usque ad mortem . . . et dei qui pertinent ad ea quae sint hominis, sicuti est victus atque vestitus," etc.

[4] Youth (*Juventas*) standing near an altar, in the form of a candelabrum, into which she throws a grain of incense, and holding a patera in her left hand.

toleration was one of the necessities of Roman government; and if the patricians had not held the secret of the augur's science, of the symbolic formulae and ceremonies, they would not have been able to add the ascendency of religion to that of birth and fortune.



TWO WOMEN BURNING INCENSE AND PERFUMES UPON TWO PORTABLE ALTARS BEFORE AN IMAGE OF MARS.[1]

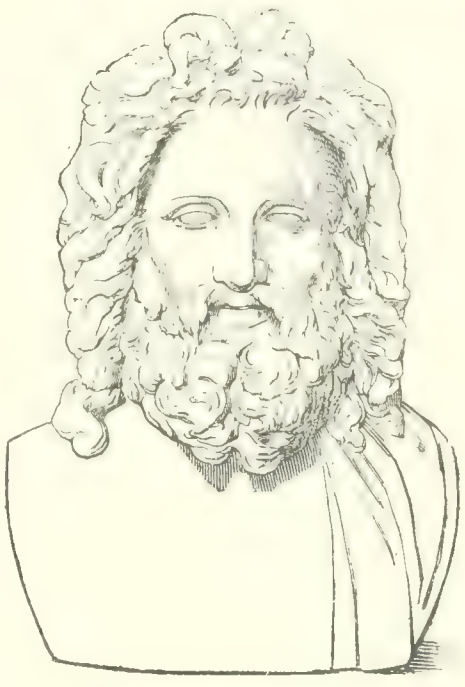
Some gods had more numerous worshippers than others, such as Jupiter, god of air and light; Janus, the Sun, who opened and closed the heavens and the year; Saturn, the protector of rustic labor, whose hollow statue was filled with the oil of the olives he had caused to grow; Mars, or Maspiter, the symbol of manly strength, also called Mavors, the god who slays; Bellona, the terrible sister of the god of war; Juno *Regina*, queen of heaven, and also the helpful, *Sospita*, in whom woman at all moments of her life found aid, but who favored only chaste love and inviolate unions.

The worship of these divinities was often the only bond which attached cities of the same origin to one another. Thus the Etruscans assembled at the temple of Voltumna, the Latins at the sacred wood of the goddess Ferentina, at the temple of Jupiter Latialis on the Alban Mount, and in those of Venus, at Lavinium and Laurentum;[2] the Aequi Rutuli and Volsci at the temple of Diana at Aricia. Similar gatherings took place among the Sabines, Samnites, Lucanians, Ligurians, etc. They were really Amphic-

[1] Taken from Marini, *Gli Atti e monum. de' fratelli Arvali*, after a painting found at Rome, which Winckelmann has also reproduced in his *Mon. inédits*, pl. 177.

[2] The worship of Venus at Lavinium and Laurentum only dates from the epoch at which the legend of Aeneas took form. There was no goddess bearing the name of Venus at Rome in the time of the kings. (Varro, in *Augurum libris*, fragm. of book vi.; Macrob., *Saturn.* I. xii. 8–15.)

tyonies, over which religion presided, and which the Romans abolished when they themselves had made use of the Latin feriae to insure their supremacy in Latium.



HEAD OF JUPITER.[1]

In religion, as in politics, the Etruscans were originally distinct from the rest of the Italian nations, from whom they afterward received gods or to whom they gave them. Their religious doctrines, a distant echo of the great Asiatic theogonies, proclaimed the existence of a supreme being, Tinia, the soul of the world, who had for counsellors the *dii consentes*, — impersonations of the forces of present Nature, and destined to perish with her; for the Scandinavian and Oriental belief in the destruction and renewal of the world is found also in Etruria.



THUNDERBOLT WITH 12 FORKS.



THUNDERBOLT WITH 8 FORKS.[2]

These *dii consentes* could hurl thunderbolts, but not more than one at a time. Tinia alone, who was identified with Jupiter, manifested his will by three consecutive bolts. Thus he was represented holding a lightning flash with three points. Beside him were seated Thalna, or Juno, and Menafru, or Minerva, his divine family. Vejovis was the

[1] The famous bust found at Otricoli, which is supposed to be the finest head of Jupiter that antiquity has left us (Winckelmann, History of Art, vi. 31 *seq.*)

[2] Large bronze medals of Antoninus, representing one a thunderbolt, of six or twelve flashes, the other of four or eight, with the words: *To divine Providence.* [Many of these bronzes are close imitations manufactured in North Italy in the last century. — *Ed.*]

baleful Sun; Summanus, god of night and nocturnal thunders; Sethlans, or Vulcan, the great smith; Nortia, fate or fortune, etc. By an old contract, Nortia lent the inner walls of her temple for the reception of the sacred nail which marked the changeless order of time and the regular return of the years. Higher yet, hidden in the unfathomable depths of heaven, mysterious deities whose names were never uttered, the *dii involuti* (or veiled) played the part of the destiny to which even the gods were subject; they helped to explain the inexplicable mystery of life.



VULCAN OF ELBA.[1]

Man has in all ages been desirous of passing in thought over the threshold of death, and of looking into the great unknown beyond. The more uncertain and confused his view, the more his mind peopled it with vague phantoms. Believing that death separated two different but not absolutely distinct things, the body which falls lifeless, and the other self, that of dreams, memories, and hopes, which still exists,[2] — this other self was looked upon as formed of a corporeal substance. With the exception of Pythagoras and Plato, all the philosophies, all the

[1] It is thought that this bronze statuette, found in the Isle of Ilva (Elba), and now in the Museum of Naples, represents the god who must have been the protector of the island whence the smiths of Etruria got their iron.

[2] This was the most ancient belief of Egypt, and it is found everywhere. Although a philosopher had dared to say at the time of the construction of the pyramids: "Of those who have entered the coffin, was there ever any who came out again?" all Egypt thought that there existed a class of beings who were neither the living nor the dead. The dead who had been good during their lives could at will resume terrestrial existence in any place or form which suited them. (Chabas, *Les Maximes du Scribe Ani*, in *Mél. Égypt.* p. 171.) This in some belief was popular in Greece, where many Sarcophagi and funeral urns show souls in some way deified (Ravaisson, *Mon. de Myrrhine*); and it was still current in the world in the sixteenth century. "There are aërial beings," says Guicciardini (*Ricordi politici*, ccxi), "who hold converse with man: I know it by experience." It still exists in China. To send gold and silver to the manes of the dead in the other world, *sacrificial papers* are burned, which are gilded or silvered, and there are prepared at certain dates, as was done at Rome, repasts in which they are supposed to come and take part. But to prevent them from taking undue advantage thereof, petards are fired, to send them back to the place whence they came. For the Esquimaux the whole world is peopled with genii, and every object has its own. In our own days some people pretend even to converse with the spirits. In many points the difference between the barbarian and the civilized man is not so great as is thought. [The Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body implied that the idea of a pure soul existing hereafter without its body was found inconceivable. — *Ed.*]

religions of classic antiquity, even some of the earliest Fathers of the Church, admitted the corporeal nature of the soul. Impalpable yet material shades, the genii were like a sacred humanity which peopled the invisible universe. One of them is seen in an Etruscan painting which represents two old men bewailing the dead, whose genius hovers above them under the form of a winged woman.

The Lares were the genii of the family: the Manes, those of the lost dead. Genii dwelt in woods, fountains, mysterious



DEMONS LEADING AWAY A SOUL.[1]

grottos: the Romans even assign them to everything which has a sort of collective life, — to the curia, the legion, and the cohort. Every man and every thing has one of its own.

When the gods issued from the obscurity which enveloped them in ancient days, and the theogonies settled order among the divine race, the genii became the ministers of their beneficent or terrible will. The sombre imagination of the Etruscans delighted in picturing, on vases and mural paintings, infernal genii armed with serpents, hideous monsters, a grimacing Charon, dragging the departed to the lower regions, or, armed with a heavy hammer, assisting at human sacrifices, to put an end to the victims whom the

[1] Conestabile, *Pitture murale*, pl. xvii.

knife might spare.[1] Something of this gloomy spirit appears to have survived in modern Tuscany. What are the gorgeous and hideous paintings of the Etruscans beside the dreadful pictures of Dante and Buonarotti?

One essential difference between this religion and the Asiatic cult, was the science of augury. The unknown fills the child with fear, and attracts the man who still dreads it, but who seeks therein, according to the age of the world, the marvellous or the scientific element. Now men of that time were in the age of the marvellous, and they demanded from physical phenomena, instead of a revelation of the laws of nature, the knowledge of the future.

The Assyrians imagined they could read in the stars those impenetrable secrets; the Etruscans sought them in terrestrial phenomena, in the flight of birds and the entrails of victims. The Greeks and Italians practised the latter two kinds of divination; but the Etruscans formulated their rules, and made of them a complicated system. They were especially skilled in interpreting the signs furnished by thunder and lightning.[2] When the echoes of the Apennines repeated the crashes of nocturnal thunder, it was the god Summanus speaking; and his voice must be understood.

This country, then, so often affrighted by earthquakes, and where, on account of its frequent storms, lightning still claims so many victims,—this land, so fertile and ever so menaced, was sure, more than any other, to nourish religious terror. Men had faith in an occult power which manifested its will in a manner outside the natural order of things, and the art of explaining prodigies, of gaining the favor of that dreaded power, became the supreme science.[3] The nobles alone knew it, and in their hands it became a weapon, long unfailing, against popular innovations. In these rituals everything was calculated; for the priest, the better to assure his power, was unwilling that there should be a single indifferent action; and a shameful superstition, weighing on the people, tied its

[1] See the engraving on p. 68. Charon and his club passed on to Rome; under the name of Pluto he put an end with his hammer-strokes to the wounded in the Games who were not worth the trouble of curing.

[2] This was the "maximum auspicium." (Serv. in *Aen.* ii. 693.)

[3] This science was afterward committed to the *libri fulgurales.*

tongue, its mind, and even its gestures. But the heavier the yoke, the more violent was the revolt; we shall see how in the last century of the Republic the most audacious infidelity succeeded the blindest faith. Men came to believe in naught but chance or fortune; still later in nothing at all, except perhaps unbridled pleasures, and then the repose of death, — nameless sensualities, and after satiety, suicide.

Thus among the Oscans and Sabellians we find a simple worship, with numberless gods; in Etruria, a religion which would fain account for life and death, for good and evil, — which, showing everywhere the arbitrary intervention of the gods, and in the natural phenomena a manifestation of their capricious will, required a class of men devoted, for the sake of public safety and the private interests of each citizen, to the interpretation and explanation of portents. All this was to find its way into Rome, — the Latin or Sabine sacrificer and the Tuscan augur, the popular worship and the sacerdotal religion.

But we do not find those oracles of Greece which were so often the voice of wisdom and patriotism, or those sacred poets of the East whose songs purified the national beliefs. In Italy religion, which was rather a contract with the gods than a prayer and an act of gratitude, never opened up those large heavens towards which the spirit soars; and the Latin genius was condemned by this shabby creed to an incurable sterility. High abilities were wanting, for invention at least; and it had neither philosophy — that deadly, but inevitable companion of great religions, for it is the search after the ideal in thought — nor art, which is the search after the ideal in sentiment and nature. Whereas the glorious artists of Greece pierced the depths of Olympus with their glance, to obtain thence the image of Zeus or Athene, the Roman veiled his head while accomplishing the sacred rites; he feared to look upon his gods, and he never held in esteem those who endeavored to place them before him in marble or in bronze.

We might even claim the religious institutions of Numa for the ancient populations of the peninsula, and look upon the Twelve Tables as a monument of old Italian customs. The laws concerning marriage, the power of the father and husband, and usury, certainly belong to the most remote times; and

the atrocious nature of the punishments recalls the cold cruelty of the heroic age, as some other laws and customs appear to have been taken from a society of still nomadic shepherds.[1] Neither let us forget the fecial right established by the Aequi, the order of battle (*acies*) of the Etruscans, whose infantry, drawn up in deep lines, resembled a wall of iron (*murum ferreum*); the golden crowns in imitation of oak-leaves, as a military reward; the armor of the Samnite soldier, which became that of the legionary; and the simple worship, frugal life, and severe education of the shepherds and husbandmen of Latium and the Sabine country; the luxury and art of Etruria, — and, in short, a mass of customs which would show that Rome already existed in ancient Italy, were it not necessary to add something especially Roman, — the idea of the State overruling all, and that admirable discipline which of such diverse elements formed an original society and the most powerful empire that the world had hitherto known.

VIII.

SUMMARY.

THIS is a very deliberate excursion through ancient Italy; but, if we are not mistaken, the circuit will only have the effect of shortening our route. Although we have travelled this long journey illumined only by stray lights, we have been able to catch a glimpse of the very cradle of Rome, of the institutions from which hers were derived, of the nations who, after having formed her population, produced her greatest men. In the consular annals we find among the consuls of the years 510 to 460, B. C., Volscians, Aurunceans, Siculians, Sabines, Rutulians, Etruscans, and Latins. Amongst the great families, —

The Julii, Servilii, Tullii, Geganii, Quinctii, Curatii, and Cloelii, come from Alba;

[1] Dornseiffen: "Vestigia vitae nomadicae tam in moribus quam in legibus Romanis conspicua."

The Appii, Postumii, and probably the Valerii, Fabii, and Calpurnii, who called themselves the descendants of Numa, from the Sabine country;

The Furii and Hostilii, from Medullia in Latium;

The Octavii, from Velitrae;

The Cilnii (Maecenas was of this family) and the Licinii, from Arezzo;

The Caecinae, from Volaterra;

The Vettii, from Clusium;

The Pomponii, Papii, and Coponii, from Etruria;

The Coruncanii and Sulpicii, from Camerium;

The Porcii and Mamilii, who claimed descent from Circe, from Tusculum, etc.

Amongst the great names of Roman literature, only two, those of Caesar and Lucretius, belong really to Rome; all the others are Italians: Horace is Apulian; Ennius, a Messapian; Plautus, from Umbria; Vergil, from Mantua; Statius, from Elea; Naevius, from Campania; Lucilius, from Suessa-Aurunca; Cicero, like Marius, is a Volscian; Ovid, a Pelignian; Cato, a Tusculan; Sallust, a Sabine; Livy, from Padua; the two Plinys, from Como; Catullus, from Verona; [Martial and Seneca were Spaniards]. Terence was even a Carthaginian. So much for men. Let us proceed to material marks.



ROMAN IN TOGA.[1]

[1] Bronze statuette in the Payne Knight Collection at the British Museum; in Mr. Payne Knight's collection it is described as Cicero.

Rome received from Etruria, — the division into tribes, curiae, and centuries, the order of battle, the dress of the magistrates, the laticlave, the praetexta, the toga, the apex,[1] the curule chair, the lictors, all the display of the triumphs and public games, the nundinae,[2] the sacred character of property, and the science of the augur, — that is to say, the state religion. From Latium, the names of dictator and praetor, the fecial right, a simple religion which placed all the works of rural life under the protection of the gods, the worship of Saturn, protector of agriculture, and that of Janus and Djana, the sun and the moon, united in the double Janus; in fact, agricultural customs and even language. From Samnium and the Sabine country, the title of *imperator*, the armor and weapons of the soldiers, severe and religious customs, and warrior gods. From all the nations which surrounded them, the patriciate or patronage, the division into *gentes*, clientship, paternal authority, the worship of the lares and fetich gods, such as bread or Ceres, the spear or Mars, the divinities of the rivers, lakes, and warm springs. In short, as a faithful representation of this formation of Roman society, Romulus and Tullus are Latins; Numa and Ancus, Sabines; Servius and the two Tarquins, Etruscans.

The following beautiful and expressive legend is found in Plutarch. Romulus, says he, called men from Etruria, who taught him the holy ceremonies and sacred formulae. They had a trench dug round the *Comitium*, and each of the citizens of the new city threw into it a handful of earth brought from his native country. Then they mixed the whole, and gave to the ditch, as to the universe, the name of the world (*mundus*).[3]

[1] *Laticlave*, a tunic, edged from top to bottom with a broad purple band, woven in the material, the mark of a senator; *praetexta*, a toga bordered with purple and worn by magistrates (or noble children); *apex*, a headdress of the flamens and the Salii. The apex is seen on a quantity of coins and monuments, the laticlave in very rare paintings.

[2] *Nundinus* (*novena dies*), the ninth day, or market-day.

[3] The *mundus* of Romulus was the world of the manes and the subterranean deities. Every time that a city was founded, a *mundus* was opened, into which were thrown the first-fruits of all the crops, with objects of good omen. It was a religious custom, which existed even in Assyria, where, in the foundations of monuments, were placed the idols which should protect them. When we fix coins in the first stone of an edifice, we do something analogous with totally different ideas; and this custom, which only serves to mark the date of the erection of the monument, is perhaps a very remote souvenir of a religious usage which has been secularized.

Thus all the Italian nationalities, all the powers, all the civilizations of the ancient world were destined to fall into the bosom of Rome and mingle there.



JANUS AS, COIN FOUND AT VOLTERRA.

HISTORY OF ROME.

FIRST PERIOD.

ROME UNDER THE KINGS (753–510 B. C.).

FORMATION OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

CHAPTER I.

TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF THE KINGS.[1]

Ὡς ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις ὕμνοις ὑπὸ
Ῥωμαίων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ᾄδεται.

DIONYSIUS: *Ant. Rom.* I. 79.

I. ROMULUS (753–716).

ROME, the city of strength[2] and war and bloodshed, was pleased to place an idyl at the beginning of her formidable history; Nero's city, ascribing to her first days the virtues of the age of

[1] We do not propose to discuss the legends of the royal period. The reader curious in intellectual diversions of this kind will do well to consult the first volume of Niebuhr, in which all these traditions are collected and critically considered; also Schwegler's History, in which they are also taken up and discussed. For ourselves, to any hypotheses, however ingenious and erudite, — which must still be as incapable of proof as are the legends they combat, — we prefer Livy's admirable narrative, if not as actual truth, at least as picture. Details more or less authentic in respect to the biographies of certain personages are, after all, of little consequence. One thing only is really important, since it is what men of all times desire to understand, and that is the question how this singular city was formed, which grew to be a nation, a world. This problem will occupy us far more than the idle or insoluble questions which, since Niebuhr's time, have been so much agitated in Germany. [The course here adopted is that of Arnold, who tells the old legends as legends, without any attempt to sift history from them. Mommsen contemptuously ignores them altogether. Ihne's little book on the earliest epoch of Roman history is the best discussion of the problem in English. — *Ed.*]

[2] The Greek word for Rome means strength; and the city's secret name was perhaps *Valentia*, from the verb *valere*, which has the same meaning. See p. 142, n. 2.

gold, began her legendary annals with a reign of Saturn, — a period of innocence, peace, and equality, of rustic labors and simple pleasures.



SATURNUS.[3]

In the beginning, says tradition, a stranger king reigned over the people of Latium, Janus, the sun-god, whose dwelling was upon the Janiculum. His subjects had the innocent and simple, but rude and uncultured, manners of primeval man. From this king, Saturnus, who had been driven out of heaven by Jupiter, obtained the gift of the Capitoline Hill;[1] and in return for this hospitality, taught the Latins how to cultivate corn and the vine. This is the age of agriculture, succeeding the pastoral age, when men lived by the fruits of the chase and upon the acorns which they gathered under the great oaks of the Latin forest. Saturnus, "the good sower,"[2] was also the good harvester, and was long represented with a sickle, which later ages, perverting the original myth, converted into the scythe of Time.



SATURNUS.[4]

To him succeeded Picus, his son, a famous soothsayer having the gift of oracles, and "the good" Faunus, the founder of important religious institutions, who was worshipped in later times in his twofold character as the god of fields and shepherds, and as an oracular and prophetic divinity. Faunus also

[1] This hill was called at first the Mount of Saturn. (Varro, *de Ling. lat.* v. 42; *Aen.* viii. 358.)

[2] *Sator* means sower.

[3] Taken from the *Monuments of Ancient Art* of Müller-Wisler.

[4] The cross placed under the chin indicates that the piece is a silver denarius. Behind there is the sickle of the divine husbandman.

welcomed the Arcadian Evander, son of Mercury and the nymph Carmenta. Evander built a town on the *Palatine*, then covered with woods and meadows, and diffused among the natives the use of the Greek alphabet and more refined manners. Hercules also came unto Latium, where he abolished human sacrifices;[1] he married the daughter of Evander, killed the brigand Cacus on the Aventine, in the middle of a thick forest, and pastured the oxen of Geryon in a place where, afterward, an ox of bronze, set up in his honor in the *Forum boarium*, consecrated the memory of this circumstance. Thus the gods, the demi-gods, and the heroes sojourned on the banks of the Tiber. This was an omen of the future grandeur of the City of the Seven Hills; or rather, legend brought them thither when Rome, having become powerful, was desirous that immortals should have surrounded her cradle.[3]



ÆNEAS CARRYING ANCHISES.[2]

[1] Professor Capellini thinks that he has found traces of cannibalism in the Island of Palmaria. Many facts lead one to the belief that this practice, which still exists in certain islands of Oceania, was universal in the first ages of humanity. Certain Roman customs recalled the memory of it. Every year, says Varro (*de Ling. lat.* vii. 44), the Vestals threw into the Tiber, from the top of the Sublician Bridge, twenty-four osier figures, to replace the human victims that they no longer threw in after the time of Hercules. The *oscillæ*, small dolls which were placed over the door of the house or hung on the neighboring trees, also recalled to memory the heads of men which were formerly offered to Saturn as a redemption. (Macr., *Sat.* I. vii. 31, and xi. 48.) At the feast of the Luperci, the priest with a bloody knife touched the foreheads of two young men, and until the time of the Empire, at the Latin Feriæ, a criminal was slain whose blood sprinkled the altar of Jupiter. [All this points only to human sacrifices, not to cannibalism.—*Ed.*]

[2] Painting on a vase of Nola, at the Munich Museum.

[3] On the legend of Hercules and Cacus, see the learned memoir of M. Bréal (*Mél. de Myth.*), in which he follows, from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Tiber, a similar history, that of the contest of Indra and Vitra, of Ormuzd and Ahriman, of Hercules and Cacus. "Vergil," says he (p. 159), "has related this history as a poet of the Vedic times might have done; and the verses which he puts into the mouth of the Salian priests would not be out of place in the most ancient of the hymns of the Aryan race."

Through Saturn, the father of the gods, Rome was connected with what was greatest in heaven; through Aeneas, the son of Venus and ancestor of Romulus, with that which Greek poetry had made the greatest upon earth,— the city of Priam. Having escaped from the burning Troy with his father Anchises, his son Ascanius, and his wife Creüsa, who carried the sacred objects and the Palladium, he crossed the Hellespont; and after having wandered for a long time on land and sea, he was led by the star of his mother, which guided his ship by day as well as by night, to the shores of Latium.[1] Latinus, king of the country, welcomed the stranger, gave him his daughter Lavinia to wife, and to his companions seven hundred acres of land, seven for each. But in a battle against the Rutulians, Aeneas, conqueror of Turnus, disappeared in the midst of the waters of the Numicius, the sacred water of which was afterward used in the worship of Vesta. The gods had received the hero. He was worshipped under the name of Jupiter Indigetes. The war, however, continued, and in single combat Ascanius killed Mezentius, the ally of Turnus. Then, leaving the arid and unhealthy coast where his father had founded Lavinium, he came to build Alba Longa, in the heart of the country, on the Alban mountain, the summit of which commands all Latium, and affords a view of the Tiber, the sea, and the storm-beaten crests of the Apennines. Twelve kings of the race of Aeneas succeeded him; one of them, Procas, had two sons, Numitor and Amulius. The former, by right of age, ought to have inherited the kingdom; but Amulius took possession of it, killed the son of Numitor, placed his daughter Sylvia among the Vestals, and only allowed his brother a portion of the private domains of their father. Now one day when Sylvia had gone to the fountain of the sacred



AENEAS.[2]

[1] Serv. in *Aen.* i. 382. As early as the sixth century B. C., Stesichorus asserted the arrival of Aeneas in Italy. Aristotle, in the fourth, adopted this tradition, and the historian Timaeus, in the third, popularized it. We shall see later on that at the time of the First Punic War it was accepted at Rome.

[2] P P. TR. POT. COS. III. SC., that is to say, Father of the country, third year of the tribunitian power, and third consulate (A. D. 140); a piece struck by order of the Senate. It is the reverse of a large bronze of Antonine representing Aeneas, who is carrying Anchises and holding his son Ascanius by the hand.

wood, to draw the water necessary for the temple. Mars appeared to her, and promised divine children to the frightened maiden. Having become a mother, Sylvia was condemned to death, according to the rigorous laws of the worship of Vesta, and her twin sons were exposed on the Tiber. The river had then overflowed its banks; the cradle was gently carried by the waters as far as the Palatine Hill, where it stopped at the foot of a wild fig-tree.[1] Mars



RHEA SYLVIA.[2]





ROME AND THE SHE-WOLF.[3]



FAUSTULUS.[4]

did not abandon the two children. A she-wolf, attracted by their cries, or rather, sent by the god whose symbol was the wolf, nourished them with her milk. Afterward a sparrow-hawk brought them stronger nourishment, while birds sacred to the augurs hovered over their cradle to keep off the insects. Struck by these miracles, Faustulus, a shepherd of the King's flocks, took the two children and gave them to his wife, Acca Larentia, who called them Romulus and Remus.[5]

[1] The *ficus Ruminalis*, religiously preserved through centuries. *Ruma*, or *rumis*, has the meaning of *mamma* (Varr., *de Re rust.* II. i. 20), and the Tiber itself was called *Rumon*, that is, the river with fertilizing waters. (Serv. in *Aen.* viii. 63.) Hence came the names of Rome, Romulus, and Remus. (Philargyr. in Verg., *Ecl.* i. 20.) The bed of the Tiber formerly reached from the Pincio to the Janiculum. Although this river has now a width of only 185 feet, it still frequently overflows into the streets; a rising of 32 feet has been marked on the church of Minerva. That of the 29th of December, 1870, was 18 yards, 2 feet.

[2] The Aemilii pretended that Rhea Sylvia belonged to the Aemilian gens, and they put her image on some of their medals. That which we give is taken from a die of Antoninus, who was fond of recalling on his coins, facts or monuments of the primitive history of Rome.

[3] A didrachme of Campanian make, in silver. Pieces of two drachmae are rare. The drachme was almost equivalent to a franc.

[4] SEX . POM . FOSTLVS ROMA. Faustulus standing on the left; before him the wolf suckling the twins; in the background the Ruminal fig-tree with three crows. Reverse of a silver coin of the Pompeian family.

[5] Livy (i. 4) alludes to other accounts, in which Acca Larentia, on account of her loose morals, was given a name for courtesan, *lupa*, the she-wolf. Nothing more would be required for forming the famous legend on this name. It was already popular in 296, a time when the wolf and the twins were officially consecrated on the Palatine; but it was not very ancient, since the coins of Rome bore the impress of the sow before that of the wolf, which does not appear till the *quadrantes* of the fifth century. Acca Larentia was a telluric goddess, who personified the earth in which we place the dead, and seeds, whence life springs;

Brought up on the Palatine in huts of straw, like the hardy children of the shepherd, they grew in strength and courage, fearlessly attacking wild beasts and brigands, and asserting their rights by force. The companions of Romulus were called the Quintilii: those of Remus, the Fabii; and already division broke out between them. One day, however, the two brothers had a quarrel with the shepherds of the rich Numitor, whose flocks fed on the Aventine, and Remus, surprised in an ambush, was taken by them to Alba before their master. The prisoner's features, his age, the twin birth, struck Numitor: he caused Romulus to be brought before him; and Faustulus disclosed to the two young men the secret of their birth. Aided by their companions, they killed Amulius, and Alba returned to the sway of its lawful king. In return, Numitor permitted them to build a town on the banks of the river, and gave up to them all the country which extended from the Tiber on the road to Alba as far as a place called *Festi*, about five or six miles distant.[1]

Equal in power and authority, the two brothers soon disputed the honor of choosing the site and the name[2] of the new city. It was left to the gods, whose will they consulted by the Sabellian augury through the flight of birds. Remus, on the Aventine, first saw six vultures; but almost at the same time twelve appeared to Romulus, on the Palatine; and their companions, won over by this happy omen, pronounced in his favor. So the plebeian hill, already sullied in the most ancient

so her festival was celebrated at the winter solstice. At the sixth hour, at the moment when the year passed away, the Quirinal flamen offered a sacrifice to the manes in honor of the "Mother of the Lares," — this is the meaning of her name; and the rest of the day was consecrated to Jupiter, the god of light and regenerated life. [The curious analogies in the stories of the birth and education of Cyrus, preserved by Herodotus, show that we probably have before us an old Aryan legend, however late it may appear at Rome. — *Ed.*]

[1] This is the *ager Romanus*. Under Tiberius expiatory sacrifices were still offered there, intended to purify the primitive frontier. The Roman mile, or thousand paces of five feet, is equivalent to about 1,620 yards.

[2] The profane name was *Roma* (see p. 137, n. 2); the sacerdotal name, *Flora*. There was a third secret name, possibly *Amor*, an anagram of *Roma*, which it was forbidden to pronounce, under pain of death. (Munter, *De occulto urbis Romae nomine.*) Others think it *Valentia*, or *Angeroma*. (Cf. Maury, memoir on *Servius Tullius.*) Great care was taken to conceal this name, says Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxviii. 4), because it belonged at the same time to the tutelar deity of the city. As long as it remained unknown, the hostile priests could not induce this god to abandon his people, by promising in their city greater honors, *ampliorem cultum*, which, according to the idea of the ancients, was the determining reason of the favor of the gods.

traditions as the abode of the brigand Cacus, remained so by the unlucky omen of Remus. It seems always doomed: at the present day it is a waste, where a few monks dwell about deserted churches.[1]



ROMULUS.[4]

Following Etruscan rites[2] Romulus yoked a bull and a heifer without spot to a plough, and with a bronze ploughshare he traced around the Palatine a furrow which represented the circuit of the walls, the *pomerium*, or sacred enclosure,[3] beyond which began the secular town, the city of strangers and plebeians, devoid of auspices (April 21, 754[5]).

Already the rampart was rising, when Remus in derision jumped over it; but Celer, or Romulus himself, killed him, crying out: "Thus perish every one who shall cross these walls." Legend placed blood in the foundations of this city, which was destined to shed more than any city of the world has done.[6]

The Palatine, the highest of the seven hills of Rome (168

[1] M. Maury sees in this legend the opposition of two *oppida* existing on the two rival hills, one of which, the Aventine, bore the name of *Remuria*, — whence the name of Remus.

[2] Varro, *de Ling. lat.* v. 32; Plut., *Rom.* 11.

[3] Aulus Gellius, xiii., xiv.: . . . *qui facit finem urbani auspicii.* Under Servius six hills were enclosed in the pomerium; up to the time of Claudius, the Aventine remained outside this enclosure. Fest., s. v. *Posimerium;* Dionys., iv. 13; Tac., *Ann.* xii. 24.

[4] We give this figure as we give the legendary history of Rome. Neither the one nor the other is authentic. The statues of the Seven Kings were certainly preserved on the Capitol, but they were conventional images. It is, however, as interesting to know how the Romans represented their great personages as to know how they conceived the history of their first days. [Nevertheless, these imaginary portraits are only of interest if really ancient, and not the conscious invention of a late and sceptical age. The portraits of these kings look more like Renaissance fancies, than old Roman work. They are apparently enlarged from heads found on coins with the legend of the names. — *Ed.*]

[5] This ancient wall of *Roma quadrata* was found in the excavations undertaken on the site of the Palace of the Caesars. It is a wall evidently built under the influence of the architectural ideas of Etruria. The same is the case with the wall of Servius.

[6] The difficulties of Roman chronology are as inextricable as the legends of its history :—

1st. Until the time of Augustus they reckoned by the consuls and from the expulsion of the kings; but some consulships were omitted. Livy himself, by his own calculations, may be convicted of having omitted several. On account of city troubles, or by the fraud of the pontiff, some were made to last longer, others less, than the year. The intercalations of interregnums and dictatorships, the variations of the date of entering on their duties, fixed sometimes on the 31st of December, sometimes (after the Second Punic War) on the 19th of March or on the Ides of May, finally, after the year 153, on the 1st of January, led to such confusion, that, when

feet), was nearly 2,000 yards in circumference, so that access to it was easy.

But, at a little distance, the Capitoline Hill (145 feet) descended by steep declivities into the marshes; this position, then, was already strong in itself. Romulus there carried out works of defence, which made it the citadel of Rome.

In order to increase the population of the new city, he opened

Caesar reformed the calendar, it was necessary to make a year of fifteen months, in order to put the civil year in accord with the course of the sun.

2d. The Roman year is four months behind the Christian year, and three months in advance of the Greek year; so that the year of Rome 300 corresponds to eight months of the year 454 B. C., and four months of the year 453 B. C.; and for the Olympiads, to three months of Ol. 81, 3, and nine months of Ol. 81, 4. Consequently, even if this chronology were certain, there must be continual rectifications in reckoning the years before Christ.

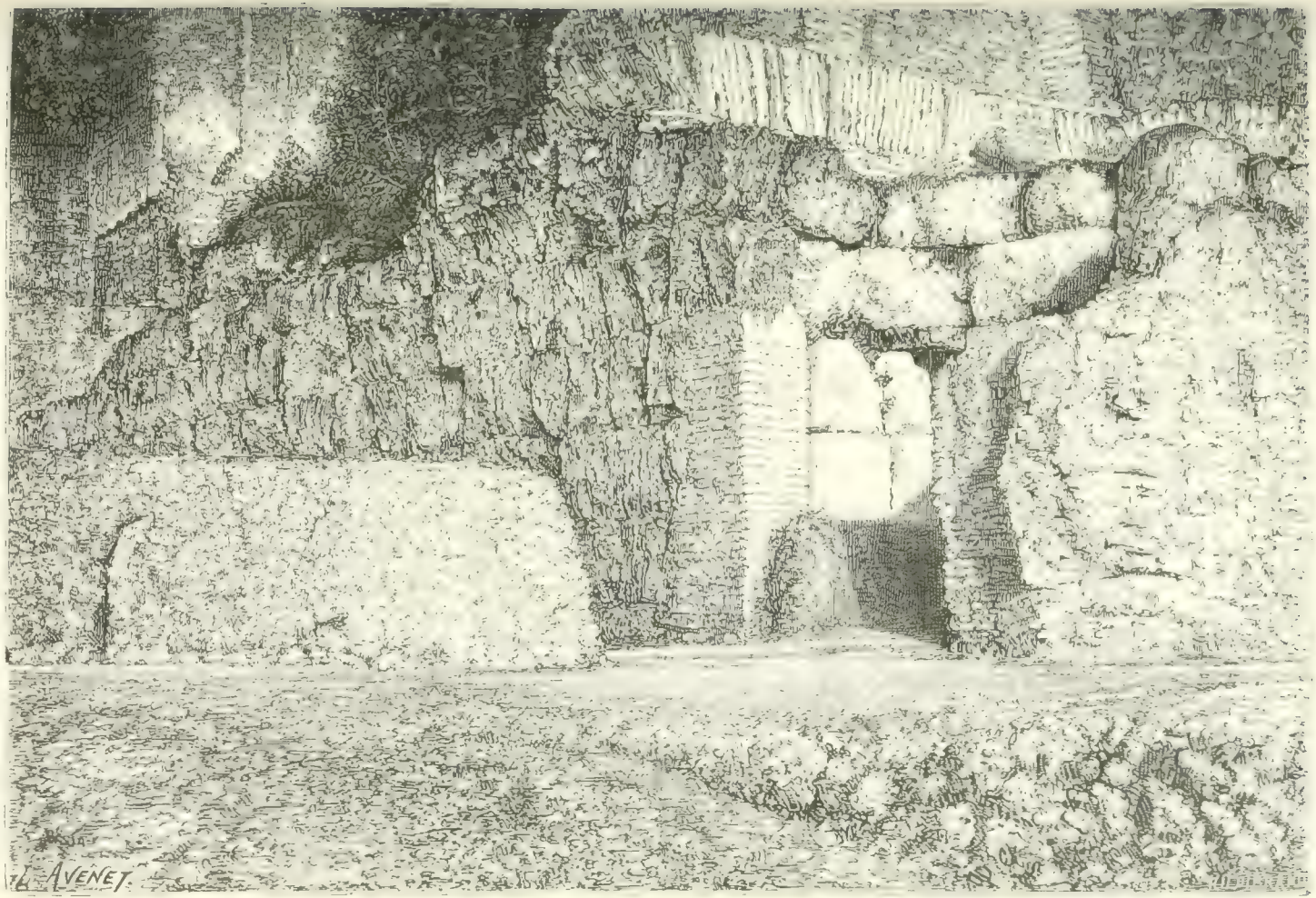
3d. Livy avows that great confusion still existed concerning the period which followed the expulsion of the kings, — *tanti errores implicant temporum . . .* (ii. 21); and there is, in truth, no certainty in Roman chronology until after taking of Rome by the Gauls, because the Greeks knew this event and connected it with their own chronology, in Ol. 98, 1 or 2, or even, according to Varro, Ol. 97, 2. When they began at a rather late date to establish a chronology for Roman history, it was a traditional belief (see Serv. in *Aen.* i. 268) that Rome had been founded 360 years after the downfall of Troy, and that between its foundation and destruction by the Gauls the same number of years had elapsed. Of this period of 360 years, a third, or 120, was allowed for the consuls; the other two thirds, or 240, with four intercalary years, 244, formed the period of the kings. Now 390 B. C., the date of the taking of Rome by the Gauls, plus 364, give 754. But as there was a variation of some years in the same fundamental date, some took 754, others 753, or 752 (Fabius, Ol. 8, 1; Polybius and Corn. Nep., Ol. 7, 2; Cato, Ol. 7, 1; Varro, Ol. 6, 3; and *the Capitoline Annals*, Ol. 6, 4). They went as far as to fix the day (April 21st), and even the hour, when Romulus had traced out the pomerium. The value of such a chronology will be easily appreciated.

[The early Roman, like the Greek, chronology, reasoned down from remote mythical dates, not up from known historical facts. The use of 60-year cycles is just as clear in the legends of the birth of Homer. Cf. the criticism in my *Greek Literature*, vol. i. Appendix B., and in my Essay on the Olympiads in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ii. 164, *seq.* — *Ed.*]

4th. As regards the three last kings in particular, Cicero and Livy represented Tarquin the Proud, who died in 495 B. C., as the son of Tarquin the Elder, who had come to Rome with his wife 135 years before, — hence chronological impossibilities of which the legend had never dreamed.

5th. Finally, the 244 years of the royal period give on an average 35 years for each reign. Now Rome was an elective monarchy, in which the throne was only reached at the age of experience and maturity; moreover, of seven kings, two only finished their life and their reign in peace. So Newton, only allowing 17 years as an average for each reign, reduced these 244 years to 119, and placed the founding of Rome about 630 B. C. Niebuhr has remarked that Venice, a republic which also had elective chiefs, reckoned, from 805 to 1311, 40 doges; which gives an average of 12½ years for each. We can infer nothing from these calculations, for, in Spain, from 1516 to 1759 (243 years), there were only seven kings, but not elective; as many in France, from 987 to 1223 (236 years), and from 1589 to 1830, 240 years, there would have been, reckoning as the Restoration did, seven kings, two of whom died a violent death, a third finished his life in exile, and a fourth died at the age of ten.

This chronology of the early times of Rome must therefore be suspicious, like the history of its first kings. We will follow it, however, in default of a better one.



REMAINS OF THE WALL OF ROMULUS

an asylum in the midst of the oaks which grew in the *intermontium*, between the two summits of the Capitoline, and he made it a sacred wood;[1] then he asked those in the neighboring cities to unite themselves by marriages to his people. Everywhere they refused with contempt. "Open," said they, "an asylum for women too." He dissembled; but at the festival of the god Consus,[2] he caused all the young girls to be carried off who had come to the games with their fathers. There was no concerted action to punish this outrage. The Coeninates, the first ready, were beaten; Romulus killed their king, Acron, and consecrated his arms, as *spolia opima*, to Jupiter Feretrius. The Crustuminians and the Antemnates met with the same fate and lost their lands. But the Sabines from Cures, led by their king, Tatius, penetrated as far as the Capitoline Hill, and took possession, through the treachery of Tarpeia, of the citadel, which Romulus had built on one of the peaks; the other summit bore later on the temple of Jupiter. For opening the gates to the Sabines, Tarpeia had asked from them what they carried on the left arm, — namely, golden bracelets. But on this arm they also carried their bucklers; on entering, they threw them at her, and she was smothered under their weight. The people long believed that at the end of the gloomy tunnels excavated in the Capitoline, the beautiful Tarpeia lived, seated in the midst of her treasures; but that he who attempted to penetrate to her, must infallibly perish.[4] The Romans were already fleeing, when Romulus, vowing a temple to Jupiter Stator,[5] renewed the combat, which was stayed by the Sabine women throwing themselves



TARPEIA.[3]

[1] Not only were certain woods sacred, but also certain trees, notably those which had been struck by lightning. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xii. 1, 2) calls trees the first temples of the gods. This worship was, in fact, very ancient, since it commences among the Greeks with the oak of Dodona, and is continued by the laurel of Apollo, the olive of Minerva, the myrtle of Venus, the poplar of Hercules, etc., and it was still in active existence at the time of Apuleius.

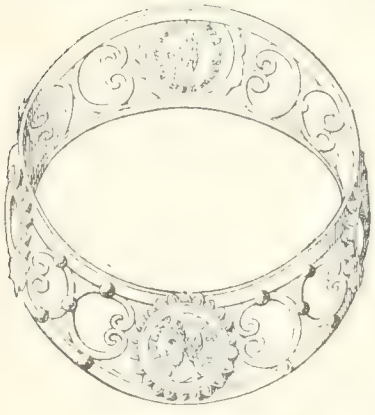
[2] This god, whose name it has been attempted to derive from the adjective *conditus*, which signifies hidden, appears to have been a subterranean deity. (Hartung, *Die Religion der Röm.*, ii. 87.)

[3] TVRPILIANVS III. VIR., that is to say, monetary triumvir. Tarpeia crushed by the shields and raising her hands to heaven. Silver coin of the Petronian family.

[4] This is the only ancient legend which still exists amongst the people of Rome, said Niebuhr; but since his time it has been forgotten.

[5] This temple, at first very unpretending, was several times reconstructed. The engraving on p. 146 gives its restored form according to the works of Canina and M. Dutert, the author of a very fine memoir of the Roman Forum.

between their fathers and their husbands. Peace was concluded, and the first basis of the greatness of Rome established by the union of the two armies. The double-headed Janus became the symbol of the new nation.[1]



ROMAN BRACELET.[2]

At the end of five years Tatius was killed by the Laurentines, to whom he refused justice for a murder, and the Sabines consented to recognize Romulus as sole king. Victories over the Fidenates and Veientines justified this choice. But one day, when he was reviewing his troops near the Capraean marsh, a storm dispersed the assembly; when the people returned, the King had disappeared. A senator, Proculus, swore that he had seen him ascend to heaven on the chariot of Mars, amid thunder and lightning, and he was worshipped under the name of Quirinus. The Senate had sacrificed him to their fears, or the Sabines to their resentment.



TRADITIONAL FIGURE OF TATIUS.[3]

II. Numa (715–673).

The two nations could not agree as to the appointment of his successor, and for a year the senators governed by turns as *interreges*. At length it was settled that the Romans should make the selection, on condition that they chose a Sabine. A voice named

[1] In memory of this peace Roman ladies celebrated on the Calends of March (March 1st) the festival of the *matronalia*. In the morning they ascended in pomp to the temple of Juno, on the Esquiline Hill, and placed at the foot of the goddess the flowers with which their heads were crowned. (Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 205.) In the evening, in order to commemorate the marks of tenderness which the Sabine women had received from their husbands, they remained at home richly adorned, waiting for the gifts of their husbands and relatives. Tibullus chose this day, on which custom allowed presents to be offered to women, to send his books to his beloved Neaera. (Tib., *Carm.* iii. 1.)

[2] In gold and open work, with coins set in: it is reduced to almost half size, which proves that it was worn on the upper part of the arm. The medals are of the third century of our era. (Cf. *Dictionary of Antiquities*, p. 437.)

[3] Visconti's *Iconographie Romaine*. (See p. 143, note 4.)



TEMPLE OF JUPITER STATOR (RESTORATION BY CANINA AND DUTERT).

Numa Pompilius. All proclaimed him king; but he did not accept till he had obtained favorable signs from Heaven. "Led by the augur to the summit of the Tarpeian Mount, he seated himself on a stone and turned towards the south. The augur, with his head covered, and holding in his hand the *lituus*, a curved stick without a knot in it, cast his eyes over town and country, praying to the gods meanwhile; then he marked out a space in the heavens from east to west, declared the region of the south to be the right, that of the north the left, and determined the extreme point of the horizon to which his sight could reach. Then he took the lituus in his left hand, laid his right on the head of Numa, and said: "O Jupiter, O father! If it be good that this Numa Pompilius, whose head I hold, reign in Rome, show me certain signs in the space that I have marked out." He announced the omens he required, and when they had been manifested, Numa, declared king, descended from the *templum*.[2]



TRADITIONAL PORTRAIT OF NUMA POMPILIUS.[1]

Numa was the most just and wise of men, the disciple of Pythagoras,[3] and the favorite of the gods. Inspired by the Nymph Egeria, whom he went to consult by night in the solitude of the wood of the Camenae or Muses,[4] he arranged the religious ceremonies, the functions of the four pontiffs, the guardians of worship; of the flamens, the ministers of the greater gods; of the augurs, the interpreters of divine will; of the fetiales, who prevented unjust wars; of the vestals chosen by the high priest from the

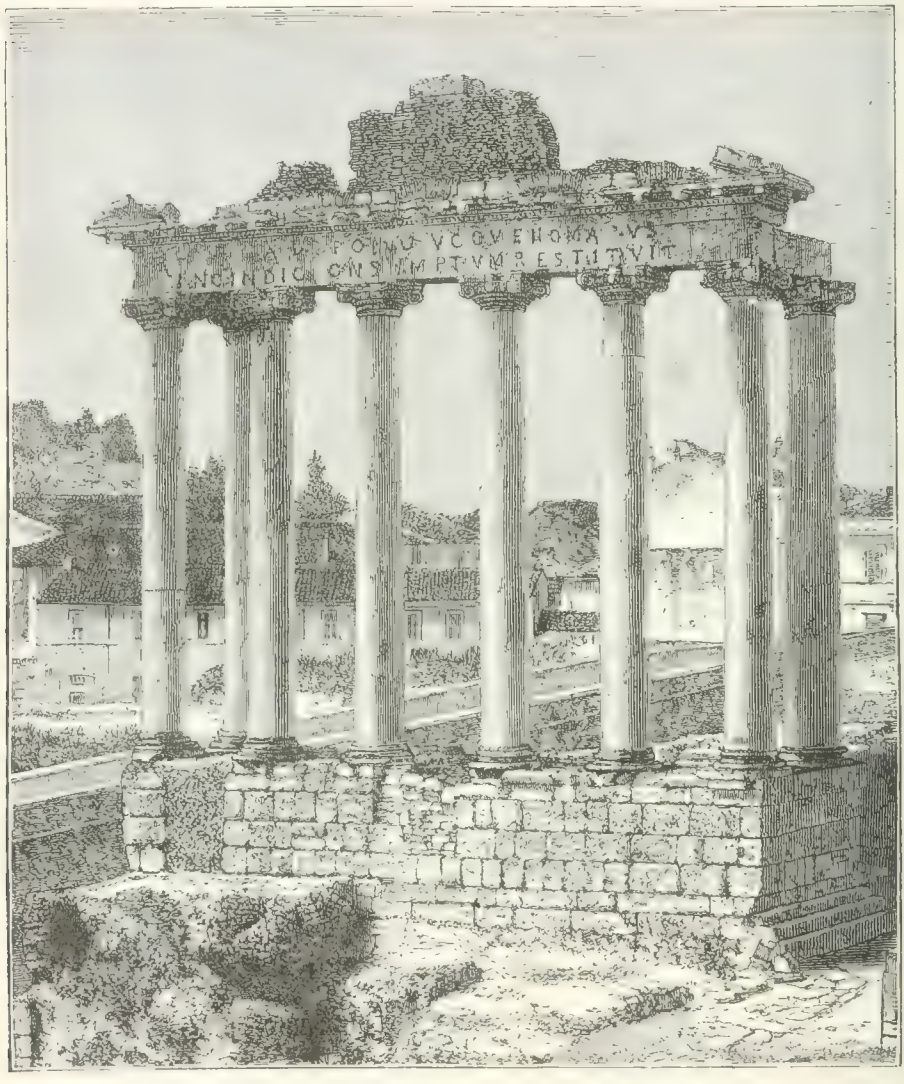
[1] Visconti's *Iconographie Romaine*.

[2] *Templum* was the name given to sacred enclosures, afterward to religious edifices. I have borrowed these details from Livy (i. 18), who has certainly furnished us with an extract from the ritual, and shown us an augur at his duties. The aruspices were simply diviners who examined the entrails of victims; they had no religious character, and did not form a college. They never arrived at the authority and consideration that the augurs enjoyed.

[3] Tradition says so; but chronology and probability are opposed to the idea. Pythagoras lived a century later [than the *traditional* date of Numa].

[4] In proof of this the Romans still show, not far from the Capena Gate, the grotto wherein the goddess gave sage counsel to the new king. This grotto was, in fact, a *nymphaeum* consecrated to some water divinity; but Egeria never dwelt there, even according to the legend. The abode assigned to her by the ancients was in the wood of the Camenae, on the Caelius, where from a dark cave came a fountain that never dried up.

most noble families to keep up the perpetual fire, the Palladium, and the Penates; and lastly of the Salii, who guarded the shield that had fallen from heaven (*ancile*) and celebrated the festival of



THE EIGHT COLUMNS OF THE TEMPLE OF SATURN.[1]

the God of War by songs and armed dances. He forbade bloody sacrifices, the representation of the God by images of wood, bronze, or stone, and paid special honors to Saturn, the father of Italian civilization, the king of the golden age, of the times of virtue.

[1] Remains of a temple of Saturn, rebuilt by the Emperor Maxentius.

plenty, and equality, whose festival, a day of mad joy and liberty even for the slave, suspended hostilities on the frontiers



HEADS OF THE DII PENATES.[1]



SALIAN PRIEST.[2]



ANCILIA.[3]

and the execution of criminals in the city.[4] In later times the temple of this god was a kind of state sanctuary. The public treasure was preserved there, with the official documents and the ensigns of the legions.

That each might live in peace on his farm, Numa distributed among the people the lands conquered by Romulus, raised a temple to Good Faith on the Capitol, and consecrated the limits of property (festival of the *Terminalia*) by devoting to the gods of the infernal regions those who should remove the boundaries of the fields. He moreover divided the poor into guilds of craftsmen, and built the temple of Janus, the open gates of which announced war, the closing of them peace. It was needful that during war time the god should leave his temple to protect the young warriors of Rome; peace rendered this aid useless. Under Numa "the neighboring towns seem to have breathed the healthful breath of a soft, pure wind, that blew from the side where Rome lay," and the temple of Janus always remained closed.[6]



JANUS.[5]

[1] DEI PENATES. Coupled heads of the Penates. Silver coin of Antian family.

[2] AVGVST. DIVI F. LVDOS SAE. Salian priest. Silver coin of the family Sanquinia, commemorative of the secular games.

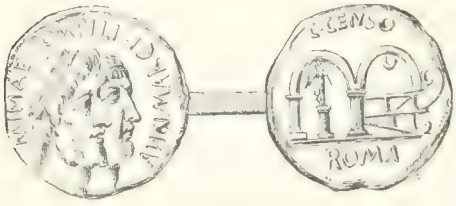
[3] The *ancilia;* reverse of a bronze of Antoninus.

[4] The Saturnalia legally lasted one day in ancient times, three in last centuries of the Republic, and five under the Empire; but seven were often taken. During these feasts, which in certain customs recall our old carnival, official life was suspended and the tribunals closed. Cf. Macr., *Sat.* I. *passim.*

[5] *Jano Patri.* Janus standing, holding a patera and a sceptre. Aureus, or gold piece of Gallienus.

[6] With the worship of Janus was perhaps connected the vague notion of a supreme god, who was both sun and moon, the beginning and end of all things, the creator of the world and arbiter of battles. The old deity was successively despoiled of his warlike attributes in favor

Beyond these works of peace, tradition knows nothing of the second King of Rome, and remains silent on the subject of this long reign of forty-three years. He himself had recommended the worship of silence, the goddess *Tacita*. At his death Diana changed Egeria into a fountain, and the spring still flows at the place which was the sacred wood of the Camenae. Near the tomb of Numa, dug at the foot of the Janiculum, were buried his books, which contained all the prescriptions to be followed to ensure the accomplishment of the rites so as to gain certain favor from the gods. Being recovered at an epoch when Greek idolatry had replaced the old religion, these books were judged dangerous, and were burned by order of the Senate.[2]



COIN OF THE MARCII.[1]

III. — Tullus Hostilius (673–640).

To the pious and pacific prince there succeeds the sacrilegious warrior king: after Numa, Tullus Hostilius. The Sabines, in consequence of the agreement made between the two nations about the election of Numa, chose him among the Romans, as the latter, after Tullus, name the Sabine Ancus. Romulus was the son of a god, Numa, the husband of a goddess; with Tullus begins the reign of men. He was grandson of a Latin of

of Mars, an old god of the field (Cato, *de Re rust.* 141, and Saint Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, ii. 17), and of his supreme majesty in favor of Jupiter. In the *Fasti* (i. 101, 117 *seq.*) Ovid makes him say: —

"Me Chaos antiqui, nam sum res prisca, vocabant . . .
Quidquid ubique vides, caelum, mare, nubila, terras,
Omnia sunt nostra clausa patentque manu."

[1] This coin of the Marcii, who asserted their descent from the fourth King of Rome, himself said to be the grandson of Numa, gives the traditional features of these princes. On the reverse are two arcades: under the first stands victory on a column, under the second the crescent moon and the prow of a vessel, another souvenir of the port of Ostia built by Ancus and of his success over the Latins. We see the custom the Romans had of recalling on their coins the facts of their annals, and the interest that these coins offer from the double point of view of history and art.

[2] The fact is reported by Dionysius, Livy, and Cicero. We shall see at the right place what to believe about this pretended discovery of the books of Numa made in the year 181 B.C., which was a pious fraud.



NYMPHAEUM OF EGERIA.

Mœlullia, who had fought valiantly under Romulus against the Sabines. Tullus loved the poor, distributed lands among them, and went to live among them himself on Mount Cœlius, where he established the conquered Albans.

Let us hear Livy relating the ancient legend; although no translation can convey the brilliancy of his narrative. Alba, the mother of Rome, had by slow degrees become a stranger to her colony, and mutual incursions brought on a war. Long the two armies remained face to face, without daring to commence the sacrilegious strife. "As there were found in each of the two nations three twin brothers, of nearly the same strength and age, the Horatii and Curiatii. Tullus and the dictator of Alba charged them to fight for their country; the supremacy should belong to the victors. The convention that was made was this. The fetialis, addressing Tullus, said: 'King, dost thou bid me conclude a treaty with the *pater patratus* of the Alban people?' And on an affirmative answer being given, he added: 'I demand of thee the sacred herb.' 'Take it pure,' replied Tullus. Then the fetialis brought the pure herb from the citadel, and addressing Tullus anew: 'King, dost thou name me interpreter of thy royal will and that of the Roman people, descended from Quirinus? Dost thou approve of the sacred vessels, and the men who accompany me?' 'Yes,' replied the King, 'without prejudice to my right and that of the Roman people.' The fetialis was M. Valerius; he made Sp. Fusius *pater patratus* of the Albans, by touching him on the head and hair with vervain. The *pater patratus* took the oath, and sanctioned the treaty by pronouncing the necessary formulae. When the conditions had been read, the fetialis continued: 'Hear, Jupiter, hear, father patratus of the Alban people; hear, too, Alban people. The Roman people will never be the first to violate the conditions inscribed on these tablets, which have just been read to you, — from the first line to the last without fraud or falsehood. From this day they are clearly understood by all. If it should happen that by public deliberation or unworthy subterfuge the Roman people infringe them first, then, great Jupiter, strike it as I strike this swine, and strike with more severity, as thy power is greater.' When the imprecation was ended, he broke the skull of the pig

with a stone. The Albans, by the mouth of the Dictator and priests, repeated the same formulae and pronounced the same oath.

"When the treaty was concluded, the three brothers on each side take their arms. The cheers of their fellow citizens animate them; the Gods of their country, and even, so it seems to them, their country itself, have their eyes fixed upon them. Burning with courage, intoxicated with the sound of so many voices exhorting them, they advance between the two armies, who, though exempt from peril, were not so from fear; for it was a matter of empire depending on the valor and fortune of so small a number of champions.

"The signal being given, the six champions spring forward sword in hand, and bearing in their hearts the courage of two great nations. Heedless of their own danger, they only keep before their eyes triumph or slavery, and the future of their country, whose destiny depends upon their acts. At the first shock, when the clash of arms was heard and the swords were seen flashing, a deep horror seized the spectators. Anxious expectation froze their utterance and suspended their breath. Still the combatants fight on; the blows are no longer uncertain, there are wounds and blood. Of the three Romans two fall dead. The Alban army utters shouts of joy, and the Romans fix looks of despair on the last of the Horatii, whom the Curiatii are already surrounding. But these are all three wounded, and the Roman is unhurt. Not strong enough for his enemies united, yet more than a match for each separately, he takes to flight, sure that each will follow him according to the degree of strength he has left. When he had gone some distance from the scene of combat, he turned, and saw his adversaries following him at unequal distances, one alone pressing rather close upon him.

"Quickly he turns, darts on him with fury, and while the Albans are calling on the Curiatii to help their brother, Horatius, already victorious, hastens to his second combat. Then arose from the midst of the Roman army a cry of unexpected joy; the warrior gathers strength from the voice of his people, and without giving the last Curiatius time to approach, he puts an end to the second. There remained only two; but having neither

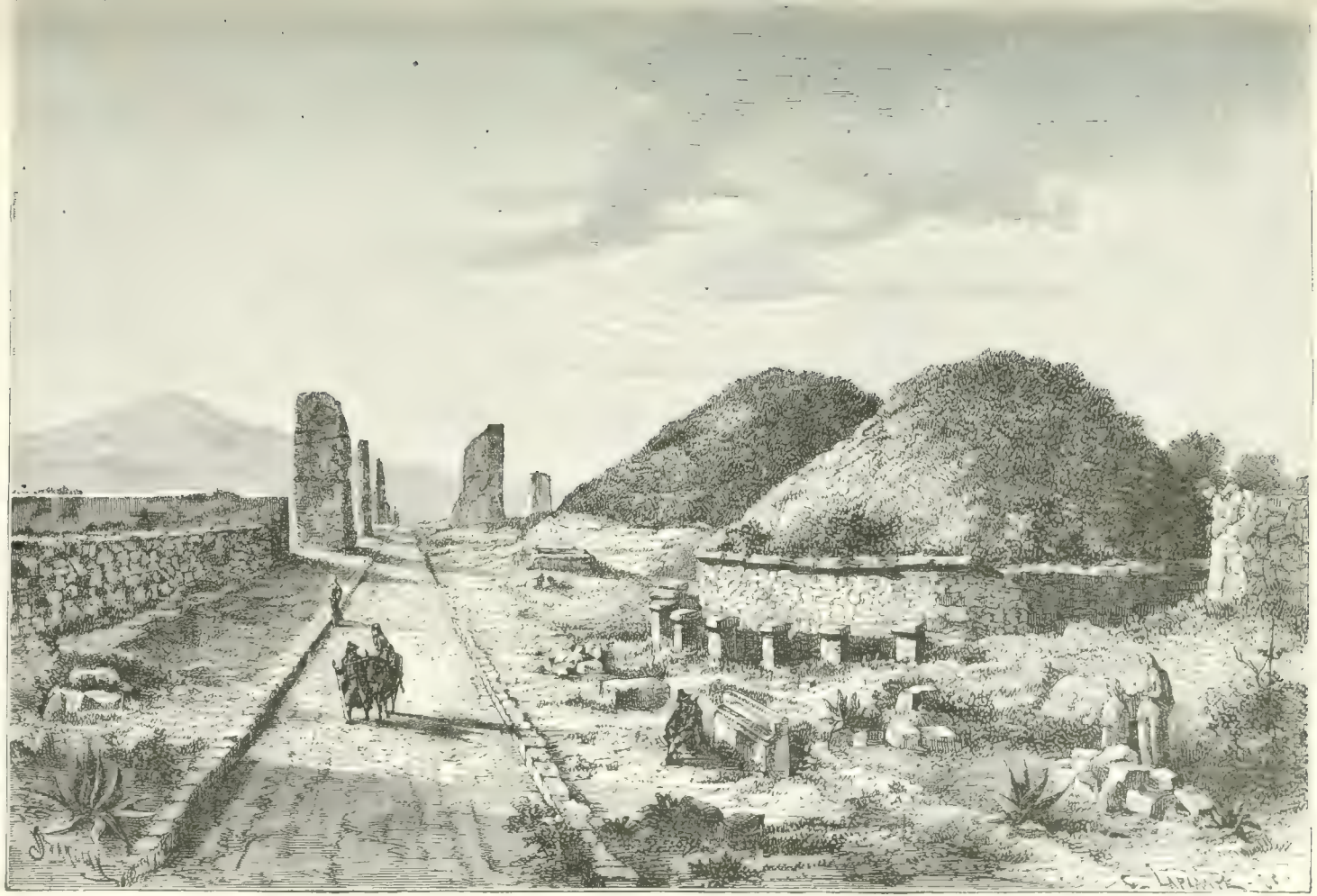
the same confidence nor the same strength: the one unwounded, proud of a double victory, and advancing with confidence to a third combat; the other exhausted by the blood he had lost and by the distance he had run, hardly able to drag himself along, and conquered beforehand by the death of his brothers. There was hardly a struggle. The Roman, transported with joy, cries out: 'I have just sacrificed two to the manes of my brothers; I sacrifice this one that Rome may have rule over the Albans.' Curiatius could scarcely support his arms: Horatius plunged his sword into his throat, threw him to the ground, and despoiled him of his arms. The Romans surround the victor and cover him with praises, all the more delighted because they had at first trembled. Each of the two peoples then turned to burying its dead, but with very different feelings. The one had won empire, the other had passed under foreign rule. The tombs of these warriors[1] are still seen at the spot where they each fell: the two Romans together and nearer Alba; the three Albans on the side next Rome, at some distance from one another, according as they had fought.

"Then by the terms of the treaty, Mettius asked Tullus what is his will. 'That thou hold the Alban youth under arms,' answered the King, 'and I will employ them against the Veientines if I make war on them.' The two armies returned home, and Horatius, loaded with his triple trophy, marched at the head of the legions, when near the Porta Capena he met his sister, who was betrothed to one of the Curiatii. She recognized on her brother's shoulders her lover's tunic, which she herself had woven, and her sobs burst forth; she asks for her husband, she utters his name in a voice choked with tears. Angry at seeing a sister's tears insult his triumph and the joy of Rome, Horatius draws his sword and stabs the girl, overwhelming her with imprecations. 'Go with thy mad love,' says he, 'go and rejoin thy betrothed, thou who forgottest thy dead brothers, and him who remains, and thy country. So perish every Roman woman who shall dare to weep the death of an enemy.' This murder caused a profound sensation in the Senate

[1] If this combat ever did take place, the Horatii must have fallen at that spot; and the *tumuli* seen there, which recall the sepulchral buildings of Etruria, perhaps covered their bones. The Romans at least thought so.

and among the people, though the brilliant exploit of the murderer took from the horror of his crime. He is led before the King, that justice may be done. Tullus, fearing to become responsible for a sentence, the severity of which would raise in revolt the multitude, calls the people together and says: 'I name duumvirs,[1] according to the law, to judge the crime of Horatius.' The law was fearfully severe. 'Let the duumvirs (it ran) judge the crime; if the judgment is appealed from, let the appeal be pronounced upon: if the sentence is confirmed, let the head of the condemned be covered, let him be hanged on the fatal tree and beaten with rods within or without the circuit of the walls.' The duumvirs immediately take their seats: 'P. Horatius,' says one of them, 'I declare that thou hast merited death. Go, lictor, bind his hands!' The lictor approaches; already he was passing the cord round him, when by the advice of Tullus, a merciful interpreter of the law, Horatius cries, 'I appeal!' and the case was referred to the people. Then the elder Horatius was heard crying that the death of his daughter was just; otherwise he himself, in virtue of his paternal authority, would have been the first to punish his son; and he besought the Romans, who on the preceding day had seen him father of so fine a family, not to deprive him of all his children. Then, embracing his son, and showing the people the spoils of Curiatii, hung up in the place called to this day the Pillar of Horatius: 'Romans,' said he, 'the man whom you saw with admiration so lately marching in the midst of you, triumphant, and bearing illustrious spoils, will you see him tied to the degrading post, beaten with rods, and put to death? The Albans themselves could not endure such a spectacle. Go, lictor, bind those hands which have just given us empire! Go, cover with a veil the head of the liberator of Rome; hang him on the fatal tree; strike him within the town, if thou wilt, but in presence of these trophies and spoils; without the town, but in the midst of the tombs of the Curiatii. Into what place can you lead him where the monuments of his glory do not protest against the horror of his punishment?' The citizens, conquered by the tears of the father and the intrepidity of the son, pronounced the absolution of the guilty; and this grace was accorded

[1] *Duumviri perduellionis* (Livy, i. 26; cf. Lange, *Römische Alterthümer*, i. 328, *seq.*).



TOMB OF THE HORATII.

him rather for their admiration of his courage than for the goodness of his cause. In order, however, that so glaring a crime should not remain without expiation, they obliged the father to redeem his son by paying a fine. After some expiatory sacrifices, whereof the family of the Horatii since preserved the tradition, the old man placed a post across the middle of the street, a kind of yoke, under which he made his son pass with veiled head. This post, preserved and kept in perpetuity by the care of the Republic, exists to this day. It is called the Sister's Post."[1]

Did this combat, twice consecrated, once by the great historian of Rome, again by the masculine genius of Corneille, ever take place? We may doubt it; but at Rome every one believed it, and for centuries there existed proofs of it which appeared irrefutable: the Sister's Post, the Cluilian ditch,[2] the tombs of the Horatii, the expiatory sacrifices renewed every year by their House to appease the manes of a beloved victim. All this compels us to admit that there is at least hidden under the ornament of epic narration, embellished by popular poetry and by the pride of the *gens Horatia*, some actual fact. Legend is often wrong as regards the exploits which it relates: it is nearly always right about the manners and institutions which it reveals; and it is in order to show this portion of truth that we have given this long narration.

Alba had submitted; but in a battle against the Fidenates, whom the Veientines aided, the dictator of the Albans, Mettius Fuffetius, stood aloof with his troops, awaiting the issue of the combat. Tullus invoked Pallor and Terror, promising them a temple if they spread fear among the enemy's ranks; then, being victorious, he said to the traitor: "Thy heart is divided between me and my enemies: so shall it be with thy body;" and they bound him to two chariots, which were driven in opposite directions. Then Alba was destroyed, its population transferred to Rome on Mount Caelius, its patricians admitted to the Senate, and its rich men among the knights.[3] Rome inherited the ancient legends of

[1] Livy, i. 24–26.

[2] The *fossa Cluilia* was supposed to be the trench of the camp in which Cluilius, king of Alba, had entrenched himself in the war against Tullus. He must have died there, and have been replaced by the dictator, Mettius Fuffetius.

[3] Livy, i. 30. *Equitum decem turmas ex Albanis legit.* Each *turma* consisted of thirty men. Cf. Fest. s. v.

Alba, the family of Julii, whence Caesar sprang, and its rights as metropolis of several Latin towns. Six centuries later, the Hostilii, who claimed descent from the third King of Rome, had represented on their coins the two dread divinities, whom their ancestor, said they, had invoked.



TERROR.[1]



PALLOR.[1]

Tullus again fought successfully against the Sabines and the Veientines, whose town he besieged. But he neglected the service of the gods, and their anger brought on Rome a contagious disease which attacked the King himself. Like Romulus, he came to a mysterious and tragic end. He thought he had found in Numa's books a means of expiation, and the secret of forcing revelations from Jupiter Elicius.[2] A mistake made in these dread adjurations drew down lightning upon him, and the flame devoured his body and his palace (640 B. C.).[3] "He," says Livy, "who had hitherto considered it unworthy of a king to occupy himself with sacred things, became the prey of every superstition, and filled the city with religious practices." An old story, ever new! A more prosaic account says he was slain by Ancus.[4]

IV. Ancus Marcius (640–616).

The reign of Ancus, who was said to be the grandson of Numa, has not the poetic brilliancy of that of Tullus. After the example of his ancestor, he encouraged agriculture, re-established neglected religion, caused the laws regulating ceremonial to be inscribed on tables[5] and exposed in the Forum; but he could not, like Numa, keep the temple of Janus shut, and he was obliged to lay aside the service of the gods in order to take up arms. The Latins had just broken the alliance concluded with Tullus. Four of their towns were taken; their inhabitants settled upon

[1] Silver coin of L. Hostilius Saserna.

[2] The priests of Jupiter Elicius claimed the power of making the thunder fall; and they were thought to be able to do so. (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 4, and xxvii. 4.) They kept this secret so well, that the world had to wait for Franklin to discover it again.

[3] Livy, i. 31.

[4] Dionys. iii. 35.

[5] Livy, i. 32; Dionys. iii. 36.

the Aventine,[1] and the territory of Rome extended as far as the sea. Ancus found brine-pits, which are still there, and forests, which are gone; he appropriated the revenue of them for the royal treasury.[2] At the mouth of the Tiber there was a favorable site for a port; he there founded Ostia (the mouths), which is now a league from the sea. He built the first bridge over the Tiber (*pons Sublicius*),[3] making it of wood, that it might be easily broken down if the enemy wished to make use of it; and he defended the approach by a fortress over the Janiculum. To protect the dwellings of the new colonists on the left bank of the river, he traced the ditch of the Quirites; and in order to deter from crimes, which had become numerous with the increase of population, he dug in the tufo of the Capitoline the famous Mamertine prison, which may still be seen, and which was led up to by the steps of the *Gemoniae*, or "Stair of Sighs." His reign of twenty-four years, according to Livy, of twenty-three by Cicero's account, finished tranquilly, like that of Numa; and the Romans always honored the memory of the prince, wise and just in peace, brave and victorious in war.[4]



TRADITIONAL PORTRAIT OF ANCUS MARCIUS.

V. Tarquin the Elder (616–578).

In the reign of Ancus, a stranger had come to settle at Rome.[5] He was said to be the son of the Corinthian Demaratus, a rich merchant of the family of the Bacchiads, who, fleeing from the tyranny of Cypselus, had retreated to Tarquinii. In Etruria, all hope of power was forbidden to the stranger. But Tanaquil[6]

[1] Cicero, *de Rep.* ii. 18; Livy, i. 33.

[2] Aurel. Vict. *de Vir. ill.* 5.

[3] From *sublica*, a pile. Festus, s. v. *Sublicium*.

[4] He is said to have carried on seven wars, against the Latins, Fidenates, Sabines, Veientines, and Volscians.

[5] Schwegler (*Röm. Gesch.* i. 677) makes the Tarquins an ancient Roman *gens*.

[6] Others say his wife was Gaia Caecilia, the good spinner and beneficent enchantress, to whom the young brides paid honor. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. 74.)

had read in the future the fortunes of her husband. He came to Rome with his wealth and numerous attendants. On the road the forecasts of his future greatness were renewed. The Romans were not particular in the matter of omens; they admitted all that were told to them, and Livy gravely repeats the nursery tales which tradition transmitted to him. We must repeat them after him, because they show us the mental condition of the nation, which had no imagination except for this kind of things, and because they teach us how the aruspices analyzed a sign. "As Tarquin approaches the Janiculum, an eagle slowly descends from the high heavens and carries off his cap; then hovers about the car with loud screeching, swoops down afresh, and replaces it on the traveller's head. At this sight Tanaquil, versed in the art of augury, embraces her husband with delight. She tells him to consider well the kind of bird, the part of heaven whence it came, and the god who sends it. Another manifest sign was that the prodigy was accomplished on the highest part of the body; the ornament which covered his head was only raised an instant, to be replaced on it immediately. The gods, then, promise him the highest fortune." Tarquin accepted the omen; but at the same time helped himself. At Rome he gained by his wisdom the confidence of Ancus, who left to him the guardianship of his sons; and by his worth and his kindness towards them he won the affection of the people, who proclaimed him king, to the exclusion of the sons of the old prince.

The new King embellished Rome, enlarged its territory, and undertook the encircling of the town with a wall, which was finished by Servius. The Forum, drained and surrounded by porticos, was used for the gatherings and pleasures of the people. The Capitol was begun, and the Circus levelled, for the shows and Great Games brought from Etruria. But the most considerable of these works were the subterranean sewers, which to the present day support a great part of Rome, notwithstanding earthquakes, and in spite of the weight of edifices a hundred times rebuilt over their vaulting.[1] For such works, which have not the majestic uselessness

[1] In consequence of the raising of the bed of the Tiber, perhaps also of the height of waters at the time when the drawing was taken, only the top of the sewer is seen in our engraving on page 160. This construction astonished the contemporaries of Augustus by its size and the amount

of the Egyptian constructions, it must have been necessary to subject the people to wearisome drudgery, and the treasury to heavy expense. For the latter, however, Tarquin was able to provide, with the spoils taken from the Latins and Sabines in his successful wars which made him master of the lands lying between the Tiber, the Anio, and the Sabine mountains, known as the territory of Collatia. Livy, in relating the story of this conquest, has preserved to us the formula employed by the Romans in all capitulations of cities: "Tarquin, addressing the deputies, asked them: 'Are you the deputies sent by the Collatian people to put yourselves and the people of Collatia in my power?' 'We are.' — 'Are the people of Collatia free to dispose of themselves?' 'They are.' — 'Do you surrender, to me and to the Roman people, yourselves, the people of Collatia, the city and the fields, the waters, the boundaries, the temples, the movable property, and all things divine and human therein contained?' 'We do.' — 'I accept them, in my own name and in that of the Roman people.'"

Livy makes no mention of wars carried on by Tarquin against the Etruscans; but his contemporary, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, has much to say upon that subject. This rhetorician, who endeavored to be a historian, lends a ready ear, in his Roman *Archæology*, to all the fables tradition offers him; and tradition was eager to make out that this Etruscan king, to justify his Roman royalty, had carried on victorious wars against his former countrymen. According to Dionysius, the conquered Etruscans sent Tarquin, in token of their submission, the twelve fasces, the crown, the sceptre surmounted by the royal eagle, the curule chair, and the purple robe. This victory is more than doubtful; and the gift, if it was ever made, does not at all indicate the submission of those offering it. Rome, in later days, gave things like these to the kings entering into alliance with her, — compensating them thus at small expense for their aid in war, or for their splendid presents made to her.

Tarquin was the first to celebrate the Roman triumph, displaying a pomp till then unknown; his robe being embroidered with

that it had cost. "Three things," said Dionysius of Halicarnassus, "reveal the magnificence of Rome, — "the aqueducts, the roads, and the sewers." Nearly over the mouth of the Cloaca stands the little rotunda known as the temple of the Sun, disfigured by an abominable roof, with which it has been covered for the purpose of protecting its nineteen fluted Corinthian columns of Carrara marble, — a construction probably belonging to the period of the Antonines.

golden flowers, and his chariot drawn by four white horses. From his reign dates the introduction into Rome of Etruscan costumes, the royal robe, the war-mantle, the toga praetexta, and the tunica palmata, worn by the victorious general at his triumph; and to his time belong the twelve lictors and the curule chair, — an ivory seat whose material the Etruscans obtained from Asia or Africa. Tarquin made an attempt to change the constitution; but, notwithstanding his popularity, he did not succeed in re-arranging the tribes. The patricians who opposed him made religion speak by the mouth of the augur, Attus Navius. This personage maintained his opposition to the King by aid of a miracle. "Augur," said Tarquin, hoping to bring him to confusion, "can the thing be done which I now have in mind?" The augur consulted the heavens, and declared that it could. Tarquin presented him with a razor and a whetstone, saying: "Cut this stone, then, with this knife." Attus cut the stone through with the knife; and to keep the event fresh in the minds of the people, the razor and the stone were preserved under an altar, and a statue of Navius erected beside it, — a figure with veiled head in the attitude assumed by the augurs when awaiting the revelation of the divine will. The popular faith had no difficulty in accepting a legend which grew up about the cut stone, and the college of augurs, naturally considering it historic truth, erected the statue to consecrate it.



MIRACLE OF NAVIUS.[1]

Tarquin had reigned for thirty or forty years with great renown in peace and war, when one day two shepherds, suborned by the sons of Ancus, presented themselves before the King, praying him to settle a dispute which had arisen between them. The King listened to them; and while one was engrossing his attention, the other suddenly struck him a mortal blow on the head with an axe. Upon this, Tanaquil at once closed the palace doors, and gave out word to the people that the King was not dead, but merely wounded, and that meantime he had deputed his son-in-law Servius

[1] The augur Navius, on his knees, cutting a stone; Tarquin standing before him; behind the King another stone. Bronze of Antoninus.



THE CLOACA MAXIMA.

to reign in his stead. For several days she concealed his death, and when it was known, Servius became king without being accepted by the assembly of the Curiae, but with the consent of the Senate (578 B. C.).

VI. — Servius Tullius (578–534).

His origin was surrounded with mystery. Some said he was the son of a female slave[1] or of the prince of Corniculum, who was killed in a war against the Romans; others related how a



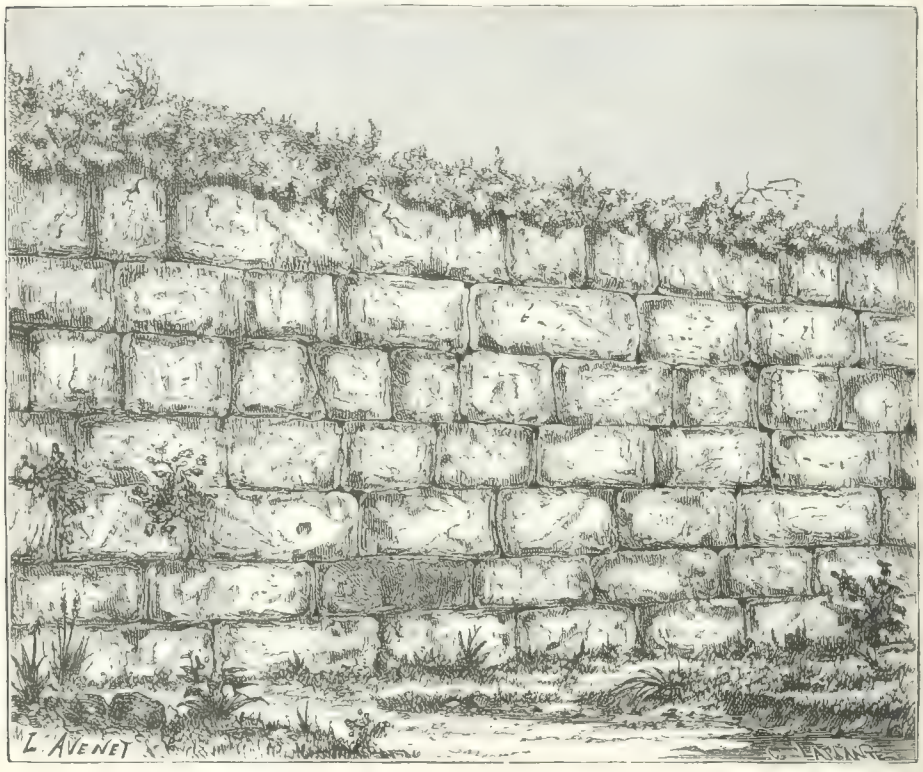
AGGER OR RAMPART OF SERVIUS.

genius had appeared in the flame of the hearth to Ocrisia, a servant of Queen Tanaquil, and that at the same instant she had conceived. After his birth the gods continued their favors to

[1] Independently of the Saturnalia, slaves were granted a day of liberty on the Ides of the month of August, in memory of the servile birth of Servius Tullius (Plut., *Quæst. Rom.* 100; Festus, s. v. *Servorum*). This festival proves that we ought carefully to examine the customs which, though themselves often sprung from a legend, would appear to give to the latter the character of a historic fact. This observation applies to many Roman usages.

him, and he grew up in the King's palace in the midst of prodigies and manifest signs of his future greatness. We shall see later on what history and archaeology make of these traditions, which concealed a totally different fate.

Having become king, Servius made great changes in the city and in its laws. He gave Rome the dimensions which it

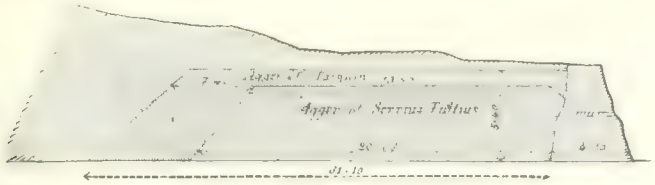


FRAGMENT OF THE WALL OF SERVIUS TULLIUS.

had under the Republic, by uniting the Viminal, the Esquiline, and the Quirinal to the city, by a wall and a mighty bank of earth (*agger*), with a ditch in front, 100 Roman feet wide, and 30 deep.[1]

[1] This is a little less than 100 feet one way, and 30 the other. The Roman foot is equivalent to 11.6 inches. This wall was not continuous. It did not exist by the side of the Tiber, which appeared a sufficient defence in itself, since the fortress of the Janiculum defended its approaches, and certain sides of the Capitol were steep enough to appear inaccessible. "There exist between the Esquiline and Colline gates considerable remains of the great *agger* of Servius, which Tarquin the Proud enlarged. In the section represented in the engraving there is shown a wall, now visible, of a height of 26 feet. Built in regular courses, this wall has a foundation of blocks averaging 10 feet in length. In order the better to resist the pressure of

Rome was then the size of Athens, two leagues and a half in circumference. He divided it into four quarters or city tribes,



SECTION OF THE AGGER OR RAMPART OF SERVIUS TULLIUS.

the Palatine, the Suburan, the Colline, and the Esquiline, each quarter having its tribune, who drew up the lists for conscriptions and military service. At the birth of each boy a piece of silver had to be deposited in the treasury of *Juno Lucina*, the protectress of women in travail. The territory was divided into twenty-six cantons, also called tribes, and all the people, patricians and plebeians, according to the census — that is to say, according to their fortune — into five classes and a hundred and eighty-three centuries, the last of which was formed by the Proletariate. The last named were excluded from military service; Servius was unwilling to intrust arms to citizens who, possessing nothing, could not take an interest in public affairs, nor give the state a guarantee of their fidelity.[2]



JUNO LUCINA.[1]

Moreover, Servius concluded with the thirty Latin towns a treaty, the text of which Dionysius claims to have seen preserved in the temple of Diana on the Aventine.[3] In order to draw closer the bonds of this alliance, a temple, in which was seen the first statue erected at Rome, had been built at the common expense.

Some Sabine tribes also came to sacrifice. These leagues, which

the earth which forms the rampart, the wall is flanked at intervals of 17 feet by buttresses 7 feet square. The ditch runs along this wall. . . . In the time of Augustus the *agger* was converted by Maecenas into a walk." *Dict. des Ant.* p. 140, *seq.*

[1] IVNONI LVCINAE S. C. Juno seated, holds in one hand the flower which precedes the fruit, and with the other a child in swaddling-clothes. The reverse of a large bronze of Lucilla, wife of the Emperor Lucius Verus.

[2] See below, Chap. vi.

[3] iv. 26. But if Dionysius saw this treaty, he could not understand it; for Polybius found it very difficult to read a document which was not so old by two centuries.

had their centre in the sanctuary of a divinity, were common among the Italiote nations, and recall the Amphictyonies of Greece.

We must keep them in mind, for we shall find these religious confederations under the Empire; and we shall have to reproach the Emperors with not having known how to utilize, in the interest of provincial liberties, an institution which might have saved the provinces and themselves.

But let us return to the legend. Livy relates how the ruse of one of the Roman priests, attached to the temple of Diana, gave Rome its hegemony over Latium. "A heifer of extraordinary beauty was born at the house of a Sabine mountaineer. The divines announced that he who should sacrifice it to the Diana of the Aventine would secure the empire to his country. The Sabine led his heifer to the temple, and was going to perform the sacrifice, when the priest, versed in prophecy, stopped him: 'What art thou about to do? Offer a sacrifice to Diana without having purified thyself? It is sacrilege! The Tiber flows at the foot of this hill; run and make ceremonial ablutions there.' The peasant went down to the river. When he returned, the priest had sacrificed the victim." And Livy adds: "This pious knavery was very agreeable to the King and to the people." Moreover, the immense horns of the predestined heifer were preserved for ages in the vestibule of the temple. Popular imagination loves to make the greatest results proceed from the smallest trifles, and some historians do likewise. If the Latins had already accepted the supremacy of Rome, it was because her arms had established it.

Tradition also spoke of a war of Servius against Veii, Tarquinii, and the inhabitants of Caere. The latter had united their arms with those of the Etruscans, notwithstanding their Pelasgian origin, which connected them with Rome (whose allies they became later on) and with Greece, which gave them so many of the vases now found in their tombs.[1] This war must have resulted for the Romans in an increase of territory; but the distribution of these lands which Servius made to the poor augmented still more the

[1] Two small black vases, found in these tombs, and very insignificant in form, have acquired a great importance, because it is believed that the inscriptions on them were Pelasgian.

hatred of the patricians, whose power he had, by his laws, considerably limited. Thus they favored the conspiracy which was formed against the popular King.

The two daughters of Servius had married the two sons of Tarquin the Elder, Lucius and Arums. But the ambitious Tullia



VASE OF CAERE.[1]

had been united to Arums, the more gentle of the two brothers, and her sister to Lucius, who merited, by his pride and cruelty, the surname of Superbus. Tullia and Lucius were not slow in

[1] Corinthian vase found at Caere in 1856. It represents: on the lower band horsemen galloping, and on the upper band "Hercules (ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΣ) taking part in the banquet which the King of Oechalia offers him. The young Iole (ΕΙΟΛΑ) is standing between the table of the god and that of her brother Iphitus (ΕΙΦΙΤΟΣ). The two other couches bear Eurytius (ΕΥΡΥΤΙΟΣ) and his three sons, Didaeon (ΔΙΔΑΙΕΟΝ), Clytius (ΚΛΥΤΙΟΣ), and Toxus (ΤΟΞΟΣ). All these names are in ancient Corinthian characters, and traced alternately from right to left and from left to right, so as to form, if they were arranged in a column, a *boustrophedon* text (like the turn of an ox ploughing)." (De Longpérier, *Musée Nap.* iii. pl. lxxi.) [For the benefit of readers not versed in palaeography, it should be noted that the old Corinthian E and H were written like the B of other inscriptions; the I has a zigzag form; the Σ is turned over, as in almost all older Greek writing. — *Ed.*]

understanding each other and in conferring about their criminal hopes. Tullia got rid of her husband and of her sister by poison, in order to marry Lucius. Overwhelmed with grief, Servius wished to abdicate, and establish consular government. This was the pretext which Lucius made to the patricians for overthrowing the King. One day, when the people were in the fields for harvest, he appeared in the Senate clothed with the insignia of royalty, threw the old prince headlong from the top of the stone steps which led to the Senate House, and caused him to be put to death by his confederates; Tullia, hastening to hail her husband as king, drove her chariot over the bleeding body of her father. The street retained the name of *Via Sceleratu*;[1] but the people did not forget the man who had intended to establish plebeian liberties, and on the nones they celebrated the birth of the good King Servius (534).

VII. Tarquinius Superbus (534–510).

The king was succeeded by the tyrant. Surrounded by a guard of mercenaries and seconded by a party of the senators whom he had gained over, Tarquin governed without the aid of laws, depriving some of their goods, banishing others, and punishing with death all those of whom he was afraid. In order to strengthen his power, he allied himself with strangers and gave his daughter to Octavius Mamilius, dictator of Tusculum. Rome had its voice in the Latin *feriae*, in which the heads of forty-seven towns, assembled in the temple of Jupiter Latiaris,[2] on the summit of the Alban mount, which so majestically commands all Latium, offered a common sacrifice and celebrated their alliance by festivals. Tarquin changed this relationship of equality into an actual dominion, by what means we do not know, but certainly by now-forgotten struggles. Legend substituted the tragic adventure of Herdonius of Aricia for these tales of battle. "Tarquin," says Livy, "proposed one day to the chiefs of Latium to assemble at the wood of the goddess Ferentina, in order to deliberate on their common

[1] Livy, i. 41–48; Dionys. iv. 33–40, and Ovid (*Fast.* vi. 599) speak of a combat between the two parties, — *Hinc cruor, hinc caedes*, etc.

[2] The ruins of the temple, which still existed in the eighteenth century, were destroyed by the last of the Stuarts [the Duke of Albany].

interests. They arrived at sunrise, but Tarquin kept them waiting. 'What insolence!' cried Herdonius of Aricia at last. 'Is all the Latin nation to be thus mocked?' And he was persuading each of them to return to his home. At this moment the King appeared. He had been chosen, said he, as mediator between a father and son; this was the cause of the delay, for which he apologized, and proposed to postpone the deliberation to the morrow. 'It was very easy,' replied Herdonius, 'to put an end to this difference. Two words were sufficient: that the son should obey or be punished.' Tarquin, hurt by these outspoken words, caused arms to be concealed during the night in the house of Herdonius, and on the morrow accused him of wishing to usurp the empire over all Latium by the massacre of the chiefs. The Assembly condemned the alleged traitor to be drowned in the water of Ferentina, under a hurdle loaded with stones; and Tarquin, being rid of this citizen who had so little respect for kings, had the treaty renewed, but introduced into it a clause that the Latins, instead of fighting under their national chiefs, should be, in all expeditions, united with the legions and officered by Roman centurions."[1] This narrative is only the feeble echo of a violent rivalry between Rome and the town of which Herdonius was chief, Aricia, a powerful city, against which the empire of Porsenna was presently shattered.

Having become the actual leader of the Latin confederation, to which there also belonged the Hernici and the Volscian towns of Ecetra and Antium, Tarquin laid siege to and took the rich city of Suessa Pometia, which, doubtless, refused to enter into the league. He was at first less fortunate against Gabii. A check which he endured in an assault compelled him even to give up a regular siege. But his son Sextus presented himself to the Gabians. "Tarquin," said he, "is as cruel to his family as to his people; he wishes to depopulate his house as he has done the Senate. I, Sextus, have only escaped by flight from my father's sword." He was received, his counsels were followed, and successful inroads into the *ager Romanus* increased the confidence which was

[1] Livy, i. 50–52. The spring called *aqua Ferentina*, which was, perhaps, a natural outlet of the Alban Lake, burst forth in a sacred wood, in which, until the year 340 B.C., the Latins held their assemblies. Festus, s. v. *Praetor*. It is now the Marrana del Pantano, which flows in a deep valley near Marino.

placed in him. Soon no one had more credit in the city. Then he despatched to Rome a secret emissary, commissioned to ask the old King what Sextus ought to do in order to give the city into his hands. Tarquin, without speaking a word, passed into his garden, and, walking up and down, cut down with a stick the poppies which were highest; then he sent back the messenger, quite surprised at such a strange answer.

The Roman logographers took this story from Herodotus [who tells it about Periander, tyrant of Corinth]; but the submission of Gabii to Tarquin is none the less certain. Dionysius of Halicarnassus saw the treaty concluded between the King and this city: it was preserved on a wooden shield in the temple of Jupiter Fidius, — a place singularly chosen for a monument of treason, if the narrative of Livy was as true as it is celebrated.[2] On the lands taken from the Volscians Tarquin founded two colonies: the one enclosed behind the walls of the Pelasgian Signia, the other on the promontory of Circe. They were composed of Roman and Latin citizens, who had to furnish their contingent to the army of the league. This was the first example of those military colonies, which, multiplied by the Senate at all points of Italy, extended there the laws and language of Latium. At the same time they were permanent garrisons, advanced outposts, which would stop an enemy far from the capital, and whence valiant soldiers could be drawn at need.



COIN OF THE GENS ANTISTIA.[1]

Like his father, Tarquin loved pomp and magnificence. He hired skilful Etruscan workmen, and with the spoil obtained from the Volscians he finished the sewers and the Capitol, — that favorite residence of the god who holds the thunder, and whence "he so often shook his black shield and summoned the storm-clouds to him."[3] In digging up the soil for laying the foundations of this new sanctuary of Rome, they had found a human head which seemed freshly cut off. "It is a sign," said the augurs, "that this temple

[1] It bears the words FOEDVS CVM GABINIS, or treaty with the Gabians, and represents two persons offering a pig in sacrifice, in order to consecrate the convention.

[2] Hor., *Ep.* II. i. 25, and Fest. s. v. *Clypeus*. Gabii had obtained the isopolity with Rome. . . . σὺν τούτοις τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσοπολιτείαν ἅπασι χαρίζεσθαι. (Dionys. of Hal., *Ant. Rom.* iv. 58.)

[3] Vergil., *Aen.* viii. 353.

will be the head of the world." The Sibylline books were shut up in a stone coffer under the Capitol. A prophetess, the Sibyl of Cumae, had come, disguised as an old woman, to offer to sell the King nine books. On his refusal she burned three of them, and returned to ask the same sum for the six others. A second refusal made her burn three more. Tarquin, astonished, bought



GATE OF SIGNIA.[1]

those which remained, and intrusted them to the keeping of two patricians. In times of great danger these books were opened at random, as it seems, and the first passage which was presented to the eyes served as an answer.[2] In the Middle Ages, too, they cast lots on the Gospels.

[1] We give a variety of these views, for the reasons given above.

[2] Dionys., iv. 62; Cic., *Divin.* ii. 54; Tac., *Ann.* vi. 12. Justin (i. 6) attributes this story to Tarquin the Elder. Athens appears to have had similar books. Cf. the discourse of Deinarchus against Demosthenes: *ἐν αἷς τὰ τῆς πόλεως σωτηρία κεῖται.* Many other towns had some: *χρησμοὶ σιβυλλιακοί.* The Dorians said *σιός* for *θεός* and *βολλά* for *βουλή.* **Σιοβυλή**, whence Sibyl, signifies, then, *the counsel of God.* The most ancient that we now have were drawn up about the middle of the second century before our era, by Jews from Egypt. [The habit of opening the Bible at random for advice in difficult circumstances is

These menacing signs, however, frightened the royal family. In order to know the means of appeasing the gods, Tarquin sent his two sons to consult the oracle of Delphi, the reputation of which had penetrated as far as Italy. Brutus, a nephew of the King, who feigned madness[1] in order to escape his suspicious fears, accompanied them. When the God had replied, the young



WALL OF CIRCEI.[2]

men asked which of them would replace the King on the throne: "He," said the Pythia, "who embraces his mother first." Brutus understood the concealed meaning of the oracle: he fell down and kissed the earth, our common mother.

not yet extinct among ultra-Protestants in this kingdom; and there are men still living who have "cut for premium" in Trinity College, Dublin, when two equal competitors used to open the Bible at random, and priority of the second letter in the second line on the left-hand page determined the victor. — *Ed.*]

[1] He was made, however, tribune of the Celeres, who was, next to the King, the first magistrate of the state. His name, which in the ancient Latin signifies the grave and strong man (Fest. s. v. *Brutum*), but which also had the meaning of idiot, gave rise to the legend of his madness.

[2] See Dodwell, *Pelasgic Remains*, pl. 104.

The journey to Delphi was then for the Romans a very great journey, and the King had no motive for sending such an embassy.

But the Greeks wished that this homage should be rendered



THE CAVE OF THE SIBYL OF CUMAE.[1]

to their favorite oracle; and in order to complete the picture of the tyranny of Tarquin, they took a pleasure in showing the nephew of the King constrained to conceal his deep mind under the appearance of madness, as he had concealed a golden ingot in his travelling staff, in order to offer it to the god.

In a play of Attius, represented in the time of Caesar, the poet related that Tarquin, troubled by a dream, had called his diviners about him. "I saw in a vision," said he, "in the midst of a flock, two magnificent rams. I sacrificed one; but the other,

[1] Taken from an engraving of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The mountain seen to the right is the hill on which Cumae had been built. The summit bore its acropolis, and grottos had been excavated in it. One of these grottos, the entrance of which is seen, is supposed to have been the cave where the Sibyl gave her oracles. (See Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 41.)

dashing upon me, threw me to the ground, and severely wounded me with his horns. At this moment I perceived in the heavens a wonderful prodigy: the sun changed his course, and his flaming orb moved towards the right." "O King!" replied the augurs, "the thoughts which occupy us in the day-time are reproduced in our visions; there is no need, then, to be troubled. However, take care that he, whom thou dost not count higher than a beast, have not in him a great soul, full of wisdom. The prodigy which thou hast seen announces a revolution near at hand. May it be a happy one for the people! But the majestic star took its course from left to right; it is a sure omen. Rome will attain to the pinnacle of glory."[1] Was it the Greek fiction that the friend of Caesar's murderer took up in his *Brutus*? or did he recall a tradition preserved in the house of the founder of the Republic? Around great events there always gather a cycle of stories of adventure from which poetry and legendary history can draw.

When the embassy returned from Greece, Tarquin besieged Ardea, which was the capital of the Rutili, and had been that of Turnus, the rival of Aeneas.[2] It was a powerful city, in which the Etruscans had long ruled; Pliny there saw pictures which were thought more ancient than Rome;[3] and although its decay commenced as early as the third century, some statues have been found there which, in spite of their mutilations, suggest the inspiration of Greek art. What remains of its walls and citadel is more imposing than any of the ruins found in Etruria. The operations commenced against it by Tarquin were protracted and wearisome, so that the young princes sought to drive away by feasts and games the ennui of the siege; when one day there arose between them that fatal dispute concerning the merits of their wives. "Let us take horse," said Tarquinius Collatinus; "they do not expect us, and we will judge them according to the occupations in which we surprise them." At Collatia they found the King's daughters-in-law engaged in the delights of a sumptuous feast. Lucretia, on the contrary, in the retirement of her house, was spinning among her women

[1] This passage is all that remains of the *Brutus* and even of any Roman tragedy of the class called *praetextata*, or national.

[2] In the treaty concluded with Carthage, in the first year of the Republic, Ardea is called the subject of Rome.

[3] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 6.



REMAINS FOUND AT ARDEA.

far into the night. She was proclaimed the best. But her discretion and her beauty excited criminal passion in the heart of Sextus. Some time afterward he returned one night to Collatia, entered the room of Lucretia, urged her to yield to his desires, and combined threats with promises. If she resists, he will kill her, place beside her the dead body of a murdered slave, and go and tell Collatinus and all Rome that he has punished the culprits. Lucretia is overcome by this infamous perfidy, which exposes her to dishonor; but no sooner was the outrage accomplished, than she sends a swift messenger to her father and her husband to come to her, each with a trusty friend. Brutus accompanies Collatinus. They found her plunged in deep grief. She informs them of the outrage, and her desire not to survive it; but demands of them the punishment of the criminal. In vain they try to shake her resolution; they urge that she is not guilty, since her heart is innocent; it is the intention which constitutes the crime.[1] But she says: "It is for you to decide the fate of Sextus; for myself, I absolve myself of the crime, but I do not exempt myself from the penalty; no woman, to survive her shame, shall ever invoke the example of Lucretia." And she stabs herself with a dagger which she had concealed under her dress.

Brutus drew the weapon from the wound, and, holding it up, cried: "Ye gods! I call you to witness. By this blood, so pure before the outrage of this King's son, I swear to pursue with fire and sword, with all the means in my power, Tarquin, his infamous family, and his cursed race. I swear no longer to suffer a King in Rome." He hands the weapon to Collatinus, Lucretius, and Valerius, who repeat the same oath; and together they repair to Rome. They show the bleeding body of the victim, and incite to vengeance the Senate, whom Tarquin had decimated, and the people, whom he had oppressed with forced labor on his buildings. A *senatus-consultum*, confirmed by the Curiae, proclaimed the dethronement of the King, his exile, and that of all

[1] [The Greeks and Romans, who were familiar with these misfortunes in the case of the noblest captives taken in war, and were accustomed to receive them back into their homes, felt the justice of this excuse far more thoroughly than we should do, among whom the stain is indelible. — *Ed.*]

his kin. Then Brutus hastened to the camp before Ardea, which he moved to insurrection; while Tarquin, having returned to Rome in all haste, found its gates shut, and was reduced to take refuge with his sons Titus and Arruns in the Etruscan town of Caere. The third, Sextus, having retreated to Gabii, was killed there by the relatives of his victims.[1]

This same year Athens was delivered from the tyranny of the Pisistratidae.

As a reward for their aid, the people claimed the restoration



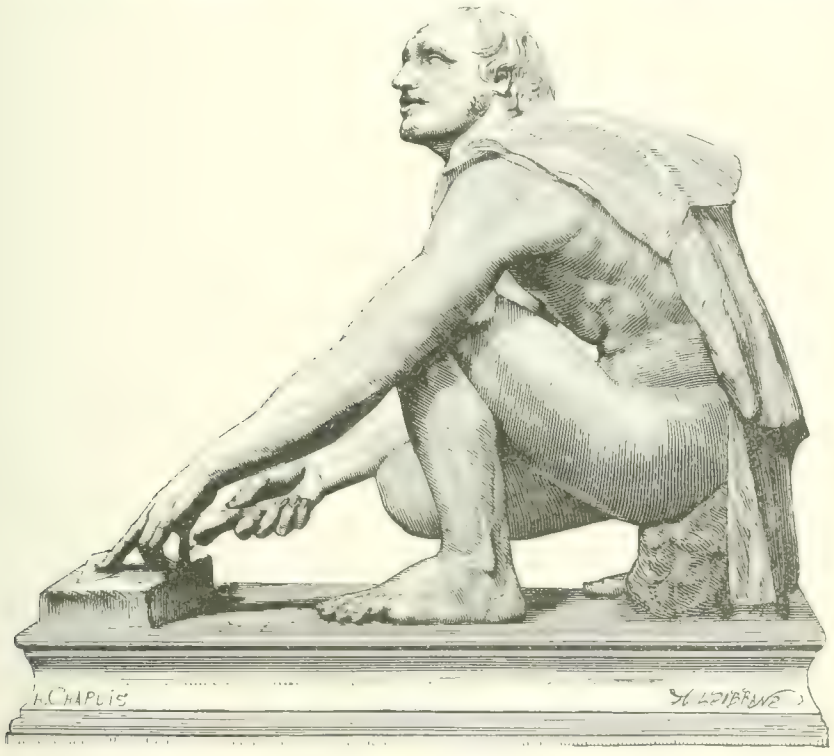
BRUTUS (BUST IN THE CAPITOL).

of the laws of the good King Servius and the establishment of consular government; the Senate consented to it, and the *comitia centuriata* proclaimed as consuls Junius Brutus and Tarquinius

[1] Livy, i. 57-60.

Collatinus, and afterward Valerius, when Collatinus, having incurred suspicion on account of his name, was exiled to Lavinium. Many others fared as he did; for "the people, intoxicated with their new liberty, exacted reprisals," says Cicero; "and a great number of innocent people were exiled or despoiled of their goods."[1]

Cære only offered a refuge to Tarquin. But Tarquinii and



THE GRINDER.[2]

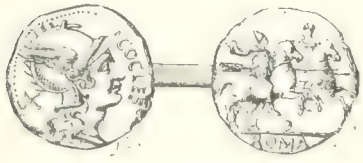
Veii sent to Rome to demand the restoration of the King, or at least the restitution of the goods of his house and of those who had followed him.[3] During the negotiations the deputies planned a conspiracy with some young patricians who preferred the brilliant service of a prince to the reign of law, order, and liberty; the slave Vindicius discovered the plot; the culprits were seized, and amongst them the sons and some relatives of

[1] *De Rep.* i. 40.

[2] This beautiful statue is supposed to represent the slave listening to the conspiracy of the sons of Brutus, or to that of Brutus and Cassius against Caesar.

[3] Dionys., v. 4–6, and Plut., *Popl.* 3.

Brutus, who ordered and calmly looked on at their execution. Twenty days were granted to the refugees to return to the city.[1] In order to gain the people over to the cause of the revolution, they were allowed the pillage of Tarquin's goods, and each plebeian received seven acres of the royal lands; the fields which extended between the city and the river were consecrated to Mars, and the sheaves of wheat which they bore, seized and thrown into the Tiber, were stopped on the shallows which became afterward the Island of Aesculapius.[3]



COIN OF THE GENS HORATIA.[2]

An army of Veientines and Tarquinians, however, marched on Rome. The legions went out to meet them; and in a single combat Brutus and Aruns fell mortally wounded. Night separated the combatants without decided victory. But at midnight a great voice, as it were, was heard proceeding from the Arsian wood and pronouncing these words: "Rome has lost one warrior less than the Etruscan army." The latter fled away in a panic. Valerius reentered Rome in triumph and pronounced the funeral panegyric of Brutus; the matrons honored by a year's mourning the avenger of outraged modesty, and the people placed his statue, sword in hand, on the Capitol, near those of the kings, which were still protected by a superstitious fear.



HORATIUS COCLES.[4]

[1] Dionys., v. 13.

[2] A coin bearing the name of Cocles and struck at an uncertain date by some member of the *gens Horatia*. In front, a head of Pallas; on the reverse, the Dioscuri.

[3] Dionys., *ibid.*, and Plin., xviii. 4. This *insula Tiberina* (di San Bartolomeo) was afterward joined to the left bank of the river by the *pons Fabricius* (Ponte Quattro Capi, on account of the figures of *Janus quadrifons* placed at its extremities), and to the right bank by the *pons Cestius*, which bears the modern name of the island. In memory of a miracle, which we shall have to relate later on, they gave to the *insula Tiberina*, by solid constructions, the form of the keel of a ship floating on the water, and its extremity represented a prow, the remains of which are still seen. To this island, very subject before these works to the inundations of the Tiber, they carried the slaves, old, sick, or infirm, and there abandoned them. Aesculapius afterward had his first temple there. Notwithstanding the neighborhood of the god "healer," the desperate who wished to quit life, without caring about their burial, generally chose the *pons Fabricius* in order to pass into eternity through the Tiber. (Hor., *Sat.* II. iii. 36.)

[4] Bronze medallion of Antonine. Cocles crosses the Tiber swimming; an enemy is trying to pierce him with his javelin, and a Roman finishes breaking down the bridge.



THE INSULA TIBERINA (PRESENT STATE).

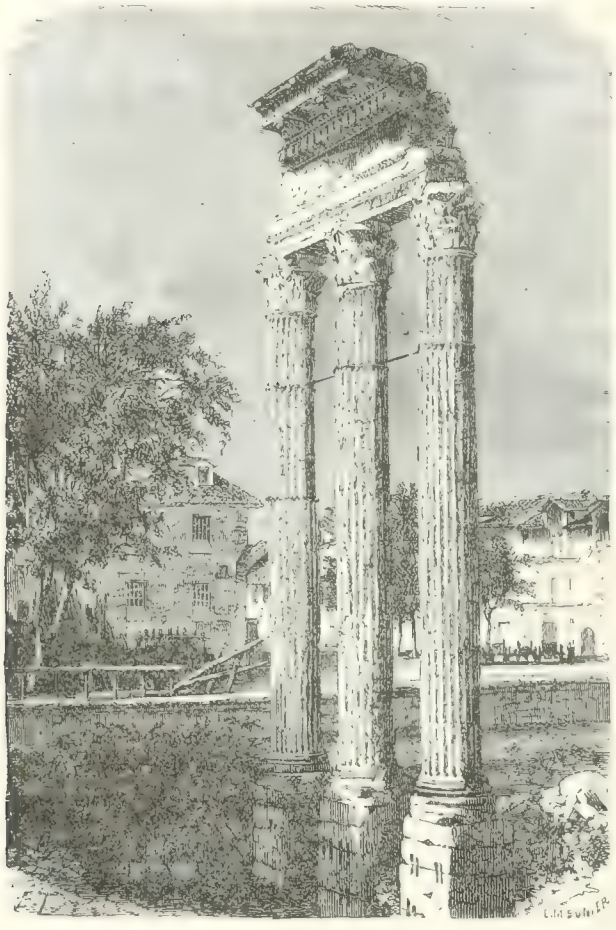
Devotion to public affairs, piety towards the gods, and heroic exploits distinguished this nascent liberty: it was Valerius who, being suspected on account of his stone house built on the Velian, above the Forum, had it demolished in one night, and earned, by his popular laws, the surname of Poplicola; it was Horatius to whom the death of his son was announced during the dedication of the Capitol, and who would hear nothing of this domestic calamity because he was praying to the gods for Rome; and, lastly, when Tarquin armed Porsenna against his ancient people, it was Horatius Cocles who defended the *pons Sublicius* alone against an army; Mucius Scaevola, who, standing before the wondering Porsenna, put his hand into a brazier in order to punish it for making a mistake in killing, instead of the King, one of his officers; it was Cloelia, who, having been given as a hostage to the Etruscan prince, escaped from his camp and crossed the Tiber by swimming.[1] Then comes the war-song of the battle of Lake Regillus,[2] the last effort of Tarquin, who, abandoned by Porsenna, had again stirred up Latium to revolt. All the chiefs met there in single combat, and perished or were wounded. The gods even, as in Homeric times, took part in this last strife. During the action two young warriors of high stature, mounted on white horses, fought at the head of the legions, and were the first to cross the enemy's entrenchments; when the dictator, Aulus Postumius, wished to give them the siege crown, the collars of gold and rich presents promised to those who should first have entered the enemies' camp, they had disappeared; but on the same evening two heroes were seen at Rome, covered with blood and dust, who washed their arms at the fountain of Juturna,[3] and announced the victory to the people; they were the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. In order that their presence in the midst of the Roman army might not be doubted, for centuries the gigantic

[1] Between the Etruscan and Latin wars tradition places a war against the Sabines, which must have lasted four years, from 505 to 501, and during which the Sabine Attus Clausus (Appius Claudius), a rich citizen of Regillus, who had been adverse to the hostilities, had emigrated to Rome, where he was received into the Senate, and his family took a place amongst the new patrician *gentes*.

[2] M. Pietro thinks he has found Lake Regillus in a dried-up marsh, *il Pantano*, 15 or 16 miles on the way to Palestrina, south of the hill occupied by the village *la Colonna*.

[3] This fountain never dries, but at present it flows underground. It was this which fed what was called Lake Curtius. The temple of Castor was close by.

impression of the foot of a horse was shown in the rock on the field of battle, and Rome, which took pride in representing itself as the object of the constant solicitude of the gods, consecrated



THE THREE COLUMNS OF THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR.[1]

this legend by raising a temple to the divine sons of Zeus and Leda, which became one of the most celebrated in the city.

The victory was a bloody one. On the side of the Romans, three Valerii, Herminius, the companion of Cocles, Aebutius, the master of the horse, were left on the field of battle or quitted it wounded. On the side of the Latins, Oct. Mamilius, the dictator

[1] The temple of Castor and Pollux, in which the Senate often assembled, *in aede Castoris, celeberrimo clarissimoque monumento* (Cic., *in Verr.* II. i. 49) begun by Postumius and finished by his son, was rebuilt on the same spot under Augustus and Tiberius. The three magnificent columns which remain of it date from this latter epoch.

of Alba, and Titus, the last son of Tarquin, fell. The old King



THE DIOSCURI WATERING THEIR HORSES AT THE FOUNTAIN OF JUTURNA.[1]



AULUS POSTUMIUS, THE CONQUEROR OF THE LATINS.[2]

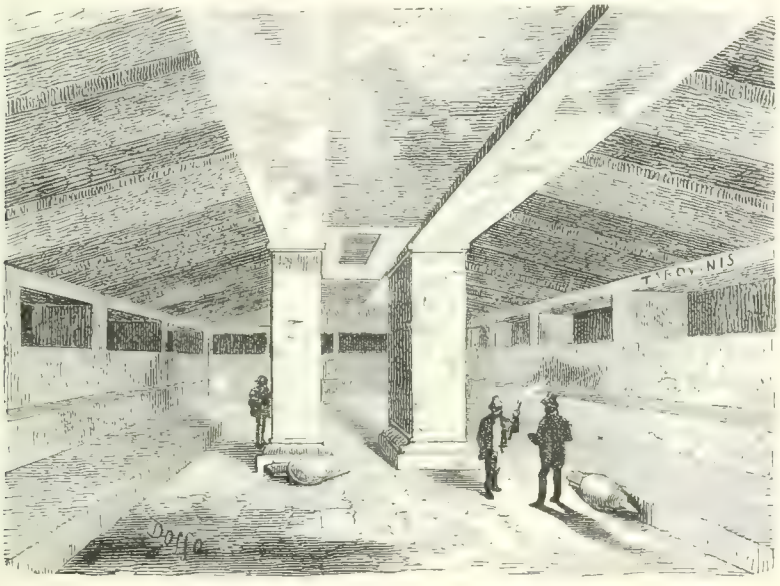


COIN COMMEMORATIVE OF THE BATTLE OF LAKE REGILLUS.[3]



COIN OF THE GENS MAMILIA.[4]

himself, struck with a blow of a lance, only survived all his



SUPPOSED TOMB OF THE TARQUINS.[5]

race and his hopes, to finish his miserable old age at the court of the tyrant of Cumae, Aristodemus (496 B. C.).

[1] Silver coin of the Albini, descendants of Postumius.

[2] It was a descendant of A. Postumius who had this silver medal struck. The portrait is certainly no true likeness; but all the patricians kept the images of their ancestors in the atrium of their house, and the coin may have been fairly accurate. Besides, we ought to do for figured Roman antiquity what we have done for its history: I mean that we cannot ignore the way in which the Romans represented their ancestors, any more than omit the legends which were all, great and small, considered as historic truth.

[3] The descendants of the Dictator caused a coin to be struck in remembrance of his victory, representing the head of Diana on the obverse; on the reverse three knights trampling a hostile soldier under the feet of their horses.

[4] This *gens* claimed to be descended from Ulysses, and put the likeness of this prince on their coins.

[5] The sepulchral cave of the Tarquins has perhaps been found in our days at Caere. Their Etruscan name, Tarchnas, is inscribed thirty-five times on the walls of this tomb, — a fact

The Tarquins are dead; the founders of the Republic have one after the other disappeared; the time of heroes and legends is past: that of the people and of history begins.

which, however, is not sufficient for us to be able to affirm that this sepulchral chamber is that of the Tarquins of Rome.

[1] Large bronze of Antonine; the wolf on the left, the Tiber on the right.



ROME SEATED UPON THE SEVEN HILLS.[1]

CHAPTER II.

CONSTITUTION OF ROME DURING THE REGAL PERIOD. PRIMITIVE ORGANIZATION.

I. — Sources of Roman History.

THE influence which Greek exercised over Latin literature extended to the history of Rome: we have already seen some proofs of it, and we shall see many more. The use of writing, however, was not so rare in ancient Italy as has been asserted. If we reject, as we are bound, the discovery of the books of Numa, it is nevertheless true that the treaty with Carthage in 509, B. C., the original of which Polybius read, the treaty with Gabii,[2] that of Spurius Cassius with the Latins, which Cicero[3] saw, the royal laws collected after the departure of the Gauls,[4] show that writing was employed, during the regal period, at least for public acts and to preserve the memory of important events.



COIN COMMEMORATIVE OF THE TREATY WITH THE GABII.[1]

All around Rome, the nations had also monuments of their national life. At the time of Varro there still existed Etruscan histories written about the middle of the fourth century before our era. Cumae had its historians,[5] and each city its annals engraved on sheets of lead, tables of brass, planks of oak, or written on linen, as at Anagnia and Praeneste. There is no doubt that the nation of the Volscians, so long powerful,

[1] Coin of Antistius Vetus. On the obverse, head of Augustus with the indication of his 8th *tribunitia potestas*: on the reverse, two fetials sacrificing a pig on a burning altar, and the words: FOED (us) CVM GABINIS, Treaty with the Gabini. [2] Dionys., iv. 58. [3] *Pro. C. Balbo*, 23; cf. Dionys., iv. 26. [4] Livy, vi. 1. [5] Festus, s. v. *Romam.*

possessed written monuments, as well as the Hernici and the Latins; Dionysius makes mention of their war-songs, Silius of those of the Sabines, and Vergil, who was as erudite as the learned Varro in the affairs of ancient Italy, speaks of the national songs of the *prisci Latini*.



EARLY ROMAN (LATIN) ALPHABETS.[1]

Inscriptions on bronze and on stone, memorials, names attached to monuments and places, as the Sister's Post, the *via Scelerata*, and oral traditions which lived in families, might aid researches into their primitive history. But the most ancient of Roman annalists lived at the time when Rome, the mistress of Italy, entered into relations with Greece; they were dazzled by the brilliancy of Hellenic literature, and, misunderstanding the importance of native documents, which were extremely meagre, they became the pupils of those whom they had just subdued. There was then, as it were, a double conquest made, in different directions. The Greeks became subjects of Rome, the Romans the disciples of Greece; and the Etruscan education of young patricians was replaced by Greek education, — the journey to Caere by the journey to Athens.[2] Even

[1] [These alphabets are taken (by F. Lenormant) from the *Prisca Latinitatis Mon. Epigrapha*, and represent the writing of the latter 5th, the 6th, and the 7th (Augustan) centuries A. U. C. — *Ed.*]

[2] Livy, ix. 36: *Habeo auctores vulgo tum* (in the fifth century of Rome) *Romanos pueros sicut nunc Graecis, ita Etruscis litteris eruditi solitos.*

long before the Romans thought of Athens, the influence of Greece had made itself felt in the centre of Italy, among the Etruscans, and even in Rome. The Sibylline books were written in Greek, and the ambassador from Rome to the Tarentines spoke to them in that language.

By a singular freak it was from the Greeks that the Romans learned their history: I mean that history which the Greeks made for them. The epic character which the influence of Homer and Hesiod had given to the narrative prose of the Hellenes, passed into the writings of the annalists of Rome. Two of her first historians, Ennius and Naevius, were epic poets; Dionysius said of their works: "They resemble those of the Greek annalists;" and he added concerning Cato, C. Sempronius, etc.: "They followed Greek story." Tacitus and Strabo reproached them with the same thing.[1] Thus the nations of Western Europe forgot in the Middle Ages their true origin for the pedantic reminiscences of ancient literature: the Franks said they were descended from a son of Hector; the Bretons, from Brutus; and Rheims had been founded by Remus.

On the origin of Rome and of Romulus, there are in Plutarch no less than twelve different traditions, almost all of which bear the stamp of Greek imagination; and the one which he preferred as being the most widespread was only the story of a Greek, Diocles of Peparethos, followed by a soldier from the Second Punic War. Fabius Pictor, the oldest of Roman annalists and the first ambassador from Rome into Greece.

The organization, however, being altogether religious, and as the priests were at every moment interfering in public affairs, the pontiffs were concerned in keeping up the memory of events as accurately as possible. Thus the Romans had the *Annals of the Pontiffs*,[2] or *Annales Maximi*, the *Fasti Magistratuum*, the *Fasti Triumphales*, the rolls of the censors, etc. But these annals were so laconic that they opened a wide field to interpretations and fables. Moreover, being written down from day to day, in order to preserve

[1] Strabo, III. vi. 19: Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῖς μιμοῦνται μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Dionys. i. 11: Ἑλληνικῷ τε μύθῳ χρησάμενοι. [This agrees with Mommsen's view of the antiquity of writing in Italy, — a theory strongly corroborated by the recent discovery of the old Phoenician alphabet, with its *samech* and *tsadde* on vases at Caere and elsewhere. — *Ed.*]

[2] Cicero, *de Orat.* ii. 12, and Fest., s. v. *Maximus* and Servius *ad Aen.* i. 373.

the memory of treaties, the names of magistrates and of important events, they only went back to the period when established Roman society felt the simple need of rendering an account to itself of its acts and of its engagements with its neighbors. Beyond, there is nothing but mythological darkness; and this was the open field in which the imagination of the Greeks was exercised. They laid hold of this period and filled it up to suit their interests. Now in their own history they had preserved hardly any great record of ancient times, except that of the contest against Troy. With this event they connected the first history of Italy. It was towards Italy that they led the Trojan chiefs, escaped from the sack of the city, or the Greek heroes driven away from their homes by tempest, and each Italian town of any importance had as founder a hero of one of the two races. Let us note that the Greeks also found an advantage in this double manner of connecting Italy and Rome with their history, by their own colonies, and by the Trojan settlements, by Evander and Aeneas, by Ulysses and Antenor. To go back to Troy, was, for the Greeks, to go back to an epoch of glory and power; and, moreover, in ennobling through these legends the beginnings of Rome and of the Latins, the Greeks avenged themselves indirectly in exhibiting this city and nation formed by fugitives escaped from the victorious sword of the Hellenes. It was not derogatory for Rome to accept this origin. Troy was the greatest name of antiquity, the most powerful state of the ancient world; her reputation was immense, and at the same time it could not wound their pride, for Troy was long since destroyed. Moreover, she was the enemy of Greece. Rome would not so willingly have allowed it to be said that she sprang from Macedonia, Sparta, or Athens, which were of recent celebrity. We are not jealous of the glorious dead; to be their heirs is a new title to fame.

From the time of the First Punic War the belief in the Trojan descent of the Romans was current, as is seen in the inscription of Duillius, in which the Egestans, who were considered as a Trojan colony, are called *cognati populi Romani*. After Cynoscephalae, one of the first cares of Flamininus, who was anxious not to pass for a barbarian, was to set up at Delphi an inscription which called the Romans the race of Aeneas. When

the Julian house had seized the Empire, this belief became an article of political faith; and, following the example of the Romans, the Italians eagerly laid claim to this origin; Trojan genealogies were bought, just as, in the last century, our fathers bought marquisates; and in the time of Dionysius[1] fifty Roman families, the *Trojugenae*, claimed descent from the companions of Aeneas. Moreover, even if Aeneas should truly have settled in Latium, as he came there, according to the most ancient tradition, with only a single vessel and a small number of Trojans, this fact would be of importance only to the vanity of certain families, of none to the civilization of the country.

II. Probable Origin of Rome.

All great nations have surrounded their cradle with marvellous tales. In Egypt the reign of gods and demi-gods preceded that of man. In Persia, Dschemschid opens the bosom of the earth with a golden sickle and drives away the Djinns. At Troy, Apollo and Neptune built the walls of the city of Priam with their own hands. Rome desired to have a no less noble origin; her obscure birth was hidden under brilliant fictions, and the head of a band of adventurers became the son of the god Mars, a grandson of the King of Alba, a descendant of Aeneas. If this is objected to in the name of historic truth, Livy replies by right of victory. "Such," says he with a proud majesty of style, "such is the glory of the Roman people in war, that when they choose to proclaim the god Mars as their father, as the father of their founder, other nations must suffer it with the same resignation as they suffer our sway."[2] From this strange idea of the rights of the historian, it followed that facts were to

[1] *Ant. Rom.* i. 85.

[2] In his preface Cicero (*de Rep.* ii. 2) also says: *Concedamus famae hominum;* and further on: *Ut a fabulis ad facta veniamus.* "We must not blame," says he, "those who, recognizing a divine genius in the benefactors of the nation, wished to attribute to them a divine origin." These are singular rules of criticism. Let us add, in order to show the difficulties which render the work of moderns so arduous, that we have lost the most ancient historians of Rome, Diocles of Peparethos, Fabius Pictor, the *Annales* of Ennius, the *Origines* of Cato, the history of Cassius Hemina; and let us add that Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch, who had these works before them, rarely agree.

the great annalist of Rome like the subjects which in school are proposed for recitations and essays, and which savor far more of rhetoric than of the battle-field or the Forum. It is a veil covered with charming embroidery, which must be respectfully raised in order to find the fragments of truth hidden behind it.

Of these traditions the least improbable is the rape of the Sabine women, — a practice very common in the heroic age. This violence agrees well with the history of the place of refuge: according as the outlaws of the Palatine Hill carried off women, unions were arranged. Abduction was, moreover, the primitive form of marriage, and the recollection of it was preserved in the nuptial ceremonies until the last days of Pagan Rome.[2] But the fact of the rape of the Sabines cannot be reconciled with the legend that Rome was an Alban colony; for according to this it would have had the *connubium*, or right of marriage, with its mother city, and no one would have dared to reject the alliance of the dominant race. Moreover, the violent character of ancient Rome has been exaggerated, by making it a sort of intrenched camp, from which pillage and warfare ever issued. This was one consequence of the idea that the town had been founded by a troop of bandits. The severity of the first Roman institutions, the patriciate, and the political and religious privileges of the nobility, do not agree with this tradition of a mob collected at random, and long given up to all kinds of disorder.



RAPE OF THE SABINE WOMEN.[1]

We do not wish to reject the idea of the existence of Romulus; though the hymns, still sung in the time of Augustus, which preserved the poetic history of the first king of Rome, appear to us nothing but a legend, such as all ancient nations have had, and the counterpart of which it would be easy to find in other national traditions. Thus Semiramis, like Romulus, is the child of a goddess; like him, and like Cyrus, who was exposed in a

[1] L. TITVRI. Silver coin of one Sabinus Titurius.

[2] The bride was carried, as it were, by force from her father's house, and it was customary to lift her over the threshold of her husband's house. The latter practice still exists in a few villages in England, where it may have been introduced by the Romans; but it is usual in China (Dennis, *The Folk-lore of China*) and with the Esquimaux, which weakens the proof that might be thence adduced in favor of the legend of the Sabines.

forest and suckled by a bitch,[1] she is abandoned in the desert, fed by doves, and picked up by a shepherd of the king. Her history, too, is bloody. As Romulus kills his brother, she causes the death of her husband, and after a long reign she disappears: but some saw her ascend to heaven, and her people paid her divine honors. Nearer Rome, in Latium itself, Caeculus, son of Vulcan and founder of Praeneste, is abandoned after his birth, and brought up by wild beasts. In order to people his city, which remained empty, he called together the neighboring nations to solemn games; and when they came together from all parts, flames surrounded the assembly. In the Sabine country, Medius Fidius, or Sancus, who became the national god of the Sabines, was also born of a virgin who was surprised by Mars Enyalius in a temple of Reate; and, like Romulus, he had founded a town, Cures, which in tradition is the second metropolis of Rome. These legends, which are found as far as the banks of the Ganges, in the story of Chandragupta, were, with many others, the common inheritance of the Aryan race.

We may regard Romulus, who may be connected with the royal house of Alba,[2] to have been only one of those warlike chiefs such as both ancient and modern Italy have produced, and who became the king of a people to whom the position of Rome,[3] fortunate circumstances, and the ability of its aristocracy gave the empire of the world.

Numerous testimonies[4] prove that, long before Romulus traced a furrow round the Palatine, that hill was inhabited. There was, therefore, a Latin city there, the town on the Tiber, *Roma*, having the manners and laws of Latium and of the Sabine country, the patriciate, paternal authority, patronage, clientship,

[1] Paris by a she-bear, Telephus by a hind, etc. This kind of legend was extremely widespread in ancient times, and sprang up again in the Middle Ages: Geneviève of Brabant, etc.

[2] In the legend, he is the grandson and sole heir of Numitor. He does not, however, succeed him, and the family of Sylvius is replaced on the throne of Alba by a new family, by Cluilius, king or dictator. Rome is called a colony of Alba, and yet there is no alliance between the two towns, and the modern city does not defend its colony against the Sabines, etc.

[3] "Place Rome at another point of Italy," says Cicero (*de Rep.* ii. 5), "and her rule becomes almost impossible."

[4] *Roma ante Romulum fuit et ab ea sibi Romulum nomen adquisivisse Marianus Lupercaliorum poeta ostendit.* (Philargyr., *ad* Verg., *Ecl.* i. 20.) None but towns founded in entirety and on a precise day by a *colony* have a certain date. The others have been at first hamlets, villages, and burghs. With London or Paris, when did the hamlet begin?

a senate, and perhaps a king, — in short, a truly political and religious organization, already ancient, and which Romulus, himself a Latin, only adopted. He may have come to establish himself victoriously there with his band,[1] the *Celsi Ramnenses*, giving the ancient town a new appearance and more warlike manners. On this ground he may have passed for its founder, and his companions for the heads of patrician houses. Is not the nobility



ANCIENT SUBSTRUCTIONS OF THE PALATINE.[2]

of England, so powerful and so proud, [in great part] descended from the adventurers who followed William of Normandy?

In spite of Niebuhr's disdain, sometimes so harshly expressed, for those who seek historic facts in these ancient legends, we may allow the abduction of certain Sabine women by the *Celsi Ramnenses*,[3] and the occupation, effected by a convention, of the

[1] Festus (s. v. *Ver sacrum* and *Mamertini*) attributes the origin of Rome to a *sacred spring-time*. There is always the idea of an occupation of the Palatine by an armed troop.

[2] Atlas of the *Bull. archéol.*, vol. v. pl. 39.

[3] In the most ancient of the Roman historians, Fabius, the number of the Sabine women

Capitoline and Quirinal by the Sabines of Cures.[1] The two towns remained separate, but the people met in the plain between the three hills. Circumstances, which legend explains to suit itself, led to the union, under a single chief, of the two *burghs* established on the Palatine and Capitol. In whatever manner this alliance was produced, history must yield to the Sabines a considerable and probably preponderant part in the formation of the Roman people.

But if we cannot pierce this veil of poetry which hides the real facts, let us study the institutions which ancient manners and circumstances produced. This we can do, for these customs lasted into the historic age; and as Cuvier from a few broken bones reconstructed extinct creatures, we may reconstruct, with the help of ancient remains, that society of which legends give us only interesting but deceptive pictures.

III. Patricians and Clients.

Rome had no single legislator, as the Greek cities had. Its constitution was the work of time, circumstances, and many men. Hence arise numberless uncertainties. The most ancient traditions show the people divided into three Tribus, the *Ramnenses*,[2] or companions of Romulus, the *Titienses*, or Sabines of Tatius, and the *Luceres*, whose origin is referred to an Etruscan chief, Lucumo,[3] who may have come with a numerous band to aid Romulus in building his city and in gaining his first victories. But the political inferiority of this last tribe, which at first had neither senators nor vestals, would imply a conquered population, perhaps the ancient inhabit-

carried off is only thirty. Valerius Antias counts as many as five hundred and twenty-seven, and Juba six hundred and three.

[1] The lance (*quir*) was the national weapon of the Sabines, and the symbol of their principal divinity; hence the names of *Cures*, *Quirites*, *Quirinal*, and *Quirinus*, and perhaps of *Curia*. The two tribes together were called *Populus Romanus Quirites*, omitting, according to the use of the old Latin tongue, the conjunction *et*. This became afterward *Populus Romanus Quiritium*.

[2] *Celsi Ramnenses* (for *Romanenses*), or, as Dionys. says (ix. 14), καθαρωτάτη φυλή.

[3] Cic., *de Rep.* ii. 8; Fest., s. v. *Lucerenses*, from Lucerus, king of Ardea; according to others from *lucus*, the wood of refuge. In that case the Luceres would be those who had taken refuge.

ants of the town may have remained until the time of Tarquin under the yoke of conquest.

The tribe was divided into ten CURIAE, each curia into ten DECURIAE; and these divisions, which were also territorial and military,[1] had their chiefs, — tribunes, curiones, and decuriones.

In each tribe were included a certain number of political families, or GENTES, which were not composed of men only of the same blood, but also of men connected by mutual obligations, by the worship of a hero venerated as a common ancestor (*sacra gentilitia*), or by the right of inheriting one from another in the absence of a will or of natural heirs,[2] — a right which reminds us that, in the beginning, property had been common. Thus they were enabled to reduce to a small figure the number of these political families, — 200 at first, afterward 300, — and to allow only 3,000 citizens to the city of Romulus; but we must admit that these figures, like the English words *hundred*, *tithing*, were not a strictly exact arithmetical expression. Moreover by these 3,000 citizens of original Rome the patricians alone are understood.



COIN OF THE GENS FABIA.

Now to these heads of the *gentes* were attached numerous clients. In tradition the *gens* Appia numbers 5,000, the *gens* Fabia 4,000, and Coriolanus could form a complete army of his tribe. Let us accept 300 as the number of patrician houses, allowing for each house an average of 100 clients, and we shall have a population of more than 30,000. Even were these numbers purely imaginary, the *gens* would none the less be the basis of the primitive organization of Rome, as it has been among many nations. However far we trace back the course of history, we find in the family, natural or fictitious, the primordial elements of society. The Greek γένη, the Scottish clans, the Irish septs, answer to the Roman *gentes*: and the same organization

[1] Varro (*de Ling. Lat.* v. 35) speaks of a threefold division of territory for the three tribes; Dionys. (ii. 7) of a division into thirty allotments for the thirty curiae.

[2] Instead of *gens*, *genus* is sometimes found, which clearly explains the word *gens*. Thus *Cilnium genus* (Livy, x. 3–5). Cf. Aulus Gellius, xv. 27; Pollux, viii. 9; Harpocration, s. v. Γεννῆται. Paul Diac. (p. 94) also says: *Gentilis dicitur et ex eodem genere ortus et is qui simili nomine appellatur.* *Clients* or *cluens*, from *cluo*, means he who hears and who obeys.

is met in Friesland, among the Ditmarses, the Albanians, Slavs, etc.

In Algeria the Arab *douar* and the Kabyl *dechera* resemble the Roman *gens*, the *sheikh* or *amin* represents the *paterfamilias*, and the chiefs of the douars and decheras, like the *patres* at the curia, discuss at their *jemâa* the interests of the families they represent. Studied more closely, history shows that customs long looked upon as peculiar to certain peoples and certain epochs have been general institutions, and represent the stages humanity has travelled.

Thus the *gens* united all its members by a bond of relationship, real or fictitious. The curia was this same family enlarged, and the tribe was a similar one, only more complete. Each curia had its days of feasts and sacrifices, its priests and tutelary gods. Religion united still more closely those whom ties of blood or social position already connected. The whole Roman state rested on this basis of family, and had the same strict discipline.

The members of a *gens* were divided, we said, into two classes, — those who belonged to it by right of blood, and those who had become associated with it by certain engagements.

The former, the patroni or PATRICIANS,[1] were the sovereign people, to whom everything belonged, and who had the two great outward signs which marked the nobility of the Middle Ages, family names and armorial bearings, — I mean the *jus imaginum*, speaking devices, which were far more proud and imposing than all the feudal coats of arms, since it seemed as though the ancestors themselves, clad in their insignia of office, guarded the entrances of patrician houses. In funeral ceremonies, individuals recalling in features[2] and form the persons whom it was desired to represent, assumed the costume and "honors" that these latter had worn, thus surrounding the dead patrician with a living escort of his ancestors. In later times they had another form of *escutcheons*, the representation upon coins of the objects that their name recalled. Thus Aquillius Florus, a

[1] *Patricios Cincius ait, in libro de Comitiis, eos appellari solitos qui nunc ingenui vocentur.* (Fest., s. v. *Patricios.*)

[2] [Rather, they wore the wax masks taken from the images in the atrium. — *Ed.*]

flower; Quinctius Mus, a *mouse;* Voconius Vitulus, a *calf;* Pomponius Musa, the nine muses on nine different coins, etc., — a custom infinitely more modest, which ended by being merely a play of wit, but which had at first served to recall heroic acts, — as, for instance, the collar of the Manlii, and doubtless the hammer of the Publicii and the axe of the Valerii.



FLOWER.[1]



CALF.[2]



MUSES.[3]



RAT.[4]



PICKAXE.[5]



MALLET.[6]



COLLAR.[7]



BULL.[8]



WOMEN CHANGED INTO TREES.[9]

The second class of the members of the *gens* comprised strangers domiciled in the town, the prisoners brought to Rome, the ancient inhabitants of the land, the poor, freed slaves, — in short, all who preferred dependence on the great and strong, with their protection, to isolation and an insecure liberty. These were the CLIENTS, or we might say vassals.

[1] Coin of *L. Aquillius Florus III. Vir* (monetary triumvir), representing on the reverse a large full-blown flower; an *aureus* of Augustus.

[2] *Q. Voconius Vitulus.* Vitulus means a calf; reverse of a denarius of Caesar's time.

[3] *Pomponius Musa.* Laurel-crowned head of Muse; behind, a buskin; on the reverse, Thalia standing, holding a comic mask. Denarius of the Pomponian family.

[4] *Ti. Q.* Tiberius Quinctius Mus, an unknown member of the family Quinctia. Silver coin representing a rat, in Latin *mus*, beneath some horses which the rider is restraining; on the exergue, D. S. S., that is, *de Senatus sententia*, struck by order of the Senate.

[5] *Aciculus*, hammer in a crown of laurel. The *aciculum* was a tool *quo utuntur lapicidae ad exarandos lapides* (Forcellini, s. v.). Reverse of a silver coin of the Valerian family.

[6] Head of Pallas, above, a mallet, *malleolus;* on the reverse *C. Mall.* (Caius Malleolus). Naked man with his foot on some armor; in front, an anchor; behind, the prow of a vessel. Denarius of the Poblician family.

[7] *L. Torquat. III. vir.* Tripod enclosed in a collar, *torques;* denarius of the Manlii.

[8] *L. Thorius Balbus*, denarius of the Thorian family. Taurus means a bull.

[9] *P. Accoleius Lariscolus.* Bust of Clymene, the mother of Phaeton; on the reverse, the three sisters of Phaeton changed into larches (*larix*).

The patrician, or PATRON, — for the words are synonymous, — gave a small farm to his client, or, in default of land, a *sportula*, that is to say, a certain amount of provisions;[1] he must watch over all his interests, follow his suits, aid him in law-courts, — do for him, in a word, what the father does for his children, the patron for his freedmen. The law allowed the client no appeal from his patron; but religion consigned the patron to the gods, if he did any wrong to him whose necessary protector he was.[2] The client, on his part, took the family name of his patron, *nomen gentilicium*, and when he died received shelter in his tomb;[3] he helped him to pay his ransom, his fines, his law expenses, his daughter's dowry, and even the expenses necessary to fulfil his functions and maintain the dignity of his rank. It was forbidden them to summon one another into a court of justice, to bear witness or to vote against one another; and it would have been a crime on the part of the client to maintain a suit against his patron. Clientship was then a considerable diminution of the liberty of the client, and for him a semi-slavery. Such was, in fact, the strength of this bond in ancient times, that if the patron was exiled or quitted his country, his clients followed him into foreign lands. But in 390, B. C., Camillus set out alone; the bond had slackened; some years later it was on the point of breaking, when Manlius thought that his words would be obeyed if he proposed to the clients to take arms against their patrons.[4] At this period some of them were already on the road to fortune; a century later we shall see them advancing to power: the Marcelli, for instance, had been in the clientship of the *gens Claudia*. The *gens* then loses its social and religious character; but considerable traces of it exist up to the time of Constantine. With the conquests of the Republic, patronage extends to whole towns and nations; so that in the civil wars the strength of the chiefs was thereby greatly increased. Under the Empire it was the precious

[1] *Agrorum partes attribuebant tenuioribus* (Fest., s. v. *patres*), probably on the same conditions that the state imposed upon farmers of the domain. See Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 7. Dionys., ii. 10: ἐξηγεῖσθαί τὰ δίκαια . . . This is the principal passage on clientship. The nomination to a curule magistracy in later times broke the bond of clientship.

[2] Serv., *ad Aen.* vi. 609.

[3] *Jus sepulcri.* (Cic., *de Leg.* ii. 22)

[4] Livy, vi. 18.

bond between the senators of Rome and the provincial cities, between the rich and poor; it freed the society of this age from the necessity of having these charitable institutions which Christianity multiplied when clientship had disappeared.

IV. Senate and King; Plebeians.

The members of the *gentes*, of absolutely free condition (*ingenui*), or the comrades in arms (*comites*), that is to say, the patricians, mustered at the *Comitium*,[1] divided into thirty curiae, the COMITIA CURIATA, and there, by the majority of votes, but without discussion, they made laws, decided on peace or war, heard appeals, and appointed to public or religious offices. Here, also, they approved or rejected wills which modified the property of the citizens, and adoptions which changed their civil condition.

The chiefs of these *gentes*, or elders (*seniores*, whence SENATORS), to the number of at first a hundred, two hundred after the union with the Sabines, and three hundred after the admission of the *gentes minores* under Tarquin, were the guardians of the national customs.[2] By refusing permission to present a bill to the assembly of curiae, they rendered the latter powerless; and as the council of the supreme magistrate, they assisted him with their advice in his government as well as in the propositions which he made to the people.

Chosen for life by the comitia curiata, the KING fulfilled the triple functions of generalissimo, high priest, and supreme judge. Every nine days, according to Etruscan custom, he dispensed justice, or appointed judges to dispense it in his name. During war and outside the walls his authority was absolute for discipline,

[1] The *Comitium* was the part of the Forum nearest the Capitol. At first distinct from the Forum, or public place, it was confounded with it when the two nations became one. The Comitium was crowned by a platform, on which was an altar sacred to Vulcan, the *Vulcanal*; the kings, and afterward the consuls and praetors, dispensed justice there.

[2] Usually they sat in the curia Hostilia, built opposite the Comitium, at the foot of the Capitol (Livy, i. 30); later on they met in one of the temples of the city, and always in a place consecrated by auspices. They deliberated with open doors. This semi-publicity of the sittings was better insured when the tribunes of the people had been admitted to seats on benches at the doors of the curia.

as well as for the division of booty and conquered land, of which he himself kept a part; so that he possessed, under the name of state property, considerable domains. Strangers, that is, plebeians, were subject to him at all times and in all places. He convoked the Senate and the Sovereign Assembly, he named senators, watched over the maintenance of laws and customs, and took the census. Six centuries later we find these rights reappearing in the prerogatives of the Emperors. But appeal might be made to the people, that is to say, to the comitia curiata, or patrician assembly, from the King's judgments, which was not allowed from the sentence of the Emperors, — a difference which suffices to mark the limited power of the one and the absolute authority of the other.[1] There was another all-powerful restraint which does not exist under the Empire, — the augurs and priests, being appointed for life, had nothing to fear from the King, and they could arrest his proceedings by making the gods intervene.

He had for his guard, it is said, three hundred KNIGHTS, or *celeres*. But these knights, chosen from among the richest citizens, were probably only a military division of the tribes: in time of war they formed the cavalry of the legions.[2] Their chief, the *tribune of the celeres*, was, after the King, the first magistrate of the city, as under the Republic the *magister equitum*, the dictator's lieutenant, is the second person in the state. When the King quitted Rome, a senator, whom he had chosen from among the ten first of the assembly, governed the town, under the name of guardian.[3] In case of a vacancy in the royal power, the Senate named an interrex every five days. Finally, the quaestors charged with the institution of criminal proceedings watched over the distribution of public charges, *munia*, and the levy of certain taxes and dues;[4] and the *duumviri perduellionis*

[1] Ἱερῶν καὶ θυσιῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν (Dionys., ii. 14). [The Emperors monopolized the right of appeal under the *tribunicia potestas*. — *Ed.*]

[2] Niebuhr's school include all the patricians in the three centuries of knights, without reflecting that in Italy, especially at Rome, all the military forces consisted of infantry, and that in a Roman army there were never more than a small number of cavalry, as the nature of the country required.

[3] *Custos urbis*. The appellation of *praefectus urbi* is more modern. See Joan. Lyd., *de Magist.* i. 34, 38; Tac., *Ann.* vi. 11.

[4] Tacitus (*Ann.* xi. 22) places the institution of the financial quaestorship as far back as the kings; but it is not mentioned before 509.

judged such cases of high treason as the King did not reserve for his own decision.

By the side of this people of patrician houses,[1] which alone forms the state, makes laws, furnishes the Senate with members and the Republic with kings and priests, which possesses everything, — religion, the auspices by which it holds communication with the gods, political and private rights, lands, and, in the multitude of its clients, a devoted army, — below this sovereign class are found men who are neither clients, nor vassals, nor members of the *gentes*, who may not enter the patrician houses by legal marriage, who have neither the paternal authority,[2] nor the right of testamentary disposition or of adoption, — who do not interpose in any affair of public interest, and remain outside the political, as they dwell outside the actual, city, beyond the pomerium, on the hills which surround the Palatine. These men are the PLEBEIANS. Ancient inhabitants of the seven hills, or captives carried to Rome,



MERCURY FOUND AT PALESTRINA.[3]

[1] The three tribes, *τὰς τρεῖς φυλὰς τὰς γενικάς* (Dionys., vi. 14).

[2] *Patria potestas* is derived from patrician marriage by *confarreatio*, and the plebeians cannot contract such. Wills and adoptions, to be valid, must be accepted by the curiae, and they cannot enter these.

[3] *Mus. Pio Clem.*, Pl. 6.

foreigners attracted to the place of refuge, clients who have lost their patrons, they are, as Appius afterward says of them, without auspices, without families,[1] and without ancestors. But they are free, they hold property,[2] they practise crafts, and already pay honor to Mercury, the plebeian god of commerce, who in time will enrich some among them;[3] they settle their disputes by judges chosen from their midst, they receive no order but from the King, and they fight in the ranks of the Roman army to defend the fields they cultivate and the walls beneath whose shelter they have built their huts. Soon we shall find them become, by the laws of Servius, citizens of Rome.

In antiquity, as in the Middle Ages, victory assigned to the conqueror the person and lands of the conquered. Romulus having become in some way or other, by conquest or voluntary cession, master of the *Ager Romanus*, was then enabled to divide it equally among the families of the victors. This primitive division, attested by all writers, established among the citizens an equality of fortune, the restoration of which was several times attempted by the agrarian laws. Each *gens* received, perhaps, an allotment of twenty *jugera*, on the condition of supplying ten fighting men or one horse-soldier for the army; the legion was then formed of three thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. I fear this explanation may seem like an idea copied from the organization of the feudal armies, as clientship recalled to our minds vassalage. The same system, however, is found in Greece. Sparta also had three tribes (φυλαί) and thirty curiae (ὠβαί), to each of which were given three hundred lots of lands, and the members of which formed the army and the sovereign people. At Rome itself the possession of the soil entailed, like that of a fief, the obligation of military service; and the landless citizen, *aerarius*, was no more admitted into the legions than the Frank without a

[1] That is to say, they do not form *gentes*, and they have not the *jus imaginum*.

[2] Either those which they had reserved on the territory of conquered cities, or the *assignations* of the kings. Two words express this separation of the two people, — the plebeians had neither the *connubium*, or marriage right, with the patricians, nor the *commercium*, or right of buying and selling.

[3] At least Livy says (ii. 27) that a little before the establishment of the tribuneship, the dedication of a temple to Mercury took place at Rome, and that a college of merchants was established under the patronage of the god.

domain or the Lombard without a war-horse[1] into the King's host. Under different aspects, many ages of the world are alike. In nature a small number of essential elements produces an infinite variety of creatures; just so in the political world the most diverse social forms often hide similar principles. Still it need not be concluded from this that humanity surges to and fro like the waves of the ocean, in continual ebb and flow; in that eternal evolution of beings and empires, principles do not remain immutable; they are modified and developed. The world seems to roll in the same circle; but this circle is a spiral which at times returns on itself, and always ends on a higher level.

What we have now been relating was, according to tradition, the work of the first king, — that is to say, of ancient times; for popular imagination, which sees only gods in the phenomena of nature, sees only men in the great phases of history, and attributes to heroes, whose names it invents or receives, the work of many generations. For the Romans, it was Romulus who had divided the people into tribes and curiae, who had created the knights and the Senate, established patronage and paternal and conjugal power, and forbidden nocturnal sacrifices, the murder of prisoners, and the exposure of children, unless they were deformed.[2] It was he again who, by offering an asylum and by setting the great example of inviting conquered people to the city, had prevented Rome remaining, like Sparta and Athens, a city with only a few citizens, or, to adopt the expression of Machiavelli, an immense tree without roots, ready to fall at the least wind.[3]

[1] *Luitpr. Leg.* v. cap. 29.

[2] Dionys., ii. 15.

[3] "Sparta and Athens were exceedingly warlike; they had the best of laws; yet they never increased as much as Rome, which seemed to be less well administered, and governed by less perfect laws. This difference can only come from the reasons explained above [the introduction into Rome of the conquered populations, or the concession of the citizenship]. Rome, anxious to increase its population, could put 280,000 men under arms; Sparta and Athens were never able to exceed the number of 20,000 each. All our institutions are imitations of nature, and it is neither possible nor natural that a slight and feeble trunk should support heavy branches. . . . The tree loaded with branches thicker than the trunk grows weary of supporting them, and breaks in the least wind." — MACHIAVELLI.

CHAPTER III.

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

I. — The Public Gods.

JUST as those civil institutions which had belonged to Central Italy, whence the Romans sprang, were attributed to Romulus, so Numa has been looked upon as the author of the religious customs brought from Latium and the Sabine country. We know their gods. The most honored were first Janus, the great national divinity, whose name stands at the head of all solemn invocations — the god with two faces: for he it is who opens and shuts, and begins and ends;[1] Jovis, or Jupiter, the god of light, who is called father and preserver of all things; Saturn, who protects the grain sown in the earth; Minerva, who warns the husbandman in time of the works to be undertaken;[2] Mars, the symbol of life renewed in the spring-time, and of manly force, against which no obstacle can stand;[3] Quirinus, the Sabine god, who, later on, being confounded with Romulus, descends to the rank of a demigod; Vesta, whose altar marked the centre of domestic life in the house and of political life in the city; Vulcan, another god of fire, — of the



MARS.

[1] According to Dionys. (fr. 18), Janus is represented with two faces because he knows the past and the future. This interpretation is relatively modern. In fact Janus must have been a solar deity, a symbol of the eternal revolution of things.

[2] Minerva, or rather Menerva, is a name belonging to the same family of words as *mens*, *monere*, *meminisse*; hence the transformation of this agricultural deity into the goddess of science and art, and the confounding of her with the Greek Athene. (Bréal, *Mél. de mythol.* p. 35.)

[3] Coins sometimes represent him by the figure of a young man with a helmet on his head, sometimes mounted on a chariot, brandishing a lance and bearing spoils. With the legend of Mars is connected the much less clear one of *Anna Perenna*, whose festival, as Ovid describes it, recalls certain features of the popular *fêtes* of modern Rome.

fire which devours and destroys, of the fire which conquers iron and constrains the hardest metals to bend to the wants of men. He early had an altar, the *Vulcanal*, below the *Comitium*. It was there, according to tradition, that Romulus and Tatius met to conclude peace.

Diana and Jovino were the feminine forms of Janus and Jovis: the one, goddess of the night and of gloomy woods; the other, Juno, of the day and of life, queen of heaven, *mater regina*, and *Juno Sospita*, protector of matrons who preserved their conjugal fidelity. Her sanctuary at Lanuvium was famous; the priests there kept a serpent, to which every year a virgin offered a sacred cake, — a dreadful ordeal. If he refused it, the maiden had not kept her virgin purity. Diana, who was afterward joined with the Hellenic Artemis, was also a kind of Lucina, whom women called to their aid in childbirth. Men paid her honor, as the goddess of mysterious forests; and as Latium was covered therewith, she was one of the great divinities of the Latins.



JUNO NURSING HERCULES (STATUE IN THE VATICAN).[1]

We have seen how Servius raised a temple to her on the

[1] We need hardly observe that the Ancient Romans long had, as representations of their gods, nothing but the trunks of trees roughly hewn into shape, or coarse symbols, and that consequently the busts and statues here given are of a period when Greek art reigned at Rome, and when the town was encumbered with statues taken by the proconsuls from the cities of Hellas and Asia Minor.

Aventine, when he wished to unite the destinies of Rome to those of the Latin cities.

At a period of refined philosophy Plutarch explained that the worship of Fortune complemented that of Destiny; that the goddess of the swift wings ruled over accidental events, whereas the "Son of Necessity"[1] watched over the maintenance of the unchangeable laws of the universe and the execution of the sovereign decrees pronounced by the supreme God; it was the opposition of the contingent and the necessary, of the domain wherein human liberty can be exercised, and that wherein divine providence rules. The Romans did not philosophize so deeply; but they had a confused idea that everything in life did not obey inevitable laws, and according to their custom they had created a divinity corresponding to this feeling, — *Fortuna*, an old Italian deity, whom Servius was supposed to have introduced into Rome, and who had certainly come there in an isolated way. She was held in great honor at Praeneste and at Antium,[2] and in time she counts more worshippers than the great gods of the Capitol.[3] The common people and slaves held a yearly festival, on the 24th of June, in honor of her who could bestow liberty and riches; and in their prayers they joined the name of Servius with that of the good goddess who from an



FORTUNA (STATUE IN THE VATICAN).

[1] Plutarch (*de Fato*), says that in Plato's *Republic* Destiny is the work of the Virgin Lachesis, daughter of Ἀνάγκη, Necessity.

[2] The *sortes* of Praeneste, so famous throughout Italy, were little sticks, which were drawn by a child, as the numbers of a lottery are still drawn at Rome.

[3] According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* ii. 5) Fortune was the great divinity of his time.

adventurer had made him a king. "When she entered Rome," says Plutarch,[1] "she folded her wings as a sign that she wished to remain there." And in fact she is still there; the Roman of the present day believes as firmly in chance as the Roman of bygone ages.

Innumerable were her titles, and consequently her temples; for as every epithet bestowed on her expressed a special kind of



TETRASTYLE TEMPLE OF FORTUNA (VIRILIS).[2]

favor expected from her, there seemed to be as many goddesses of fortune as there were motives for making supplication to Chance. The Romans thus divided the deity according to the functions which they meant it to fulfil; and all their gods had several different phases, as though this people were incapable of contemplating a divine being in its grandeur and serenity.

Women even desired to have their goddess of Fortune, *Fortuna muliebris*, to whom the matrons whose tears overcame Coriolanus erected a temple. They consecrated another to *Fortuna virilis*,

[1] *De Fort. Rom.* 4.

[2] A tetrastyle temple of the last days of the Republic, the base of which is still surrounded by the ancient pavement of the Palatine Way. It is situated near the Temple of the Sun (p. 160) and a house made entirely of the ancient ruins. See Wey, *Rome*, p. 162.

which had at first a very moral function, that of preserving to wives the affection of their husbands, but which ends by being only the goddess of every kind of feminine coquetry. This temple still exists, — and with good reason, since the goddess has not ceased to reign.

The gods of the lower world, — Tellus, Terra-Mater, Ceres, Dis-Pater, etc., — caused the seed to germinate in the bosom of the silent earth, and kept guard over the dead. Those of the sea, — so numerous among the Greeks, who passed half their lives upon the waters, — could not possess much credit with a people who had no fleet. But in the middle region dwelt the deities of the earth, *Medioxumi*,[1] gods of the field and forests, of the harvest and vintage, of the springs and rivers, — gods more popular and more honored than the great gods who lived far away. There Bona Dea reigned, or Maia, the earth which produces all things necessary to life, and who was therefore called the Great Mother, *Mater Magna*;[2] Saturn, "the Good Sower," Faunus, Sylvanus, and Pales, gods of the woods and meadows, who protected the farm, the poultry-yard, and the garden established in some forest clearing, and who drove away the wolf and fatal diseases.



FAUN OF PRAXITELES.[3]

[1] Plautus, *Cistellaria*, II. i. 45. [2] Macrobius, *Sat.* I. xii. 20.

[3] Ancient copy of the Faun of Praxiteles, in the Capitoline Museum.

In ancient times Italy was, as it is now, the country of great pastures; and the Roman Campagna still keeps the race of wild shepherds whose sports Vergil depicts. Their great festival, the *Palilia*, was celebrated on the anniversary of the founding of Rome, April 21, and the royal hill of Romulus bears the name of their divinity.[1] Rumina, the foster-mother, watched over the nourishment of the young cattle; hence the name of the Ruminal fig-tree, under whose shade the she-wolf suckled the twins. Rubigo preserved the wheat from mildew, Vertumnus and Pomona caused the fruit to ripen in the orchard. Feronia, the goddess of flowers, of joy, and of all natural pleasures, seems to have been less lavish of useful favors; yet she was held in so great honor that Hannibal found a rich treasure to carry off from her temple at the foot of Soracte. Besides this temple she had others at Terracina, at Trebula in the country of the Sabines, and at Luna in Etruria. In later times Flora and Venus became formidable rivals to this goddess.



MATRI MAGNAE.


FERONIA.[2]



THE TIBER.

Liber, the genius whose modest duty it was to secure abundance on the tables of his worshippers, later fell heir to the rich legend of the Theban Dionysos and the Indian Bacchus; in the same way Hercules, the herdsman, became the glorious son of Jupiter and Alcmena [Herakles] when a wave of Greek poetry had fertilized the soil of Italian mythology.[3]

Above the naiads, and nymphs, and all the water genii, rose Father Tiberinus, the mighty river, who scorned to be fettered with a bridge of stone, and for many centuries permitted to span his

[1] Palatine, from *pal-s*, a word which is itself derived from the root *pâ*, which formed the verbs signifying "to pasture" in Greek, Latin, and French.

[2] This coin was struck in the time of Augustus by the monetary tribune Petronius Turpilianus, who has not bestowed beauty on the Goddess Feronia. But Roman artists, even in the time when they were most under the influence of Greek art, did not seek their goddesses in heaven, they took them from the Roman Campagna. The Minerva of the magnificent chest of Praeneste, called the Ficorini, looks like a *contadina*.

[3] The first mention of the worship of Herakles, or Hercules, at Rome, is made by Livy (v. 13) in connection with the *lectisternium* of the year 418 B. C.

waves naught but the *Pons Sublicius*, built of wood, without a single piece of iron. Moreover, in order to avert the anger of the gods, the pontiffs had undertaken the construction of it themselves; and they directed all repairs, which were only executed amid religious ceremonies. In the distant ages the Tiber had exacted human victims; he was now content with twenty-four mannikins of osier, which the Vestals yearly (on the 13th of May) cast from the top of the Sublician Bridge into his stream.

To all these gods the name of father was given, which would have made a friend of Horace smile, but which in ancient Latium was the most august title for men and gods. Eros, who plays so high a part in the *Theogony* of Hesiod as the harmonious arranger of the elements of chaos, and excites sweet feelings in men and gods, has no place in the Roman religion of the early ages. These gods are united in pairs, Saturn and Lua, Quirinus and Hora, Mars and Nerio; but the son of Aphrodite is not yet among them. These loveless and childless couples represent in their severity the Latino-Sabine family, which granted no place at the hearth but to the matron and her rough husband.

The innumerable gods of the *Indigitamenta*, that is, whose names were written on the registers of the pontiffs, formed a class apart. They had the singular character of presiding over every action of life, even the very lowest, from birth to death, — over all the needs of mankind, food, clothing, lodging; over all his works, etc.; but in such wise that each of them supplied only one of these needs. They are only known by the epithet which designates their duty.[1] The need satisfied or the act accomplished, no further prayer is addressed to them, and they seem as if they no longer existed. Some busy themselves about conception or pregnancy; others about childbirth; some watch over the suckling of the child; some make it utter its first cry, — and so on for the whole of life. Strange illusion of man, to adore the conceptions

[1] See in Saint Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, vi. 9, and 10) all the employments of these gods, the enumeration of which he concludes with these eloquent words: *omnem istam ignobilem deorum turbam quam longo ævo superstitio congessit.* Cf. Maury, *Religions de l'antiquité* vol. ii. p. 1236. [The same sort of feeling is seen in those curious early Latin hymns, chiefly of Celtic origin, which are called *Loricæ*, and consist in invocations to protect every spot in the body, even the most minute and ignoble. There are several specimens in Mone's *Hymni Lat. Med Aevi.* — *Ed.*]

of his own mind! But this people, possessed of such terrible energy, who knew nought of dreamy contemplations or mystic ardors, — these men of action and of perseverance could do nothing by themselves. Whether his private interests or the affairs of the state were in question, the Roman must have a god at hand. Another characteristic trait we notice: the Greeks held their political assemblies in the theatre; the Roman Senate met to deliberate in the temples of the gods.

II. The Domestic Gods.

Certain of the Roman divinities — who may be called official, having temples, priests, and a public ritual, with the homage of the crowd — were besides honored in a special manner in the *gentes*, by the *sacra gentilitia*. Each of the great families had its protecting deity, — as the mediæval corporations were wont to make choice of a heavenly patron; and this cult closely united all the members of the *gens*. To abandon it was to perish; the *gens* not surviving the desertion of its ancient altar. Livy relates that the Potitii, having given up to the state the worship of Hercules, peculiar to their race, all died within the year.[1]



DOMESTIC ALTAR.[2]

Each household, even the poorest, had also its domestic gods, modest and humble, some unseen, the Genii and Manes; others, the Lares and Penates, represented by small rude earthen figures, coarsely moulded and baked in an oven, but held in as much honor as are the holy pictures of the Russian peasants in our time. All these are with difficulty distinguished from one another, representing more or less clearly the idea of a supernatural protection exercised by departed spirits over the house which had once been their home. This faith appears to have existed in Greece; we also find it in Etruria; and it would seem to be one of the earliest manifestations of the religious instinct.

[1] ix. 29.

[2] The domestic altars were sometimes very small, like the Penates themselves. The one we give is only reduced to a quarter of its real size.

Let us first dispose of the numberless crowd of Genii. That strange doctrine is well known which makes men, and even gods, of a double nature, and gives each in his lifetime two existences, one of which continues after death.[1] The Genii pre-



THE LARES.[2]

sided over all the phenomena of physical and moral life. Nothing took place without them, and the favor or enmity reached the individual, the family, the city, even the whole nation.

[1] See p. 128. — *Sub terra censebant reliquam vitam agi mortuorum* (Cic. *Tusc.* i. 16.)

[2] Lares taken from the Campana Museum, and comparatively modern. These statuettes, so full of pretentious affectation, were certainly not honored with the same strong faith accorded to the shapeless fetiches of ancient days. The Penates, who insured joy and abundance to the house, were in late days represented in a joyous attitude, holding in one hand a drinking-horn, and in the other a dish.

The Penates, or gods of the interior, whom Vergil calls paternal gods,[1] were the spirits of the house, in which they provided abundance, *penus*. With the Lares or Lords, the spirits of ancestors, were connected all endearing and sweet memories. The Lares shared the joys and griefs of the family, and were associated with its good or evil fortune. In every festival they took part, on all happy occasions they were crowned with flowers or foliage, and the young man, when he took the *toga virilis*, consecrated to them the *bulla* which he had worn. No meal was eaten without a portion being set apart for them, a kind of communion with the gods which in grave circumstances was performed by the whole city, when she invited all her guardian deities to the solemn feast of the *lectisternium*.

At an epoch already sceptical Plautus introduces on the stage a family Lar, who explains to the spectators the plot of one of his plays. "I am the Lar of this house. For many a year I have had the keeping of it, and I watch over it from father to son. The grandfather of the present holder confided a treasure to me with many supplications, and secretly hid it under the hearth, asking me to preserve it. He was a miser, and he departed without speaking to his son about it. When he was dead, I carefully observed his son, to see if I should receive more honor from him than from his father. I soon found that he diminished still more the expenses which concerned me. I punished him for it, and he never knew of the secret hoard. His son resembles him; but his daughter never misses a day in offering me incense, wine, and prayers; so I will lead her to discover the treasure."[2]

Take away the disrespectful handling of the poet, who makes the familiar Lar a piece of theatrical machinery, and you will find the god whose worship was the consolation and hope of many a generation.

With the worship of the Lares was associated that of the domestic fire; and it may be said that the two corner-stones which

[1] Macrobius (*Sat.* III. iv. 6 and 8) calls the Penates the peculiar gods of the Romans: *dis Romanorum propriis . . . per quos penitus spiramus, per quos habemus corpus, per quos rationem animi possidemus.*

[2] Prologue of the *Aulularia*.

upheld Roman society were the hearthstone and the tombstone. The family was formed around the one, and, in spite of the sad separation, it continued around the other. He who had no Penates wandered about in life as he who had no tomb wandered in death; and the hearth is a sacred place. On the kalends, the ides, the nones, on all feast-days, a crown of flowers is hung there,[1] and on entering the house the father salutes, first of all, the Lares of the hearth.[2]



1. BULLA.[3]



2. YOUNG ROMAN WEARING THE BULLA.[3]

Great Vesta reigns over the public hearth, "a living flame that neither gives nor receives any germ of life,"[4] consequently an eternal virgin, who can have none but virgins for companions. Each house also possesses a domestic Vesta. The hearth is her altar, and the fire which burns there is a god, — the god who sustains life in the house, as the sun does in nature, who bakes the bread, makes the tools, and aids in all kinds of work; but the god who purifies too; who is never soiled; who receives sacrifices and bears to the other deities the prayers of mortals, when the flame, quickened by oil, incense, and the fat of victims, blazes up and darts towards heaven.

"O Hearth," says an Orphic hymn, "thou who art ever young and beauteous, make us always happy! Thou who dost nourish, receive in good part our offerings, and give us in return happiness and health." With less of religious fervor, but with

[1] Cato, *de Re rust.* 143.

[2] Ibid. 2.

[3] No. 1 represents the golden *bulla*, without ornamentation, except on the clapper-ring. No. 2 shows a statue from the Louvre representing a young Roman clad in the *praetexta* and wearing the *bulla*. The poor wore leather ones; but all had them, for the *bulla* was supposed to possess the power of averting evil.

[4] . . . *Vivam flammam* . . . *quae semina nulla remittit nec capit.*

OVID: *Fast.* vi. 291–294.

an emotion which gives an idea of this eternal worship of the hearth, Cicero says, later on: "Here is my religion, here my race and the traces of my fathers. I find in this place an indefinable charm, which penetrates my heart and enthralls my senses." And we of modern times still say similar things when we return to our paternal hearth.

III. The Manes.

The souls of the dead, or *Lemures*, were of two kinds, — those of the wicked, the *Larvæ*, and those of the good, the *Manes*.

The *Manes*, "the pure beings," were the dead purified by funeral ceremonies, and become the protectors of those whom they had left behind them in life. At Rome, as everywhere, the dead was not thought to be altogether dead. He had his place of abode like the living; *his* hearth was in the tomb. There he began a second life, sad, but calm, if the funeral rites had been accomplished; fretful and unhappy when funeral honors had not been paid him. Separated from his mortal remains, the human being did not quit the earth to ascend into ethereal spheres or to descend into the lower regions. Invisible, but ever present, he remained near those he had loved, inspiring them with wise thoughts, protecting their abode and their fortune, — on the condition, however, that the living should render to the dead the worship due to ancestors. Originally these rites were cruel, — at least on the day of the funeral ceremonies; for it was thought that the Manes loved blood. On the tomb of a king or hero they immolated his wife, his slaves, his war-horse or captives; and from this custom came the combats of gladiators, which were at first, as was the Spanish *auto-da-fé*, an act of devotion. But on anniversaries the Manes were satisfied if the relations came to deck the tomb with wreaths of foliage, as we place flowers thereon, and to deposit cakes of honey and meal, to make libations of wine, milk,[1] and the blood of some unpretending victim. They were present in invisible form at these pious ceremonies,

[1] Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 537, *seq.*

and took their part of the offerings.[1] A great number of bas-reliefs and paintings represent the dead engaged in their "Elysian repasts." Lucian, who laughs at everything, ridicules this appetite of the dead;[2] and in fact, in his time, nay, even long before him, there were miserable wretches, the *bustirapi*,[3] who played the part of the dead, by carrying away in the night the food deposited on the tombs. But pious people believed that the benevolence of the Manes was secured by these offerings, and that to forget them was to expose oneself to their anger. Wandering then in the silent night, they came to terrify the living, or to cast disease on the flock, barrenness on the land.[4] Thus even at a time when the credit of Jupiter had fallen very low Cicero wrote: "Render to the Manes what is due to them, and hold them for divine beings; for our ancestors would that those who had quitted this life should be of the number of the gods!"[6] We make the sign of the cross on passing near a tomb. The Roman said to the dead, "Sleep in peace!" or else, "Be propitious to us!" and he saluted with the same gesture of adoration that he used in worshipping the gods. Even when a family was obliged to sell the field in which its funeral vault was placed, the law reserved a right of passage, that they might go to perform the sacred rites there.[7] On the return of



ADORATION BEFORE A TOMB.[5]

[1] Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 13. The custom of the funeral feast on the day of the obsequies is preserved in our provinces. In my childhood it still existed, even in Paris; but it is no longer more than an act of politeness towards the guests, and none of the religious idea which the ancients attached to it now remains.

[2] *De Luctu*, 9.

[3] Plautus, *Pseud.* I. iii., 127.

[4] . . . *Tacitae . . . tempore noctis*
Perque vias urbis, Latiosque ululasse per agros
Deformes animas.
OVID: *Fast.* ii. 552.

[5] Taken from a painted vase, on which Orestes is represented approaching the tomb of Agamemnon.

[6] Cic., *de Leg.* ii. 9 and 22 . . . *Majores eos, qui ex hac vita migrassent, in deorum numero esse voluissent.* We must call to mind this belief, so persistent among the Romans, when we see the Emperors declared *divi*.

[7] *Dig.* xviii. 1, 6. These rites of the tomb are found as far as the extreme East. Among the Annamites, children inherit the property of their father in equal portions, except the eldest,

the *Feralia*, the last day of the festival of the dead, there was celebrated in each house the *Caristiae*, a feast in which all the relatives took part. Then they recalled the glorious memories of the family; together they worshipped the Lares, the protectors of the paternal roof, and they separated with mutual wishes for prosperity. "At this fraternal banquet," says Ovid, "Concord always came to take a seat."[1]

This religion of death is at once the most ancient and the most touching; it established a bond between the past generations



GESTURE OF ADORATION.[2]



GESTURE OF ADORATION.[3]

and those which survived them. The soul of the ancestors was the soul of the family, and there was in this firm belief a great principle of social conservatism.

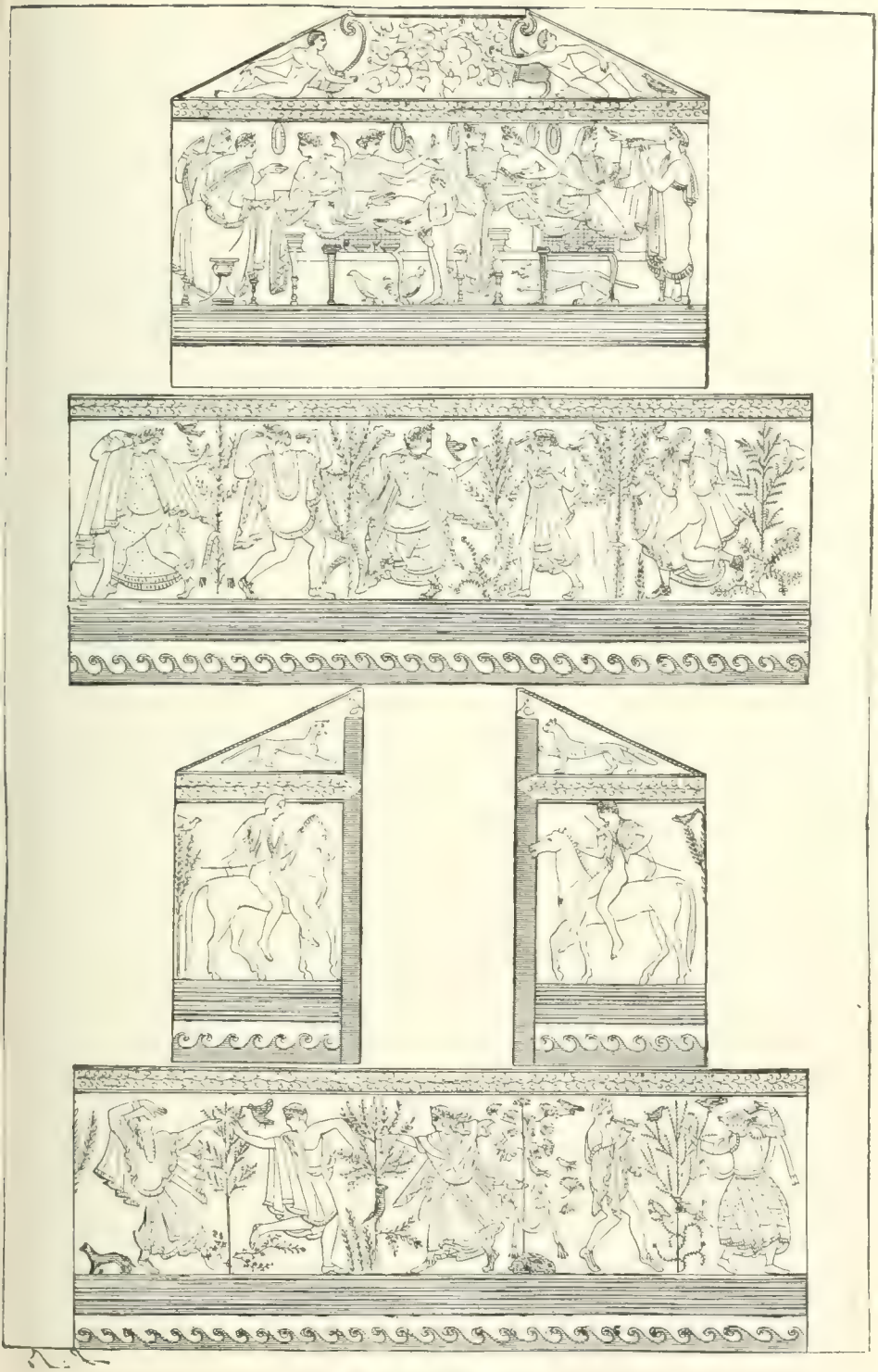
But let us take notice that this festival of the dead differed essentially from ours, which is a beautiful idea of universal charity continued beyond the tomb, — a prayer offered by all for all. Among the Romans the worship of the dead was essentially domestic; near relatives alone were entitled to make the offerings, and no stranger had the right to be present at the funeral repast, the pious representation of the banquets of the Elysian life, which

who holds an extra portion, in order to keep up the tombs of his ancestors. (Ch. Lemire, *Cochinchine franc.*, 1877.)

[1] *Concordia fertur . . . adesse.* (*Fast.* ii. 631.)

[2] Bas-relief from the Louvre.

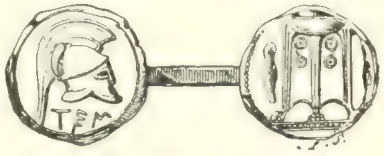
[3] Taken from a painting on a Greek vase. A young Greek woman and young man saluting a Hermes. To put the right hand up to the mouth is still a mode of salutation in the East, and sometimes even with us.



AN ELYSIAN REPAST.

were the only joy the Roman and Greek could imagine for their dead.[1] The man, then, who died without leaving a family behind him, lacked those honors which were necessary to the repose and consolation of the dead. In order to avoid this misfortune, the childless Roman, in default of a natural family, created for himself a legal family; and to religious belief must be attributed the importance of that civil custom of adoption, as frequent at Rome as it is rare with us. The funeral colleges under the Empire are another means of providing oneself with relatives, who may accomplish the rites necessary to this second life in the tomb.

The *Larvae*, the messengers of the gloomy abode, brought the living unlucky dreams, threatening visions, and terrible apparitions; they were the phantoms that peopled the night, and whose anger people sought to deprecate by throwing black beans over the shoulder, or by striking a bronze vessel. All were not so easy to exorcise, and about some of them there circulated dreadful stories, which strengthened the belief in evil Genii. "Ulysses," say Pausanias and Strabo, "having stopped at Temesa, on the coast of Bruttium, one of his companions, Polites, outraged a maiden, and was stoned by the inhabitants. Ulysses did nothing to avenge this murder and appease the manes of the hero, so the spectre of Polites returned every night to spread terror and death among the people of Temesa. In order to escape his anger, they were about to abandon their town, when the Pythoness revealed to them that they would appease the hero if they built a sanctuary to him, and yearly offered to him the most beautiful among their daughters. The shrine was raised in the thickest part of a wood of wild olives, and the fearful sacrifice was performed, till the day when a



TEMESA OF BRUTTIUM.[2]

[1] The engraving on page 213 represents the paintings on a tomb at Tarquinii (Corneto). In the foreground an Elysian repast: on the two side-pieces, persons dancing, doubtless the initiated celebrating some rite of Bacchus in the midst of a sacred wood. On the two sides of the door of the tomb, two horsemen and some tigers or panthers, probably in memory of the funeral games. (*Atlas du Bull. arch.*, 1831, Pl. xxxii. For the description, see *Annales*, vol. iii. p. 325, *seq.*)

[2] The first three letters of the name of the town, and a helmet; on the reverse a tripod, two greaves; silver coin.

famous athlete of Locri, named Euthymos, entered the temple, saw the maiden, and, touched with compassion and love, resolved to fight the demon on the following night. He conquered, drove him out of the territory, and obliged him to cast himself into the waves of the Ionian Sea. After that time never did the fatal spectre re-appear; but there long existed the proverb, 'Beware the hero!'"[1]

IV. Naturalism of the Roman Religion and Formal Devotion.

There is a poetry in the pious ceremonies performed near the hearth and around the tombs. Poetry of another kind, too, is found in the worship of the sacred groves. The Apennines were then covered with those immense forests, whose silence and mystery long inspired a religious terror. To find protection amid these unknown, and, consequently, so much the more dreaded, dangers, men consecrated in some glade a group of trees, which henceforth became an inviolable sanctuary. Sometimes a single tree, which had been struck by a thunderbolt, or whose crest topped the whole forest, and which allowed nothing to grow beneath the depths of its shadow, became a divine being. In 456 B. C., three ambassadors from Rome came to demand of the Aequi the fulfilment of a treaty. The chief, seated under



SACRED TREE.[2]

[1] Pausanias, VI. vi. 7–11; Strabo, vi. p. 255; *Suidas*, s. v. Εὔθυμος; Aelianus, *Hist. Var.* viii. 18. See, in the reign of Tiberius, the story of the matron delivered by the priests of Isis to the god Anubis.

[2] Bas-relief in the Louvre. Cymbals are hung on the branches of the sacred tree; behind it stands the altar, on which a ram, which a child leads, is about to be sacrificed; behind, a veiled priestess and the flute-player, necessary in all sacrifices. Behind the altar a second woman, bearing offerings on her head. The worship of sacred trees still exists in many places.

an immense oak, answered them derisively: "Address yourselves to this tree; I have other business than listening to you." "Good," cried one of the Romans; "let this sacred oak, and the god, whosoever he be, who dwells therein, know that you have violated your promised faith; may they lend a favorable ear to our complaint and aid us in the fight."[1]

Vergil and Lucan saw the remains of this old naturalism still in existence. They speak of trees held in veneration, of the olive-tree of Faunus, whereon sailors, when they came back from a dangerous voyage, suspended their *ex-voto*, and of the ancient oak that stretches towards heaven its withered arms, yet ever bears the remains of victims offered by the people, and the sacred gifts of the chiefs. Though around it there spreads the sturdy green forest, it alone is honored.

> "Exuvias populi . . . sacrataque gestans
> Dona ducum . . .
> Sola tamen colitur."

Animals naturally played a part in this religion of nature. In the temple of *Juno Sospita* at Lavinia a serpent received offerings. The woodpecker, which, with its strong beak, seems to attack the largest trees in search of food, and the wolf, king of the Italian forests, were the symbols of Mars. When under the leafy cover, in the silence and shade, the woodpecker was heard afar, striking his short, sharp blows, it was the rustic god who spoke, and the augur gave a meaning to his words.

In substance, the religion of the early Romans was not far removed from fetichism. Quirinus, represented by a spear; Jupiter Lapis by a stone;[2] Vesta by fire; Mars by his shield; and the gods and goddesses of fallow lands, of weeding, of manure, of rust, of the grindstone, of the oven, of fear, of fever, and all that represented the physical agencies which man loves or dreads, — are scarce above the level of those good or evil beings which barbarous nations worship. For the magistrate as well as for the private person, the song or flight of a bird, an unusual noise, a sudden

[1] Livy, iii. 25.

[2] According to Varro (St. Aug., *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 31), the Romans remained 170 years without possessing any statues. I do not know whether the date is exact, but the fact must have good foundation.

or involuntary sadness, a false step, the flickering of a flame, the groans of the victim, the prolongation or speedy termination of its death-pangs, the color and form of the entrails, — everything, in fact, was an omen, and the appetite of the sacred chickens or the size of a victim's liver often carried grave decisions.

The Roman knew nothing of divine love; on the contrary, he trembled before the innumerable deities,[1] capricious and vindictive, whom he pictured to himself lying in wait everywhere along the path of life; and in the words of the most religious of pagans,[2] "Full of affright, he entered their sanctuary, as though their temple were the cave of a bear or dragon." Should he by mischance cross the threshold of his house with his left foot first, should he hear the squeak of a mouse or his glance fall on any object held to be unlucky, immediately he re-entered his house distracted, and could not feel re-assured till he had offered an expiatory sacrifice. He believed in the evil eye,[3] like the Italian of the present day, and like him too he thought to guard against it by a *fascinum*[4] which he hung round the necks of his children, in his garden and over his hearth. Hence came the god Fascinus, whose worship was intrusted to the vestals, and who was placed on the chariot of generals at their triumph, to turn aside envy and to avert evil fortune.[5] There was, however, a sure preservative against spells, which was to spit into one's right shoe before putting it on.[6]

Cato the Elder died in 149 B. C. He lived, then, at a period in which the grand age of Roman civilization began; yet how superstitious is this cool-headed and calculating man! He believes in charms and in magic words for healing sickness. Here is his prescription, for instance, against dislocations. "Take a green rush, four or five feet long, cut it in two in the middle, and let

[1] Varro said 30,000, which was also Hesiod's reckoning (*Works and Days*, 252); but Maximus Tyrius (*Dissert.* i.) thought this figure far too small.

[2] Plutarch, *de Superst.* 25; Cic., *de Divin.* ii. 72.

[3] *Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.* (Verg., *Ecl.* iii. 103.)

[4] This *fascinum* was commonly a *satyricum signum* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xix. 19), or a little bell suspended on a branch of coral. Almost all young Chinese wear this latter kind of amulet. This does not imply that the superstition travelled from Pekin to Rome. The human mind, in all races, passes through similar stages, which lead to unexpected results.

[5] *Fortuna gloriae carnifex.* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 7.)

[6] *Ibid.*

two men hold it on your thighs. Begin to sing: *daries dardaries astataries dissunapiter*, and continue to do so until the two pieces are joined together again. Wave a blade over them when the two pieces are joined and touch one another, seize hold of them, and cut them across lengthways. Make a bandage therewith on the broken or dislocated member, and it will heal. Sing, however, over the dislocation daily: *huat hanat huat, ista pista sista, domiabo damnaustra*, or else *huat haut haut ista sis tar sisordannabon dannaustra*." And he introduced into his *de Re rustica* many similar receipts. Yet Cato is one of the greatest personages of Rome. It is evident that this people was, on certain points, very small indeed.

Superstitions quite as gross and credulity as blind have been seen in later, and even in highly civilized ages, and in many places there exist others worthy of them. Even the Genii of ancient Rome are not all dead; they live again under other names, to people that infinity of heavens whereof the void and silence frighten us. But what belongs more particularly to the Roman religion is its formalism. There is no fervor or divine aspiration, still less philosophic reflection, in its piety. The words, attitudes, and gestures are ordered by the ritual. To leave the established rule, even to be generous to the gods, was to go beyond what was proper, and to fall into superstition. In the temple, the most religious state of the soul was absolute calm; silence on the lips, silence in the mind.[1] For the ceremonies, all was settled beforehand, even to the prayer, which should only rise from the heart; and soon they begin to pray in forms which are no longer understood. In the time of the Antonines the brotherhood of Arvales chanted songs which dated perhaps from Numa. It was needful, too, to repeat these ancient compositions with religious care, for a peculiar virtue attached to the very expressions. By the omission of one word a sacrifice became useless, a prayer vain. The lawyers say at a later period: *quia virgula cadit, causa cadit*, — through a comma, one loses his suit. The same was thought to be the case with the gods. When a consul had a religious formula to pronounce, he read it from the

[1] *Templum in quo verbis parcimus, in quo animos componimus, in quo tacitam etiam mentem nostram custodimus.* (Quintil., *Declam.* 265.)

ritual, for fear of omitting or transposing a word. A priest followed the reading in a second book, in order to be sure that all the sacramental phrases were said aright; another saw that absolute silence was observed among the bystanders; lastly, a musician drowned with the modulations of his flute every sound which could have broken the charm attached to the words that the officiating person recited.[1]

The feeling of religion has submitted to much slavery, but never has it been enchained in such strict bonds. It might be thought that Rome, like a certain famous institution, was afraid of religious excitement, if we did not know that in this institution the regulation of piety is the result of policy, whereas with the Romans it was the spontaneous production of the national character. But if this childish credulity lowers the spirit of the people, it yet renders them very easy to govern; and the vigorous devotional discipline, which has nothing to do with religious feeling, produced citizens in whom respect for the rules of the temple long inspired respect for the law in the Forum.

We may make another remark: these divinities of Rome appear less beautiful, but more moral, than those of Greek polytheism;[2] and the Fathers of the Church consider the religion

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 3. Here is the longest passage left us of the old historian Fabius Pictor. At the same time may be seen the poverty of this ancient literature, the miserable state of men's minds, and how grievous was that sacerdotal slavery in which there is nowhere felt beating a truly religious heart. "It is a crime for the flamen of Jupiter to ride on horseback or to see the centuries under arms; thus he rarely has been named consul. He is not permitted to take an oath; the ring he wears must be hollow and of open work. No fire must be carried from his house but the sacred fire. If a man enters that house bound, he must be unbound, and the bonds must be carried through the inner court up the roof and thrown into the street. The flamen has no knot about him, either on his cap, his girdle, or any other part. If a man who is going to be beaten with rods falls at his feet as a suppliant, the guilty one cannot be beaten without sacrilege that day. None but a freeman can cut a flamen's hair. He never touches or names a she-goat, raw flesh, hare, or beans. He must not clip the tendrils of the vine that climb too high. The feet of the bed he sleeps in must be plastered with mud. He never quits it three consecutive nights, and no one else has the right to sleep therein. There must not be near the woodwork of his bed a box with sacred cakes in it. The parings of his nails and the cuttings of his hair are covered with earth at the foot of a fruit-tree For him all days are holy days. He is not allowed to go into the open air without the *apex*: and even as to remaining bareheaded under his own roof, the pontiffs have only quite recently decided that he may do so." (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* x. 15.) Another example of this minute and childish formalism is furnished by Table xli. of Marini. (*Atti e monumenti de' Fratelli Arvali.*) [One might imagine this page of old Fabius taken out of the Zend-avesta or from the laws of Manu. — *Ed.*]

[2] See page 124.

of Numa to have been a decent religion.[1] Yet the Roman gods do not require their believers to practise justice. The purity they exact is bodily purity, *castitas*.[2] They may be approached without repentance, but not with unwashed face or hands, or stained raiment. Thus a clean toga is necessary for festivals: and ablutions and baths were an act of piety before they were a matter of health. It might even be said that the *thermæ*, the architectural glory of Rome, are derived, like her theatres and circuses, from a religious idea. Between these gods and mankind there was but a bond of interest. They wished to be honored, and, like a patron proud of the great number of his clients, they required that the crowd should surround their altars; they demanded sacrifices and libations, songs and sacred dances, wreaths of flowers and foliage round their temples and altars, and a numerous attendance, that their dignity might be raised among the gods, and their credit among men. In return they promised protection, and as they were feared, men sought to appease them. As it was thought they could give health, fortune, and victory, men performed all the acts which could constrain them to grant prosperity.



GARLANDS OF LEAVES ROUND A TEMPLE.[3]



VESTA HOLDING THE PALLADIUM AND A SCEPTRE.[4]

The Roman did not love his gods, and they did not live in him, did not purify his heart or elevate his soul. Religion was a bargain, and worship a contract in due form; a *quid pro quo*. Plautus bluntly says so: "He who has made the gods propitious always gains large profits."[5] This piety, which calculates so exactly, shows us that the people

[1] Tertull., *Apol.* 25.

[2] *Casta placent superis: pura cum veste venite.* (Tibullus, II. i. 13.) Aulus Gellius (ii. xxviii.) says: *Veteres Romani . . . in constituendis religionibus . . . castissimi, cautissimique.* The *lustratio*, one of the greatest religious acts of Rome, and one of the oldest, was at first a purification by water. This word comes from the verb *luo*, to wash, wipe out.

[3] DIVO AVG. S. C. Sacrifice before the temple. Large bronze coin of Caligula.

[4] Large bronze of Sabina, wife of Hadrian.

[5] *Curculio*, IV. ii. 45.

lacked certain high qualities of mind; having no religious spirit, they had in later times no philosophic spirit.

Vesta, however, had brought virgin purity into honor; Juno and all the other goddesses of marriage or nurture had done the same for the wisdom and devotion of matrons; the Lares loved domestic virtues; the Manes concord in families; Fides, good faith in contracts; Terminus, respect for all rights; and with the exception of certain rustic divinities, who delighted in gayety and laughter — who allowed even far more — all the gods had the Roman gravity. Still we should not go as far as to repeat what is said of this religion, "that, like the philosophy of Socrates, it brought divinity down to earth, and obliged it to regulate the life and manners of men." The Socratic philosophy was a mighty effort of reflection; the Roman religion, on the contrary, sprang spontaneously from customs; and in primitive ages customs precede belief, which in their turn preserves them. The Latino-Sabine populations, among whom the family tie was so strong, created domestic gods who never can be immoral, and their agricultural life compelled them to have gods who protected property and agreements. Before he was carried to the ends of the field to serve as the sacred boundary, Terminus had risen from the furrow opened by the Latin plough.



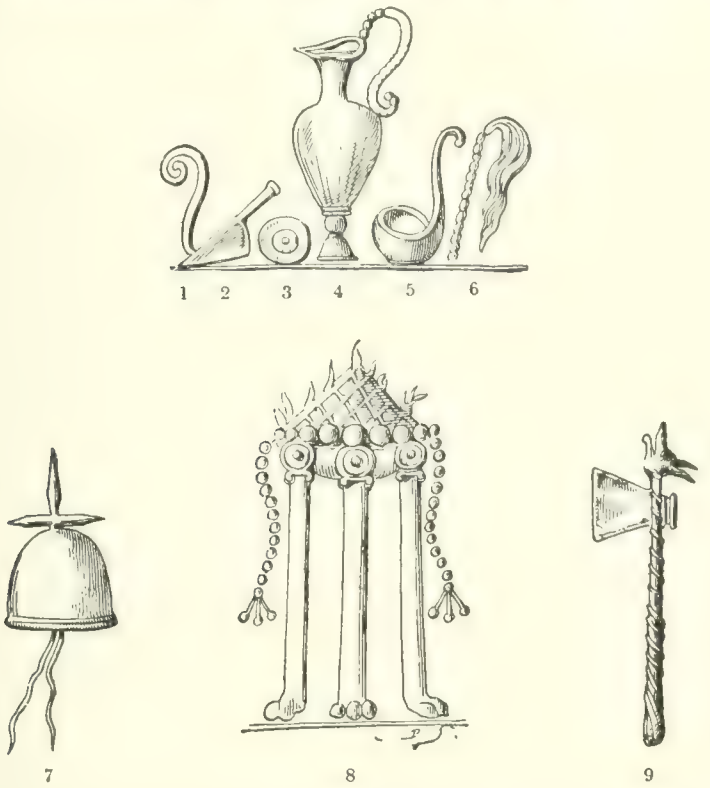
FIDES, OR GOOD FAITH.[1]

V. Sacerdotal Colleges.

Thus the Roman religion is twofold in its nature. There is that of the state, or of society as a whole, and that of individual persons; but there exists a very good understanding between the two, because in the main it is the same thing answering to two different needs. The family has its Penates, which the state respects; the city its gods, which private indi-

[1] FIDES AVGVST. S. C. Good Faith, standing, holding some ears of corn and a basket of fruit. Large bronze of Plotina.

viduals honor not only by associating themselves with the public ceremonies of their worship, but by particular devotions to such and such a divinity, by sacrifices at such and such a temple. In



1. *Lituus*, or augur's baton. 2. *Secespita*, or sacrificial knife. 3. *Patera*. 4. Sacrificial vase, wrongly confounded with the *praefericulum*, which had no handle. 5. *Simpulum*, small cup employed in libations. 6. Sprinkler. 7. *Apex*, or flamen's cap. 8. Tripod surmounted by the *cortina*. 9. Axe with wolf's head, for killing great victims.

INSTRUMENTS OF SACRIFICE; TAKEN FROM VARIOUS COINS IN THE CABINET DE FRANCE.

addressing one of the gods of the city, there is no need of a mediator. "The Aruspicium," says Varro,[1] "enjoins that each should sacrifice according to his own custom, — *suo quisque ritu sacrificium faciat;*" and this principle constituted the religious tolerance of the Romans, so long as they did not believe that the state was threatened by particular religions. When the father of the family, who

[1] *De Ling. Lat.* vii. 38. Cicero also says, *ritus familiae patrumque* . . . that must be preserved, *adis quasi traditam religionem.* (*De Leg.* ii. 11.)

was sovereign pontiff in his own house, had recourse to the priest, it was to assure himself that he properly carried out all the rites, and employed the forms necessary to constrain the divine will in his favor.[1] Hence it resulted that all the priests, though appointed for life[2] and forming particular colleges, remained, as senators and magistrates, active members of society, and as citizens subject to the law and its representatives.[3]

If then religion and its ministers were, at Rome, closely connected with political matters, it was not by ruling them, but in remaining subordinate to them. This dependence lasted as long as pagan Rome; thence came her superiority in government and her inferiority in art and poetry, which in Greece were born in the precincts of the temples.

Neither special knowledge nor peculiar vocation was required of those who desired to be priests. If Rome had a clergy, she had no sacerdotal class possessing great wealth or receiving tithes; and no religious interest was recognized apart from state interest. The augurs could only consult auspices on the order of the magistrates; and it was forbidden to reveal an oracle to the people unless the Senate had authorized it.[5]



ANCILIA, OR SHIELDS OF MARS.[4]

"Our ancestors," says Cicero, "were never wiser or better inspired by the gods than when they settled that the same persons should preside over religion and the government of the Republic.

[1] M. Bouché-Leclercq (*Les Pontifes de l'ancienne Rome*) very justly remarks that at Rome the priest only figures in religious solemnities as the master of ceremonies.

[2] Pliny, *Ep.* iv. 8.

[3] Only the *duumviri sacris faciundis*, afterward the decemvirs, the interpreters of the Sibylline Books, the flamen of Jupiter, and, after the commencement of the Republic, the *rex sacrorum*, could fulfil no other public charge. The Vestals were also devoted to the altar: yet they could, after thirty years of duty, re-enter civil life. The pontiff and augurs once claimed to be exempt from the taxes imposed on other citizens; but the quaestors forced them to pay. (Livy, xxxiii. 42.)

[4] Taken from a gem in the collection of Florence.

[5] Dionys., xxxix. 5.

By this means magistrates and pontiffs unite to save the state."[1] There was, then, no dependence of either of these two powers upon the other. The state and religion were one, and as later the different functions of these innumerable gods could quite logically become simple attributes of one divinity, the state did not feel itself threatened by the elastic interpretation of creeds; and there existed at Rome, when philosophic thought was brought thither from Greece, that religious liberty which churches with precise dogmas will not and cannot recognize.



FRATER ARVALIS.[4]

The most highly honored of these priests were the three flamens, or *lighters* of the altars of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, who could not appear in public or in the open air, even in the courtyard of their houses, without the *apex*, the sign of their priesthood;[2] the three augurs,[3] the sacred interpreters of omens; the Vestals, guardians of the public hearth, the fire whereof must never die; the twelve Salii, or leapers,[5] keepers of the *Ancilia*, who every year in the month of March danced the war-dance, and as soon as war was declared, entered the temple of the "God who slays," to strike his bronze shield with their pikes, crying, "Mars, awake!" the twelve Fratres Arvales, or brothers of the fields, priests of Dea-Dia, a Telluric divinity; and finally the four pontiffs,[6] who, free from all control, and rendering no

[1] *Pro domo*, i.

[2] The same obligation was imposed on the Salii. Cf. the fragment of Fabius Pictor, above quoted (page 220).

[3] Afterward four, then nine, in the year 300 B. C.; finally fifteen under Sulla and sixteen under Caesar. I do not speak of the aruspices, who did not form a college in the state. They were diviners, whom generals took with them, and whom private individuals consulted.

[4] For the ceremonies of their worship, the Arvales surrounded their heads with a crown of ears of corn, held together by fillets of white wool. The head of their college was called *magister*, and under the Empire the Emperors took the office. The figure given above represents Marcus Aurelius as a Frater Arvalis.

[5] On the first day of the month, which bore the name of their god, the Salii passed through the quarters of Rome, stopping before the aedicula, or resting places, to perform their rites. This procession, which lasted several days, was interspersed with dances and songs in honor of the gods; perhaps, too, in honor of some great citizens. In the time of Varro (*de Ling. Lat.* vii. 3) no one any longer understood the *Saliaria carmina* and *axementa*.

[6] Four at first, then eight; fifteen under Sulla, and an indefinite number under the Empire

account to either Senate or people, watched, under the presidency of the high pontiff, over the maintenance of the laws and religious institutions; they also settled the calendar, and which days were lucky or unlucky, — thus rendering the administration of justice and the holding of the comitia to a certain extent dependent upon them. On the day that the new moon showed her golden sickle in the heavens, one of the pontiffs, called (*calare*) the people together on the Capitol, and taught them how many days to reckon from the kalends to the nones.[1] On the day of the nones another pontiff announced the festivals to be celebrated during the month, — an announcement which is made on Sundays in our churches. Finally, the pontiffs kept the record of sacred acts, phenomena, and all events which appeared to have a religious character; hence came the *Great Annals*.

The Vestals were at first four in number, two for each tribe; after the addition of the *Luceres* there were six. When a vacancy occurred in the college, the King, as chief pontiff, chose twenty young patrician maidens of from six to ten years of age, without any blemish, and who seemed to promise beauty. The lot, as representing the divine will, designated which of them was to be consecrated priestess. When the selection was made, the head pontiff took the hand of the chosen one: "I take thee," he said; "thou shalt be priestess of Vesta, and shalt perform the sacred rites for the safety of the Roman people." Then he led her to the *regia*, the sacerdotal dwelling, where her locks fell beneath the shears,[2] and where her sisters clad her in white. It was our modern taking of the veil.

The virgins of Vesta watched by turns over the maintenance of the fire which burned night and day on her altar. If it should

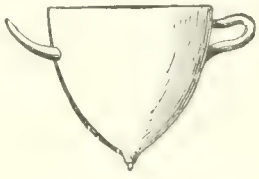
[1] The Roman year seems to have at first counted only ten months, — March, April, May, June, the v., vi., viii., ix., and xth months. Those latter, from the seventh to the tenth, have not changed their name; we still say September, October, November, and December. Livy (i. 19) attributes to Numa the division of the year of 355 days into twelve lunar months, with the insertion of complementary months, which at the end of nineteen years put the lunar year in agreement with the solar. Each month was divided into three parts, the kalends, which marked the first day, the nones (*nonus*, ninth), which comprised the nine days preceding the *ides*, and these (*iduare*, to divide) which began in the middle of the month, the last day of which was called the eve of the kalends.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 85. The *regia*, which was asserted to be the house of Numa, was the head pontiff's residence; behind it were the *atrium* and temple of Vesta.

happen to go out, it was a terrible omen for Rome; she who had been guilty of the neglect was beaten with rods in a dark place by the chief pontiff, who afterward re-lighted the fire by rubbing together two pieces of wood taken from a tree of good fortune, *felix arbos*; in later times, by concentrating in a metal vase the rays of the sun.[1] They had to make libations, offer sacrifices, and perform a strange ceremony, which doubtless had some connection with their vow of virginity. When, on the 15th of April, the pontiffs immolated thirty pregnant cows, the embryos were taken and committed to the Chief Vestal, who burned them and carefully kept the cinders, which she distributed among the people on the day of the Palilia, that they might make expiatory offerings of them.[3] Every morning they cleansed the temple with water drawn from the fountain of Egeria in a vessel with a large mouth and ending in a point, *futile*, so that it could not be set down on the ground without the water being spilled. They had the protection of Fascinus, the god who averts evil spells, and that of the holy relics, pledges of the duration of empire, *fatale pignus imperii*.[5] These relics, preserved in the most secret place of the sanctuary, were the Palladium, a shapeless statuette of Pallas, and the fetiches which were said to have been brought from Samothrace to Troy by Dardanus, and from Troy to Italy by Aeneas. The Chief Vestal, *maxima virgo*, alone penetrated this holy of holies.



VESTAL.[2]



FUTILE, VASE OF THE VESTALS.[4]

Their functions lasted thirty years, at the end of which the Vestals could re-enter the world, and even marry; but very few took advantage of this right; they ended their lives near the goddess to whom they had vowed their virginity. As a compen-

[1] Dionys. ii. 67; Plut., *Numa*, 10; Festus, s. v. *Penus Vestae*. The *arbores felices* were, however, rather numerous, — the oak, the holm-oak, the beech, the mountain-ash.

[2] Taken from the *Cabinet de France*.

[3] Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 629, *seq.* Mention has been made (page 139) of the twenty *argei*, or figures of men in wicker-work, which were thrown by the Vestals into the Tiber every year.

[4] Servius (*ad Aen.* xi. 339) asserts that hence comes the word *futilis*, designating a man incapable of keeping what is confided to him. Taken from the *Catalogue Durand* by M. de Witte.

[5] Livy, xxvi. 27.

sation for this sacrifice, they received the greatest respect and enjoyed great honors. Free from all ties of relationship, that is, released from paternal restraint, *patria potestas*, and from the guardianship of their kin, they could receive legacies and dispose of their goods by testament. In courts of justice they made depositions without being obliged to take the oath. On meeting them, the magistrate had the fasces lowered; and the criminal being led to punishment was set free, provided they declared they had accidentally crossed his path.



THE PALLADIUM.[1]

But, on the other hand, what a horrible death if they broke their vow! At the extremity of the Quirinal, between the Colline gate and the place where afterward stood the famous gardens of Sallust, was the "accursed field," *campus sceleratus*. There was dug an underground chamber, wherein the guilty priestess was to be buried alive. Placed on the bier, which was surrounded with thick coverings to stifle her cries, she was borne with mournful pomp across the Forum, through the silent crowd, to the vault, wherein were placed a bed, a lighted lamp, some bread, a little water, milk, and oil, provisions for one day, in an eternal prison, the mocking help of a piety unwilling to have to give an account to Vesta of the murder of one of her virgins! When the funeral train had arrived at the place of torture the high priest uttered secret prayers; then the bier was opened, and, wrapped in her white veils as in a shroud, the victim descended by a ladder into her tomb, the opening of which was speedily covered by the slaves. The earth was studiously levelled, in order that nothing might reveal the place where, in the dark night and cold of the grave, the Vestal expiated a sacrilege which perchance she had never committed. No one came there to make those libations which the poorest offered to the Manes.[2] She was cut off at once from the world of the living and of the dead.

When the sentence was accomplished, the crowd slowly melted

[1] After a silver coin of the Julian family.

[2] In the time of Plutarch, however (*Quaest. Rom.* 96), the priests came thither to perform expiations.

away, some deeply moved by the terrible end of a beautiful and noble girl, devoted from infancy to a dread office; the greater number convinced that evils which had threatened Rome had been averted by a necessary sacrifice.

Vesta did not always abandon her priestesses. Aemilia was about to be condemned to death for having intrusted the duty of keeping up the sacred fire to a novice who had let it go out. After having implored the goddess, the Vestal tore a strip from her robe and threw it on the cold cinders, when the fire blazed up again.[1] Another, Tuccia, accused of incest, cried out: "O Vesta! if I have ever approached thy altar with clean hands, grant me a sign to prove my innocence;" and taking a sieve, she went down to the Tiber, filled it with water, and came back again to pour it at the feet of the pontiffs.[2] An engraved gem has preserved the remembrance of this miracle, for each college of priests made a point of having one of its own; and these legends, by attesting divine intervention, freed the conscience of the Romans from the remorse of having condemned the innocent to a frightful death, when their merciless policy demanded a victim to calm popular terror.



THE VESTAL TUCCIA.[3]

The honors paid to the Vestal virgins corresponded with the religious importance of the worship which took place round this public hearth, whereon the fire must never go out.[4] But to the religious idea which had at first determined the conditions imposed on the priestesses was added, as a natural consequence, a moral idea, — only virgins could keep it up. This eternal flame, which symbolized the very life of the Roman people, and the institution of the College of Vestals, was an involuntary glorification of chastity; and in the days of faith this belief must have had a happy influence on manners.

[1] Dionys., ii. 68; Val. Max., I. i. 7. [2] Val. Max., VIII. i. 5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 2.
[3] Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* i. pl. xxviii., *Supplem.* i. pl. xxiii.
[4] Cic., *De Leg.* ii. 8: *ignem foci publici sempiternum.*

The twenty *fetiales*, elected for life, and taken from the most noble families, formed a college at once political and religious, which presided over international acts. When Rome thought she had a right to complain of some nation, a fetialis — called, for the occasion, the *pater patratus* of the Roman people — was sent out. He set forth, on his head a fillet of white wool and a crown of vervain, which he had culled on the Capitol. When he arrived at the enemy's frontier he cried: "Hear me, Jupiter! Hear me, God of boundaries! And thou, sacred oracle of right (*fus*), hear. I am the messenger of the Roman people; I come in all justice, and my words deserve all trust." Then he enumerated the grievances of the Romans, bearing witness by solemn imprecations that they were well founded. "If it is against right and my conscience that I demand these persons and these things to be delivered up to me, the messenger of the Roman people, may Jupiter never permit me to return into my country." Advancing into the enemy's country, he addressed the same words to the first inhabitant whom he met, then to those whom he found at the gates of the principal city, and finally in the forum to the magistrates. If, at the end of thirty-three days, satisfaction had not been accorded him, he cried: "Hearken, Jupiter, and thou, Janus Quirinus, and all ye gods of heaven, earth, and the lower regions, I take you to witness that this nation is unjust and violates right. How shall we avenge outraged right? Our old men will decide." And he returned to Rome. If the Senate and people decided to have recourse to arms, the fetialis went back to the enemy's frontier bearing a javelin, the end of which had been burned and reddened in blood, and there cast this threat of fire and carnage, announcing at the same time the opening of hostilities. At a later period, and until the time of the Empire, when the enemy was on the Elbe and Euphrates, the fetialis performed the same ceremonies, but without going out of Rome. On the Field of Mars, near the Temple of Bellona, rose the *column of war*, which represented the limit of the Roman frontier. There the fetialis cast his



VESTALS ROUND THE ALTAR.[1]

[1] Gold coin from the *Cabinet de France*.

bloody javelin, and Rome thought she had conscientiously performed all the rites which obliged the gods to grant her victory.

At the sacrifice offered on the conclusion of a treaty, the fetialis killed the victim with a flint stone, — the stone whence sparks flashed, and which, on account of this property, was often placed in the hand of Jupiter, instead of the darts which represented lightning-flashes.[1]



CAMILLUS.[3]

The greater number of sacerdotal colleges filled up vacancies by co-option, that is to say, the survivors made the election.[2] This was one means of preserving secret the traditions of the corporation. The flamens were designated, like the Vestals, by the chief pontiff.

To aid the priests in the holy ceremonies there were associated with them children of noble family and perfect beauty, to whom was given the name of *camilli*, borne by Mercury, the messenger of the gods.[4] The divinities of Greece, especially also those of Rome, were thought to be much impressed by beauty, which was one of their gifts. They exacted it in their priests, and were offended if they were not served by the most perfect attendance; *e. g.* Juno, who, "in the belief of many," says Valerius Maximus,[5] "made Varro lose the battle of Cannæ because he had given the care of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus to a most beautiful young man, whom she wished to see attached to her own altar." We have preserved somewhat of this respect for the work of God in those who consecrate themselves to his service; certain bodily defects are an obstacle to ordination.

The expenses of worship and the maintenance of the priests

[1] Arnobius, vi. 25.

[2] Cicero, *Phil.* xiii. 5, and *Brut.* 1.

[3] This Camillus, or servitor of the pontiffs, seems to carry the sprinkler in his left hand, and in his right the *situla*, or pail, containing the water necessary for the ceremony.

[4] *Pueri seu puellæ, ingenui, felicissimi, patrimi matrimique.* Cf. Fest., s. v. *Flaminius.*

[5] I. i. 16.

were provided for by a certain tract of land assigned to each temple.[1] In later times the state even allowed a subsidy.[2]

The domestic worship of certain families also made part of the public worship of the city; as, for instance, the *Lupercalia*, of which the *gentes* Fabia and Quinctia held the hereditary priesthood, and the sacrifices in honor of Hercules,[3] which must be performed by Pinarians or Potitians.

V. Public Festivals.

The festivals, like the gods, were innumerable; for in all ages the Italian has loved religious services, as being a break in the monotony of ordinary life, an occasion for pious ceremonies, noisy games, and meals in which the poor spent the savings of a whole week. It will here suffice to point out a few which display in a distinctive manner the customs of ancient times.

Certain festivals, still celebrated in the time of Caesar,[4] and long after, recalled the rural life, coarse manners, and selfish devotion of the Romans. From Pales they asked what their descendants asked of Saint Antony, the health of their flocks; of Lupercus, the god-wolf who protected the farm against the terrible beast whose name he bore, they asked their increase; of Dea-Dia, an abundant harvest. On the day of the Lupercalia, the priests ran half-naked through the town, armed with whips, the thongs of which were made with the skin of the deer and of dogs offered in sacrifice to the god of fertility, and with them they struck all whom they met, especially the women, who, by submitting, thought to escape the opprobrium of sterility, or to insure themselves a happy delivery. On the Palilia, the shepherds jumped thrice over a burning haycock, and made their animals go through the pungent smoke.

[1] Dionys., ii. 7; Festus, s. v. *Oscum*; Siculus Flacc., *de Cond. Agror.* p. 23, ed. Goes.

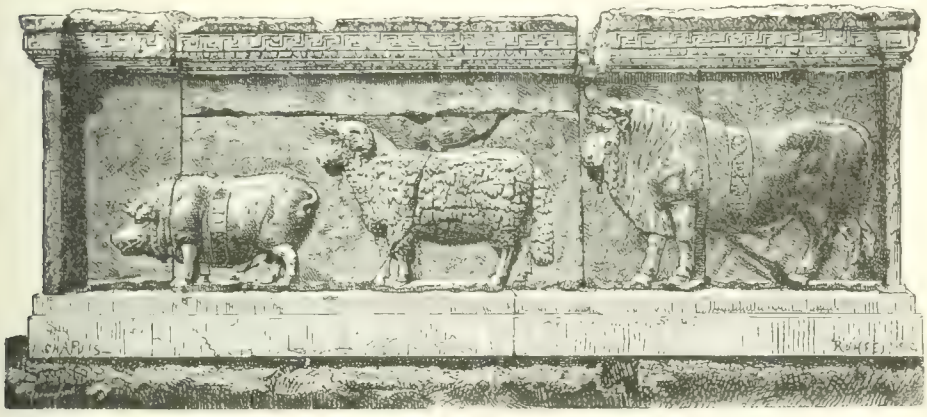
[2] To the Vestals (Livy, i. 20); to the augurs (Dionys., ii. 6); and probably to other colleges. The Vestals, the *pontifex maximus*, and the *rex sacrorum* had moreover a *domus publica*, or residence granted by the state.

[3] The Roman Hercules, who was identical with the Sabine Sancus, and was also the God of Good Faith (*mehercule*), because he was the strong god, took the name of Recaranus, or Garanus. (Aur. Vic., *Orig.* 6; Serv., *ad Aen.* vi. 203.)

[4] Plut., *Caes.* 61.

These were the fires of purification. The *Ambarvalia*, or lustrations of the fields, were performed in the name of the state by the Fratres Arvales before the wheat fell under the sickle, and the festival was renewed around each property. The proprietor, with his head bound round with an oak branch and followed by his kindred and slaves, passed three times round his estate, dancing and singing hymns to the Italian Ceres.

"God of our fathers, we purify our fields and those who till them. Drive away evil from our lands; let not the evil weed choke the promised harvest; let not the slow sheep be in fear of



ANIMALS BEING LED TO THE SACRIFICE OF THE SUOVETAURILIUM.[2] BAS-RELIEF FOUND NEAR THE COLUMN OF PHOCAS.

the swift wolf."[1] Libations of milk and honeyed wine, — a sacrifice and a feast at which the victim was eaten, — terminated these pagan supplications.

The *Amburbalia* were the purification of the town. Along the walls, led by the priests and preceded by the victims, rolled the long procession of citizens, who in honor of the solemn day were clad in spotless togas and crowned with leaves. When the hymns had ceased, when the victims had fallen under the sacred knife, and the portion set apart for the gods had been burned on the altar, these latter owed protection to the gates and walls.

The people themselves, at the end of the lustrum, were purified

[1] Tibullus, II. i. 17, *seq.*; cf. Verg., *Georg.* i. 336-350.

[2] This word is formed from the name of the three victims, — the hog, *sus*; the sheep, *ovis*; and the bull, *taurus*.

by an expiatory sacrifice. Being convoked by the herald, they assembled in the Field of Mars, whither the King, "scented with myrrh and sweet-smelling plants," had resorted at daybreak with the servitors, who led a hog, a sheep, and a bull. Three times he made the round of the assembly, repeating hymns and prayers; then he immolated the victims, and the *suovetaurile*[1] was performed. Songs, prayers, offerings, were all these good-natured gods demanded to keep them at peace with their people.

In grave circumstances, during a pestilence or amidst some public misfortune, they admitted their people to communion with them. Their statues were carried to a table ready spread; the gods were laid upon couches, as at the Roman meals, the goddesses were placed sitting; and the popular imagination, highly excited by danger, saw them accept the feast, or sometimes turn away their heads from it in anger.[1] Is it to some memory of these stony guests, still preserved in Spain, that the terrible legend of the commendatore (in Don Juan), *el Convidado de piedra*,[3] is due?



STATE BED FOR THE FESTIVAL OF LECTISTERNIUM.[2]

Such Gods and such festivals show the Roman revelling, like the Greek, in that intoxication with nature which the great enchantress had offered to all the Aryan race, — an intoxication delightful and fruitful for the sons of Homer and Plato, oppressive and barren for the sons of Romulus; for the former found therein a lovely and sublime ideal, which the latter never knew, and of which they only caught a glimpse on the days when they ceased to be Romans.

[1] Livy, xl. 59.

[2] Silver coin of the family of Caelia, with the names of L. Caldus, *septemvir epulonum*, and C. Caldus, monetary *triumvir*.

[3] Magnien, *Les Origines du Théâtre*, i. 252.



REVERSE OF A BRONZE PIECE OF FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER. VESTA HOLDING THE PALLADIUM AND THE CUP FOR LIBATIONS.

CHAPTER IV.

CHANGES IN RELIGION AND CONSTITUTION UNDER THE THREE LAST KINGS.

I. The Gods of Etruria at Rome; Reforms of Tarquin the Elder.

THE third and fourth kings of Rome are repetitions of the two first: Tullus is a new Romulus, Ancus a second Numa, — a suspicious symmetry which is repugnant to history, but in which legend delights. Legend, however, attributes a special characteristic to Tullus: he completes the city, by giving it its military institutions, — *militaris rei institutor*.[1]

The reign of the three last kings marks, on the other hand, a new era. Whatever may be the cause, — be it the peaceful or forcible settlement of some Etruscan chief, or a long period, unknown to us, which prepared the transformation, — it is certain that the city, whose territory was only six miles long by two broad, has become a great town, which covers the seven hills, and erects monumental buildings, which counts its inhabitants by the hundred thousand, and extends its power afar; and finally, which replaces ancient simplicity by the splendor of its feasts, its fetich gods by the great Etruscan divinities, and their modest altars by the Capitol with its hundred steps.

Whether it was a heritage of the Pelasgi, or, more probably, borrowed from the Greek colonies of Italy through the medium of the Campanian Etruscans, the gods of Greece were greatly honored in the southern cities of Etruria. Thence they came to Rome. Tarquin the Elder, it is said, drove all the gods

[1] Orosius, ii. 4. Florus, i. 3, also says: *hic omnem militarem disciplinam artemque bellandi condidit.*

of Numa from the Tarpeian, in order to raise a temple there to the great celestial family, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Youth alone and the god Terminus opposed it; for the Roman people was never to grow old, nor its frontiers to recede. Ceres, who was identified with Pales, and whose priestess was always a Greek, called from Naples or from Velia (Elea)[1] to do the duties of the sanctuary which was raised to her after the famine of 496 B. C.; Diana, who was confounded with Feronia,



JUNO. JUPITER. MINERVA.[3]

the protectress of the common people,[2] to whom Servius built a temple; Vulcan, whom Tatius already honored; Mercury, the plebeian god of the commerce which had arisen, and the eloquence which was to increase, offered a dangerous competition to the native gods. Apollo, Neptune, Cybele, and Venus did not

[1] Cic., *pro Balbo*, 24.

[2] Dionys., iii. 32.

[3] These three bronze statues, found in the excavations of Herculaneum, are of a comparatively recent date.

come till a later period. The first of these was destined to high fortunes. The Sibyl of Cumae, from whom Tarquinius Superbus bought the books, was a priestess of Apollo, the Redeemer, so called because he knew the necessary expiations. Under Augustus, he took his place by the side of the Capitoline Jupiter.

Thus the sphere of religious life goes on enlarging, and it becomes so wide that these innumerable divinities end by being effaced, to make way for the one God of whom they were only the obscure manifestations; but then, too, there comes a new society, new ideas, new laws; in fact, another world.

As if the gods of Greece carried art with them, their entrance into Rome was marked by the first effort to give to the immortals dwellings less modest and an appearance less rude. Tuscan workmen built the great temple of the Capitol, and the Etruscan Turrianus modelled in clay the statue of Jupiter which Tarquin placed there.[1]



AUGUR.[2]

Etruria moreover gave something else which properly belonged to her. The miracle of the Tuscan Navius diffused respect for the augurs through the city. No doubt the epoch when Rome adopted so many Etruscan customs, was that also of the introduction of the science of augury as the religion of the state. It was a surer means of government, inasmuch as both governors and governed put sincere faith in it. In order to study this mysterious art, some young patricians were sent to Etruria, and for a long time the augurs were only taken from the noblest families, from those whose members filled the Senate and the magistracy. The augur, in fact, was to be at once a sincere[3] priest and a shrewd politician: the latter

[1] Legendary history explains all these Etruscan importations by the conquest which Tarquin the Elder made of Etruria. Otf. Muller reverses this proposition, and makes the Etruscans conquer Rome and Latium; but what is not contested is, that the epoch of the Tarquins was marked by the preponderating influence in Rome of Etruscan civilization, —so much so that the greater part of the Greek historians, says Dionysius of Halicarnassus (i. 29), regarded Rome as a Tyrrhenian town, Τυρρηνίδα πόλιν εἶναι ἱπελαβον.

[2] At the feet of the priest who holds the augur's rod is seen the sacred chicken, whose more or less keen appetite served as an augury.

[3] At an epoch when faith was much shaken, Tiberius Gracchus reading, in the depths of

inspiring the former and making him unconsciously report from heaven the divine decree most conformable to the interests of the state.[1]

This belief in signs ended by making the Romans the most religious people in the universe. "It was," said Polybius, "one of the causes of her greatness." And the friend of Scipio is right; for this blind piety, if it did not gain the favor of the gods, at least assured the power of the aristocracy, by keeping the people dependent on the most experienced and the wisest class. Besides, in spite of their belief in the augurs, the Roman nobility and its Senate never abandoned earthly things for religion till human prudence had nothing left to do. In case of need, they altered fatal presages by the freest interpretations, without their faith being alarmed thereat. A consul was about to engage in battle, and the diviner announced happy omens; he was mistaken, the signs were contrary. "That concerns him," said the consul, "and not me or my army, to whom favorable auspices have been promised;" and he engaged in action. At the first encounter the diviner fell; but the consul was victorious.

It was Tarquin the Elder, too, who first laid hands on the old constitution, not to change it, but to broaden its foundations. In spite of the opposition of the patricians and of the augur Navius, he formed a hundred new patrician families, whose chiefs entered the Senate (*patres minorum gentium*). Were these the richest and noblest of the plebeians, or only the chiefs of the Luceres,

Spain, the books which treated of sacred things, discovered that, as president of the consular comitia, he had omitted one of the rites. He hastened to make known this mistake to the college of augurs, who immediately informed the Senate of it, and the two consuls were obliged to abdicate. (Val. Max., I. i. 3; Plut., *Marc.* 5.)

[1] *Auguriis sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit, ut nihil belli domique postea nisi auspicato gereretur.* (Livy, i. 36.) The augurs had the right of declaring the auspices to be contrary. *Comitiatus et concilia, vel instituta, dimittere, vel habita rescindere . . . decernere ut magistratu se abdicent consules. . . .* (Cic., *de Leg.* ii. 12.) The magistrates had to consult them for all their enterprises, and *quique non paruerit, capital esto.* (Id., *de Leg.* ii. 8.) But prodigies were only referred to the augurs by the order of the Senate, *si Senatus jussit, deferunto.* (*Ibid.* ii. 9.) "The science of augury," says Cicero elsewhere, "has been preserved for state reasons": *Jus augurum etsi divinationis opinione principio constitutum sit, tamen postea rei publicae causa conservatum ac retentum.* (*De Divin.* ii. 35.) In *De Republica*, ii. 10 and 9, he says of Romulus: *Quum haec egregia duo firmamenta rei publicae peperisset, auspicia et Senatum . . . id quod retinemus hodie magna cum salute rei publicae. . . .* The necessary information about the augurs will be found in Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq. Gr. et Rom.*, pp. 550-560, and about the auspices, *Ibid.*, pp. 580-583.

until this time kept out of the Senate, and now admitted to it by Tarquin, the foreign king? The increase in the number of Vestals, from four to six, would seem to confirm the opinion that he sought to raise the third tribe to an equality with the original two. Cicero, however, affirms that the patriciate was doubled;[1] and Livy, narrating the creation of three new centuries of knights, calls them *Ramnenses*, *Titienses*, and *Luceres posteriores*. Thus we have the first and second rank of Ramnenses, Titienses, and Luceres;[2] as later there was a division in the Senate, which is not very clearly understood, of *patres majorum* and *patres minorum gentium*, the latter voting after the former. The method of change is not important, the main fact being undoubted that the patriciate was radically modified by Tarquin; and we may consider this as a preparatory step towards the great reforms introduced by Servius.

II. Reforms of Servius Tullius.

We have seen[3] that the Romans represented their sixth king as specially under protection of the gods. The Emperor Claudius, who composed a history of the Etruscans, said on one occasion in the Senate: "Our writers maintain that Servius was the son of a slave named Ocrisia, while Etruscan annals represent him as the companion-in-arms of Caeles Vibenna, and sharing all the latter's adventures. Driven out of Etruria by some unfortunate turn of events, these two chiefs established themselves, with what remained of their army, upon the Caelian hill, which took its name from Caeles Vibenna. Servius, who in Etruria had borne the name of Mastarna, now adopted the one by which he is known to us. Eventually he became King of Rome, occupying the throne with renown and for the good of the state."[4] A tomb at Vulci,

[1] *Duplicavit illum pristinum patrum numerum.* (*De Rep.* ii. 20.) Cf. Livy, i. 36; Val. Max., III. iv. 2.

[2] Livy, i. 36, *ad finem.* — *Civitas Romana in sex erat distributa partes, in primos secundosque Titienses, Ramnenses, et Luceres.* (Festus, s. v. *Sex suffragia.*) Hence six Vestals, *Ut populus pro sua quaque parte haberet et ministram sacrorum.* (Fest., s. v. *Sex Vestae Sacerdotes.*) This number was never changed again. Cf. Cic., *de Div.* i. 17; Dionys., iii. 71.

[3] Page 161.

[4] This discourse of Claudius, of which Tacitus has given the substance, is engraved on two

discovered about twenty years since,[1] confirms the recital of the imperial historian, or proves, at least, that this was a national legend in Etruria. Upon a wall of the tomb are represented two figures: one, who extends his bound hands, the other, who cuts the thong, and holds under his arm the sword with which he is about to arm his friend. Their names are written above their heads; Caeles Vibenna is the captive, and his deliverer is Mastarna. Here are the two companions-in-arms, who after manifold adventures, sometimes perilous like that represented in the picture, arrived in Rome, where one becomes chief of the people of Mars, the other gives his name to the Caelian hill. It is easy to understand that Roman pride would greatly prefer the favorite of their great gods to this Etruscan adventurer, seeking fortune at the point of his sword.



CAELES VIBENNA AND MASTARNA.

This adventurer was, however, a man of peace. But one war is ascribed to him, a not very well authenticated campaign against the people of Veii,[2] which Dionysius of Halicarnassus transforms into a victory over the whole Etruscan nation. Servius is, above all, the legislator. But shall we say that the constitution which bears his name was really his own, or that it was the work of the time? This reformation, which still lasted as long as Roman liberty endured, must have sprung, not from the mind of one man, but from social and public needs. The patricians, or original

tables of bronze found at Lyons in 1524 by a peasant who was trenching his vineyard. [It is now to be found appended to most good editions of Tacitus' *Annals*. — *Ed.*]

[1] In 1857, in the same funeral chamber at Vulci in which Achilles was represented sacrificing some Trojan captives (see p. 68). The lucumo who had been laid there had without doubt some similar brother-in-arms; for the two pictures express the same idea, — the devotion of a warrior towards the friend who followed him in battle: Achilles avenges Patroclus, and Mastarna delivers Caeles. These fellowships in war must be an Etruscan custom. (Cf. Noël des Vergers, *Revue archéol.*, 1863, p. 462.) [They were, as we know, an old Greek custom, especially in Sparta and among the Abantes of Euboea. — *Ed.*]

[2] Livy, i. 42. [This does not agree with the researches of V. Gardthausen (*Mastarna*, p. 44), who shows that his rule was a military revolt against Etruria by an Etrurian leader of the Latins. — *Ed.*]

people who at first alone formed the army, must have been constrained, for safety's sake, to call in the plebeians gradually to serve with them in the legions. Servius doubtless did nothing but regulate the new state of things which insensibly sprang up; he does not the less merit that his name should remain attached to this great institution.

We will speak, then, of this prince as the ancients spoke of him, conceding to him, with the preceding reservation, the honor of having been the legislator of royal and republican Rome.

We know that the plebeians had neither the right of voting (*jus suffragii*), nor the right of intermarriage or exchange (*jus connubii et commercii*) with the patrician families, but that they enjoyed personal liberty. Since Romulus, their number had constantly increased;[1] for his successors had remained faithful to the policy of drawing the vanquished to Rome, to augment its military population. Until Servius, the plebeians remained without direction and without unity. These men of different origins might, however, combine, and some day become dangerous. The prince, himself of foreign birth, who feared the enmity of the patricians, understood what help this numerous and oppressed people would be to him. He took away from the patricians a part of the land that they had usurped from the public domain, and distributed to each chief of a plebeian family *seven jugera* ($4\frac{2}{3}$ acres) with full Roman rights; and he forced the aristocracy, already shaken by the innovations of Tarquin, to receive plebeians as members of the same city.

He used two means to attain this end: the *tribes* and the *centuries*, that is to say, the administrative and military organization of the state. He divided the Roman territory[2] into 26 regions, and the town into 4 quarters; in all, 30 tribes. This entirely geographical division was also religious, for he instituted festivals for each district, — the *Compitalia* for the plebs of the city tribes, the *Paganalia* for the country tribes. It was

[1] Romulus was said to have established at Rome the inhabitants of Caenina, Antemnae, Crustumerium (Dionys., ii. 35); Tullus, the Albans (Livy, i. 29); Ancus, the Latins of Politorium, Ficana, Tellenae, Medullia, etc. (Livy. i. 33.)

[2] Livy, i. 43.

administrative, for each district had its judges for civil matters,[1] its tribune (*curator tribus*) to keep account of the fortunes, and to assess the taxes; and lastly, it was military, for these tribunes also regulated the military service of their tribesmen, and in case of sudden invasion collected them in a fort built in the centre of the canton.[2] The state was composed, then, of 30 *communes* (parishes), having their chiefs, their judges, their particular gods, but no political rights, these rights being only exercised in the capital. Without touching the privileges of the patricians, Servius secured to the plebeians that municipal organization which must precede, and which introduces, political liberty. As the patricians gave their name to all the tribes except one, we have the right to conclude that they preserved their influence in the cantons where their estates were, and that they probably filled all the offices of judges and municipal tribunes. But for the first time they found themselves confounded with the plebeians in a territorial division in which birth and traditions were omitted. That alone was enough to cause a revolution. A time will come when these tribes desire and obtain political rights. That will be the victory of numbers; the centuries secured that of wealth.

Servius had made the census, or numbering, which was for the future to be renewed every five years (*lustrum*). Each citizen came to declare under oath his name, his age, his family, the number of his slaves, and the value of his possessions.[3] A false declaration would have led to the loss of property, liberty, and even of life.[4] Knowing thus all men's fortunes, he divided citizens, in proportion to their property, into five classes, and each class into a different number of centuries. Dionysius speaks of six classes, and assigns to the first 98 centuries, whilst the five others together had only 95. In each class there were the *juniores*, from 17 to 45 years of age, who composed the active army, and the

[1] Ἰδιώτας δικαστάς. (Dionys., iv. 25.) These judges doubtless formed the tribunal of the centumvirs, as the curators of the tribes formed the college of the tribunes of the treasury.

[2] Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 36.

[3] The census gave (Livy, i. 44) 80,000 citizens fit to bear arms, or, according to Dionysius (iv. 22), 85,300: ὡς ἐν τοῖς τιμητικοῖς φέρεται γράμμασιν.

[4] Some critics think that the valuation of cattle, slaves, and ready money was not required for the *census* until after the censorship of Appius, in 312. The ancient declaration would in that case have been more favorable to the aristocracy, since, for the division into classes, account would only have been taken of landed property.

seniores, from 46 to 60, who formed the reserve. The first class thus contained 40 centuries of *seniores*, 40 of *juniores*, and, besides, 18 centuries of knights; that is to say, the 6 equestrian centuries of Tarquin (*sex suffragia*), and 12 new ones, formed by Servius of the richest and most influential plebeians. The state gave to each of these 1,800 knights a horse, and allowed for his maintenance an annual stipend (*aes hordearium*), which the orphans and unmarried women paid.[1] To the second class were attached two centuries of workmen (*fabri*), and to the fourth two of musicians (*tubicines*).[2] The poor, *capite censi*, formed the sixth class, and a single century, which did not serve in the legions.[3]

The total of the army was 170 centuries of foot-soldiers, 18 of horse-soldiers, 4 of musicians and workmen.[4]

Cicero, in the much-discussed passage in the second book of the *Republic*, only speaks of five classes, formed of *assidui* (*assessare*, tax-payers[5]). To the first he assigns 89 centuries; to the four others, 104: in all, 193, as in the calculation of Dionysius, and one less than in that of Livy. The proletariate, whose census did not amount to 12,500 asses, *accensi* and *relati*,[6] followed the legions unarmed, to replace the dead, to skirmish, or to do orderly service. The poorest, *capite censi*, who were only counted on the register of

[1] This custom existed at Corinth. (Cic., *de Rep.* ii. 20.) *Orba* signified both widow and unmarried woman.

[2] Dionysius (iv. 16–19) gives the census of the first class at 100 minae (about £380). Pliny (xxxiii. 3) assigns to it 110,000 asses; Aulus Gellius (vii. 13), 125,000; Festus, 120,000; Livy (i. 43), 100,000. These figures are of a date posterior to the sixth century of Rome. From the time of Servius, the *as grave*, or the *as libral*, was a pound weight of bronze, and there was then in Rome no one whose goods would represent 100,000 pounds of bronze, whether the value of 1,000 oxen, or of 100 war-horses, or 10,000 sheep. (Festus, s. v. *Peculatus.*) The basis of the census was doubtless the *jugerum* (2 roods, 19 poles), or what a pair of oxen could plough in a day. The *jugerum* was estimated later at 5,000 asses, which supposes 20 *jugera* for the first class, 15, 10, 5, and 2 or 2½ for the others. As for the *as libral* of 12 ounces, it was successively reduced, about 268 B. C., to 4 ounces; about 241, to 2; in 217, by the Flaminian law, to 1; in 89, by the law Plautia Papiria, to ½.

[3] In grave danger they were armed at the expense of the State:

Proletarius publicitus scutisque ferroque
Ornatur ferro. (Ennius, in Aulus Gellius, xvi. 10.)

Cf. Fest., s. v. *Accensi.*

[4] It is impossible to admit that the centuries of workmen and musicians, added to the first classes, voted with them. But the constitution of Servius being at first a military organization, there is nothing astonishing in the presence of workmen in the train of the *hoplites*.

[5] In the *mancipatio* there were witnesses representing the five classes of the Roman people.

[6] *Minimae fiduciae.* (Livy, viii. 8.)

the census by the head, like slaves and cattle, did not serve. Marius was the first who called them to the standards; and from that day the army lost its national character.

LIST OF LIVY.[1]	
Centuries of Knights	18
First Class. — 100,000 Asses.	
Centuries of Seniors	40
Centuries of Juniors	40
Centuries of Workmen	2
Second Class. — 75,000 Asses.	
Centuries of Seniors	10
Centuries of Juniors	10
Third Class. — 50,000 Asses.	
Centuries of Seniors	10
Centuries of Juniors	10
Fourth Class. — 25,000 Asses.	
Centuries of Seniors	10
Centuries of Juniors	10
Fifth Class. — 11,000 Asses.	
Centuries of Seniors	15
Centuries of Juniors	15
Centuries of *Cornicines* and *Tubicines*	3
Centuries of *Accensi*	
Centuries of *Capite Censi*	1
Total	194

LIST OF DIONYSIUS.	
Centuries of Knights	18
First Class. — 100 Minae.	
Centuries of Seniors	40
Centuries of Juniors	40
Second Class. — 75 Minae.	
Centuries of Seniors	10
Centuries of Juniors	10
Centuries of Workmen	2
Third Class. — 50 Minae.	
Centuries of Seniors	10
Centuries of Juniors	10
Fourth Class. — 25 Minae.	
Centuries of Seniors	10
Centuries of Juniors	10
Centuries of *Cornicines* and *Tubicines*	2
Fifth Class. — 12½ Minae.	
Centuries of Seniors	15
Centuries of Juniors	15
Sixth Class.	
Centuries of *Capite Censi*	1
Total	193

The uncertainty of the number of the centuries and of the basis on which the assessment was made, does not prevent us from appreciating the political importance of this military reform. It is no longer birth which divides the citizens into patricians and plebeians; it is by fortune that are now regulated both their distribution into classes, their place in the legions, the nature of their arms, which they must procure for themselves, and the quota of the tax which each of them must pay. All the centuries must

[1] The text of Cicero (*de Rep.*, ii. 22), unfortunately mutilated in this place, as in so many others of the *Republic*, does not help us to make Livy's numbers agree with those of Dionysius.

contribute to the treasury according to their census, and later on they exercise, in the Field of Mars, beyond the patrician town, the same political rights. But the first class reckons 98 centuries, although it is much the least numerous, since it only contains the wealthy; it furnishes, then, more than half the tax, and its legionaries, by reason of their small number, are more often called into service. It is also by centuries that, after 510 B. C., votes are taken to decide on peace or war, to appoint to public offices and make the laws. The rich, divided in 98 centuries, have 98 voices out of 193, or the majority, — that is to say, a decisive influence in the government. Their unanimity, secured beforehand on every proposition affecting their interests, must render the rights of the other classes illusory. Sometimes, in case of disagreement between the centuries of the first class, those of the second may be called upon to vote; very rarely those of the third; never those of the last; although each of them contains perhaps more citizens than the three first together. "Servius," said Cicero, "did not desire to give power to mere number; it was by the votes of the rich, not by those of the people, that all was decided."[1] He might have added that the preponderance did not belong to wealth alone, it was given also to wisdom and experience; since the seniors or citizens above 45 years of age — only half as numerous as the juniors, from 17 to 45 years old — possessed as many votes.[2] Finally each had the duty which he could fulfil, and rights in the state were in proportion to duties.

In the new laws rank was as clearly marked as in the old constitution; but this inequality was effaced in the eyes of the poor by the honor of being counted among the number of the citizens and by the material advances made in their condition. If the rich kept political power, on them also weighed the consequent responsibilities: in the city the heaviest share of the tax; in the army the costliest equipment and the most frequent and dangerous service. But, at this time there was at Rome little wealth except landed property. Accordingly, as almost all the *Ager Romanus*

[1] Dionys. (iv. 20) also says: *πάσης τῆς πολιτείας κύριοι* (*οἱ πλούσιοι*). Livy, i. 43: *eis omnis penes primores civitatis.* Cf. Dionys., x. 17.

[2] This preponderance of age was found again in the Senate, where the young only spoke after the old.

and the greatest part of conquered lands were in the hands of the patricians, they remained, as before, the masters of the state. These new laws, which recognized the plebeians as free citizens of Rome, and which, as a natural consequence, must some day call them to vote on public affairs, did not, therefore, in reality change the existing condition of the two orders. An immense step, however, was gained; in placing the aristocracy of wealth, — a variable power, accessible to all, — by the side of the aristocracy of birth, — an unalterable power, — these laws were preparing for the revolutions which established in republican Rome union and invincible strength.

This constitution struck another blow at the aristocracy by indirectly attacking clientship. It did not abolish patronage, which gave to the nobles material strength, without which privileges cannot long be defended, but it assured a place in the state to the clients who until then had lived under the protection of the Quirites. It separated them from their patrons on the day of the comitia, to mix them, according to their fortune, with the rich or the poor; it opened the road to the Forum for those who had never followed any but that to the patrician *Atrium*. Another law of Servius authorized the freedmen to return to their country, or, if they remained at Rome, to be inscribed in the city tribes. This law would have equally recognized in plebeians the right of patronage, so that the rich plebeian could from that time show himself in the town, surrounded like a Fabius, by a noisy and devoted band. But clientship becomes weaker by diffusion; and in the course of centuries, Rome, the seat of the empire, is peopled, to the ruin of its institutions, with freed slaves.

This constitution, which was to unite two people hitherto separated, had only been conceived with a view to the army; and the centuries were called the city army, *urbanus exercitus*.[1] The *seniores* guarded the town whilst the *juniores*, or the active army, went to meet the enemy. On the field of battle the legion drew up in serried lines which recalled the Macedonian phalanx.[2] In front

[1] The patricians could accept this reform under the title of a military regulation; they were too strong to allow it to be imposed as a political constitution. Nothing short of a revolution which rendered the help of the plebeians necessary to them, could wring this concession from them as payment. (Livy, i. 47.)

[2] Livy, viii. 8. [It may originally have been intended to reward Mastarna's mercenaries. — *Ed.*]

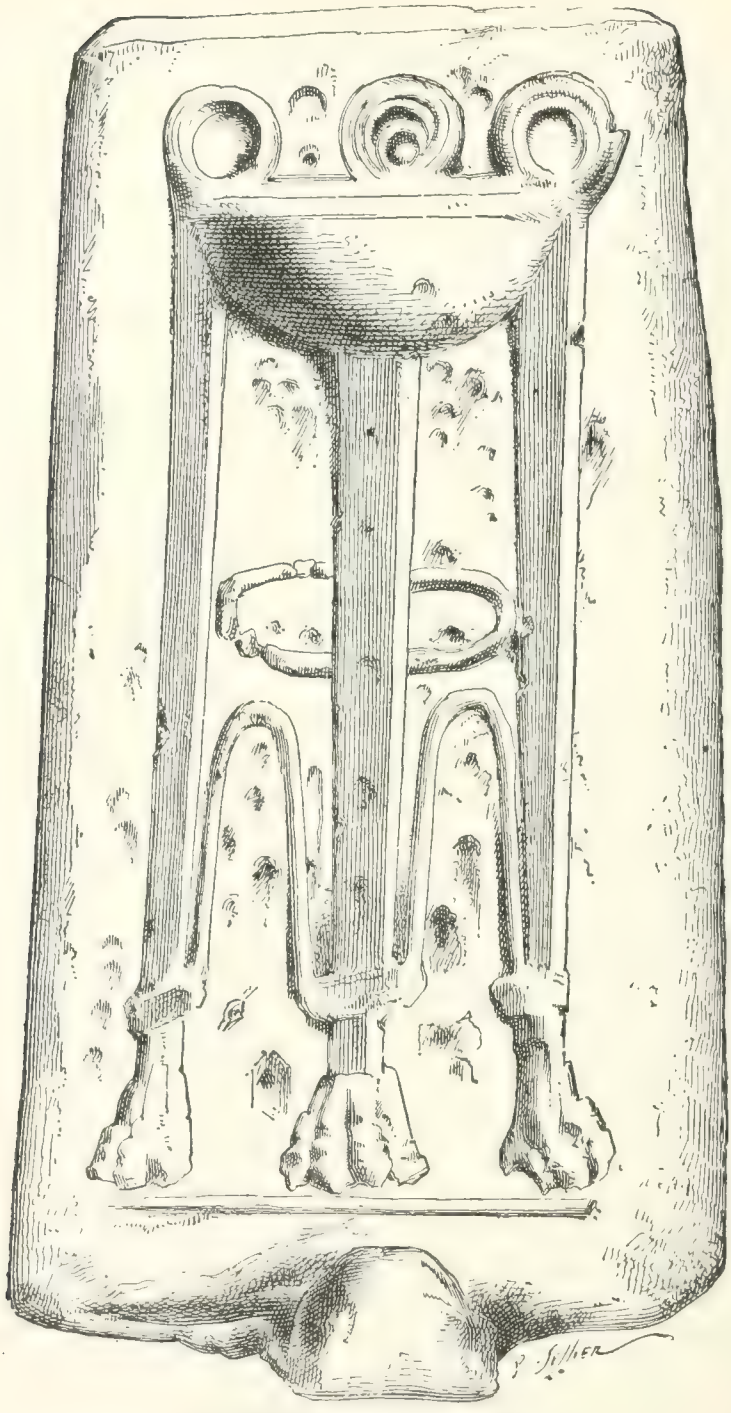
of the enemy, and exposed to the first onset, were the legionaries of the first class, fully clad in defensive armor; behind them, and in a degree shielded by them, were the second, third, and fourth classes (following Livy's list), while those of the fifth class served as skirmishers; and 300 horsemen formed the cavalry attached to each legion.



DIANA WITH THE HIND.

We have seen that the friend of the Roman plebeians was also favorable to the Latin cities, and that he invited them to offer common sacrifices to Diana upon the Aventine.[1] The temple built by the popular king upon this hill, regarded as unlucky in memory of the omens seen there by Remus, was adopted by the slaves as their sanctuary;

[1] Dionysius (iv. 26) says that he saw the decree containing the clauses of the alliance engraved on a bronze column in ancient Greek characters.



AES SIGNATUM. (ACTUAL SIZE.)

and they offered sacrifices there,[1] but the patricians do not seem to have

[1] Fest., s. v. *Servorum dies.*

admitted this goddess into the national worship, and no public festival was marked with her name in the book of the pontiffs. Of course no vestige of this temple or of the image which it contained, remains. When the Romans were Hellenized, they confounded their Diana, a fierce and eternal virgin, with the Greek Artemis, and gave her the attributes of the latter; their palaces and villas have preserved for us some statues of this goddess, which are among the most beautiful that Greek art ever produced.

Dionysius[1] assures us that besides his constitution Servius promulgated more than fifty laws on contracts, crimes, enfranchisement, the forms of acquiring property, weights and measures, coinage, which he was the first to mark with an impression, — *primus signavit aes*, etc.[2] If Servius is indeed the author of this last novelty, which was not new for the Greeks of Campania and of Southern Italy, it was a great service which he rendered his country, for money is to commerce what writing is to thought, — a powerful means of production.

The laws attributed to the great reformer of Rome seem to have had the same liberal character as his constitution, — that, for example, which Tarquin abolished, and which the people took nearly two centuries to recover, ordering the property only of the debtor, and not his person, to be responsible for his debt. Popular gratitude protected the memory of the plebeian King, born in slavery or on foreign soil; and they went so far as to believe that he had wished to lay down the crown in order to establish consular government.

Some years before, the Athenian Solon had divided rights in proportion to property. Thus at the same time the two greatest cities of the ancient world were desirous of renouncing the

[1] Dionys., iv. 13.

[2] Originally the Romans only had as a means of exchange the *aes rude*, bars of metal in bronze or mere copper, without any stamped impression and without any settled weight. The buyer put into the scales as many pieces as were necessary to make the weight equivalent to the price of the goods bought. This was barter, — a means of exchange which indicates a still ruder state of society. The *aes signatum* appears to have been coined under Servius: it was a flat piece of bronze, with the picture of an ox, a sheep, or a pig, or, like that which we give, with the impression of a tripod. Later on, more portable pieces were coined of circular shape, on which the value was marked by a distinguishing sign; we have already given some of them on pages 29, 57, 77. The bar represented on page 248, and taken from the *Cabinet de France*, weighs 1.495 grammes (3 lbs. 4 ozs.). At the base is seen the opening through which they ran the molten metal.

government of the families consecrated by the gods, and of adopting the principle which is still applied in many modern societies, — that power depends upon wealth. But at Athens customs had paved the way for the reform of Solon, and it was immediately applied; at Rome, that of Servius was in advance of his time, he could not establish it; but in the next generation it came about of its own accord.

III. Tarquin the Proud; Power of Rome at this Epoch.

It was, in fact, the democratic laws of Servius which helped Tarquin the Proud, posing to the patricians as the defender of their threatened privileges, to dethrone his father-in-law. Having become king by a murder, he destroyed the tables on which were inscribed the results of the census, abolished the system of the classes, and forbade the religious gatherings of the plebeians;[1] then, supported by his numerous mercenaries, he obliged the people to finish the Circus, the Capitol, and the great Cloaca. But counting too much on his Latin and Hernican allies, he did not spare the patricians more than the plebeians, and to escape death, many senators went into exile. This oppression was likely to unite the two orders by a common hatred. It lasted however, until the outrage upon Lucretia had given the multitude one of those exciting proofs of slavery which, even more than bloodshed, bring about revolutions, because the injury done to the individual is felt by all.

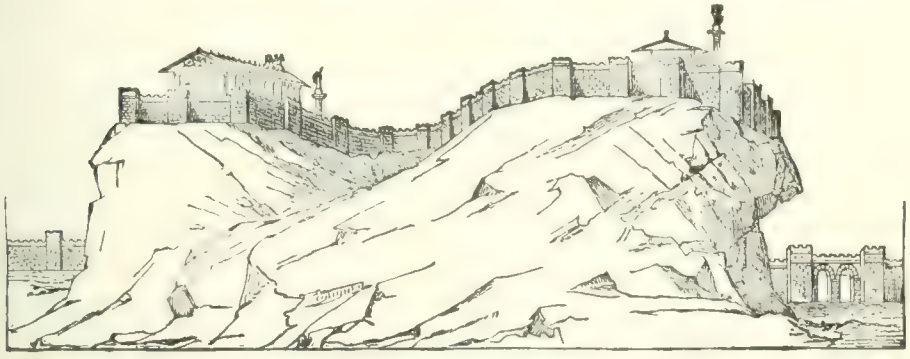
"If the constitution of Servius had been maintained," says Niebuhr, "Rome would have attained, two hundred years sooner, and without sacrifices, to a happiness . . . which she could recover only at the cost of fierce combats and great sufferings." Happily in the history of a nation, as in the life of a man, good often results from evil. This difficult struggle trained the youth of Rome and retarded its decline; but "woe to him from whom the offence came, and curses on those who destroyed plebeian liberty to the utmost of their power!"

[1] Dionys., iv. 43.



ROCK OF TERRACINA.

The Tarquins, however, had extended their reputation far and wide. Under her last kings Rome is no longer the obscure city whose territory extends a few miles from her walls. The treaty with Carthage, concluded in 509 B. C., the grandeur of the



THE CAPITOLINE HILL (RESTORATION OF CANINA).[1]

city, the importance of her edifices, and her 150,000 fighting men[2] (whatever reduction we make from this figure), testify that she then formed one of the most powerful states of Italy. The Tiber was already bounded by quays, and some of the foundations laid to support the Capitol still exist.[3] This temple, which was worthy of Rome at the time of its grandeur, formed an almost exact square of 200 feet on each side.[4] A double colonnade surrounded it on three sides. But the peristyle of the south, which faced the Palatine, had a triple row of six columns. It stood on one of the two summits of the Tarpeian Hill, that on the northeast, at the place where now stands the church of the Ara-Coeli; the God who held the thunderbolt has given place to the Child who holds the cross, — *il Bambino*. But the church is turned the opposite way from



TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS.

[1] On the position of the temple of Jupiter, which some place on the west, others at the opposite extremity of the Capitoline Hill, see the discussion of Ampère, *L'Histoire Romaine à Rome*, vol. ii. p. 59, *seqq.*

[2] This is the census of the year 496; but these figures are most probably exaggerated. The census of 509 had only given 130,000 men, and that of 491 gave only 110,000. (Cf. Dionys., v. 20, 75; vi. 65, 96.) These numbers, if they were exact, would certainly imply a population of at least 600,000 souls.

[3] It may be that those which are still seen only date from the war with Samnium.

[4] Vitruvius, iv. 7.

the temple, which faced the Forum, and rose majestically above it. Grace, however, was wanting to this majesty. With its short columns and quadrangular form, without a corresponding elevation, the temple of Jupiter had a heavy and stunted appearance. This sanctuary well suited a nation of soldiers which laid so great a burden upon the world.

Of all Tarquin's works, the most important was the *Cloaca Maxima*. Its foundations were sunk deep under the earth, and its numerous branches brought the water and mud from the low districts of the city and led them into the Tiber. It was only when this immense work had been finished that the marshy plain[1] which extended between the Seven Hills was rendered healthy and dry. Such was the height of the triple vault[2] of the main channel, which was built with long stones of peperino, laid without cement, that Agrippa entered it in a boat, and Pliny asserts that a cart-load of hay could have passed through it. Tradition also speaks, as in the case of the great constructions of the Egyptian kings, of the misery of the people condemned to such tasks.



CLOACA MAXIMA.

The rule of Rome, however, was then extensive enough for the greatness of the state to be shown by the magnificence of its buildings. In the treaty concluded with Carthage in the very year of the expulsion of Tarquin, which Polybius[3] translated

[1] This plain formed the quarters of the *Velabrum*, the *Subura*, the *Forum Romanum*, and the *Circus Maximus*. This circus, which was 3½ stadia in length by 1 in width, could hold 150,000, or according to others, 380,000 spectators.

[2] The vaulting is formed by three concentric arches, and the diameter of it is 20 ft. It may be remarked that the Greeks only began to use the vaulted arch at the time of Alexander, although M. Heuzey saw many more ancient in Epirus and Acarnania. [Pausanias speaks as if the ancient Minyan treasure-house at Orchomenus had been really arched with a keystone; but according to Schliemann's researches he must have been mistaken. — *Ed.*]

[3] III. 22. The authenticity of this treaty would, if necessary, be confirmed by the account of Livy, which represents Tarquin as the recognized chief of the league of forty-seven

from the original, preserved in the archives of the aediles in the Capitol, all the towns of the coast of Latium, Ardea, Antium, Circei, Terracina, are mentioned as subjects of Rome. In the interior of the country, Aricia obeyed her under the same title. Suessa Pometia had been captured, and Signia colonized. Between the Tiber and the Anio, all the low Sabine country belonged to her, and the stories about Porsenna prove that on the north of the Tiber her frontier extended so far that ten of her thirty tribes had their territory in Etruria. Even her navy, especially that of her allies, was not without importance, since we can conclude from the terms of the treaty that merchant vessels, which started from the Tiber or the ports of Latium, traded as far as Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa. It was doubtless the road to Egypt which the Carthaginians wished to close against them, by forbidding to Rome and her allies all navigation to the east of the *Fair Promontory*. The republican revolution cost her this dominion, which it cost more than a century and a half to recover.

The Greeks, who represented Romulus to be a descendant of Aeneas, Numa a contemporary of Pythagoras, and the successor of Ancus to be the son of a Corinthian, illustrated the history of the last Tarquin by stories copied from Herodotus. Thus Sextus enters into Gabii like Zopyrus into Babylon, and the silent but singularly expressive advice of Tarquin to his son is that of Thrasybulus to Periander. Servius, they said, had honored the Grecian Artemis by raising a temple to her on the Aventine; Tarquin honored the Hellenic Apollo by sending to Delphi an embassy, which in the legend only serves to show the feigned madness of Brutus, — an echo, perhaps, of that of Solon. In fact this King's character has been drawn after those of numerous tyrants whom Greece experienced. Even his fall remains a problem. Was it Lucretia, who, by her generous death, overturned the powerful monarch whose sway so many cities obeyed, or was it not the whole Roman people who revolted against a foreign master?

It is difficult not to consider the time of the royalty of the

Latin towns. See Livy, i. 52; Dionys., iv. 48–49. [Mommsen, *Rom. Hist.* i. 145, while proving from the Latin forms of Phoenician names the early date of the direct intercourse of Rome and Carthage, disputes the date of this treaty, which he believes to have been much later. But his opinion is much disputed by other scholars. — *Ed.*]

Tarquin as the period of an Etruscan rule, accepted or endured on the shores of the Tiber, and the Rome of Tarquinius Superbus as the capital of the most famous of the lucumonies. Being, as they were, masters of Tuscany and of Campania, they must also have been masters of Latium. Their influence at Rome is matter of history only as concerns the arts and religious beliefs which they carried thither; it was probably by a conquest which Roman pride was unwilling to remember, that this influence made itself felt.[1] Sufficiently strong and numerous to impose their authority and some of their customs, they had not the power to change the language, the civil institutions, and the population, which remained Latino-Sabine.[1] The story of the greatness and of the fall of the last of the Tarquins, and of the wars undertaken by the Etruscans to re-establish him on the throne, leads to the idea that the revolution of the year 510 was a national uprising, called out by some act of insolence like the outrage upon Lucretia. The fortune of the Rasena was everywhere on the wane. They had already lost the plains of the Po, and were losing, or about to lose, those of Campania. This reaction of the native races reached Latium and the city which was its most flourishing capital. In the exile of Tarquin, therefore, we may see the fall of the great Tiberine lucumony and the revival of the old Roman people.

[1] [Cf. the interesting arguments of Gardthausen (*Mastarna*, p. 5, *seq.*) to show the domination of the Etruscans about 600 B. C., and the remains of Etruscan names among the Latin towns. — *Ed.*]



ETRUSCAN SIDEBOARD.

CHAPTER V.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

I. Character of Ancient Roman Society.

NOTHING can be said of science, art, or literature in this period. When Tarquin fell, Greek literature had finished half its career, perhaps the most brilliant part. The best days of at least the higher kind of poetry had passed, and the works of Solon, Simonides, and Anacreon were an early decadence; but Pindar, Aeschylus, Herodotus, and Thucydides were born or were presently to appear. Thus, on one of the shores of the Adriatic Greece had for centuries listened to her immortal singers, while on the other literary genius was yet asleep. And it must be so, because, if the Romans had a worship, they had not a religion, in the sense of a mythology. Instead of the magnificent development of the Greek theodicy and of those great [philosophical] systems which explained the world, we only find at Rome dry rituals. Those living and passionate divinities which, around the Aegean Sea, shared human love and hate, were replaced about the Apennines by sober gods, without adventures, without history, who never cross the azure of the sky to betake themselves to the mountain, bathed in dazzling light, where the Olympians of Homer drink their nectar.

Rome doubtless had songs in honor of gods, kings, and heroes. But these rude and short songs, and careless expression of passions and recollections, were far beneath the clearly defined form which individual genius stamps upon its work. Formerly the value of popular songs was overlooked; now it is exaggerated. For the Romans especially, whose cold and severe character had neither

the natural enthusiasm of the Greeks nor their brilliant and lively imagination, popular songs never could have been as rich in details and color as the school of Niebuhr [or Macaulay's lays] would make us believe. The language, moreover, was too poor to be adapted to varied requirements: the fragment which remains to us of a hymn of the Fratres Arvales shows of what little use this rude instrument had hitherto been.

CARMEN ARVALE.

Enos, Lases, iuvate.
Neve lue rue, Marmar, sins [*v.* sers] incurrere in pleores.
Satur fu, fere Mars. Limen sali. Sta. Berber.
Semunis alternei advocapit conctos.
Enos, Marmor, iuvato.
Triumpe.[1]

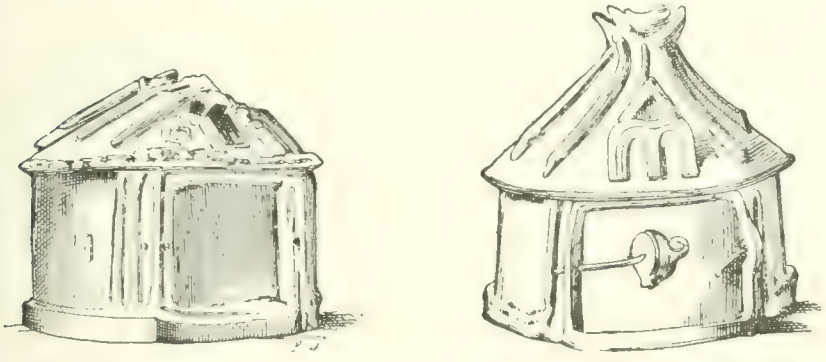
In royal Rome they merely knew how to engrave laws and treaties on wood or bronze; and the only works which are mentioned for that time are the collection of laws which Papirius is believed to have made after the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud (*jus Papirianum*), and of the Commentaries of King Servius, said to have contained his constitution.[2] It is characteristic that Latin was compelled to borrow from the Greek the words

[1] [. . . . "The hymn, though it has suffered in transliteration, is a good specimen of early Roman worship, the rubrical directions to the brethren being inseparably united with invocation to the Lares and Mars. . . . . The most probable rendering is as follows: 'Help us, O Lares! and thou, Marmar, suffer not plague and ruin to attack our folk. Be satiate, O fierce Mars! Leap over the threshold. Halt. Now beat the ground. Call in alternate strain upon all the heroes. Help us, Marmor! Bound high in solemn measure.' Each line was repeated thrice, the last word five times. As regards the separate words, *enos* — which should, perhaps, be written *e nos* — contains the interjectional *e*, which elsewhere coalesces with vocatives. *Lases* is the older form of *Lares*. *Lue rue* = *luem ruem*: the last an old word for *ruinam*, with the case-ending lost, as frequently, and the copula omitted, as in *Patres Conscripti*, etc. *Marmar*, *Marmor*, or *Mamor*, is the reduplicated form of Mars seen in the Sabine *Mamers*. *Sins* is for *sines*, as *advocapit* for *advocabitis*. *Pleores* is an ancient form of *plures*, answering to the Greek πλείονας in form, and to τοὺς πολλούς, "the mass of the people," in meaning. *Fu* is a shortened imperative. *Berber* is for *verbere*, imperative of the old verb *verbero*, *is*, as *triumpe* from *triumpere* = *triumphare*. *Semunes* from *Semo* (*se-homo*, apart from man), an inferior deity. . . . . Much of this interpretation is conjectural, and other views have been advanced with regard to nearly every word; but the above given is the most probable." — CRUTTWELL: *History of Roman Literature*, pp. 14, 15.]

[2] Pomponius, *Dig.* i. 2, 2, § 2; Dionysius, iii. 36; Cicero, *pro Rabir*, 5; Livy, i. 31, 32, 60.

for poet and poetry; but it possessed those which have to do with rustic life or with hardy and warlike manners. The common treasury was at first a basket of wicker-work (*fiscus*); their contract, a straw broken by the two contractors (*stipula*); their money, a herd (*pecus*); a fine, as much milk as a cow gives (*mulcta*, from *mulgeo*, to milk); war was a duel (*bellum*, from *duellum*); victory, the action of binding the conquered (*vincio*, to bind); and an enemy, the victim reserved for sacrifice (*victima*) and *hostia*.

The arts were no better cultivated. If the walls of Rome and the foundations of the Palatine were formed of squared blocks which marked an advance on the polygonal structure of the preceding age, huts covered the slopes about the seven hills, and we can reconstruct their clumsy form when we see the cinerary urns recently found under the lava of the Alban



CINERARY URNS,[1] REPRODUCING THE FORM OF THE COTTAGES CONSTRUCTED BY THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS OF LATIUM.

Mount. Montesquieu well observes: "We must not form the idea of the city of Rome at its beginning from the towns of the present day, unless it be those of the Crimea, made to contain plunder, cattle, and the fruits of the soil." The town had not even streets, unless we give this name to the continuation of the roads which terminated therein. The houses were very small or placed irregularly. Until the war with Pyrrhus these

[1] Cinerary urns in terra-cotta, containing calcined bones, recently found under the deepest lava of the Alban Mount, consequently of great antiquity, and reproducing the form of the cottages constructed by the most ancient inhabitants of Latium. (*Revue archéolog.*, May, 1876, p. 338.)

houses were only covered with planks,[1] which would give credence to the tradition that after the burning of Rome by the Gauls one year sufficed for its reconstruction.[2]

Athens converted her feasts into great national solemnities, during which the highest pleasures of the mind were found associated with the most imposing shows of religious processions, of the most perfect art and of the fairest nature. Those of Rome were the games of rude shepherds, or shouts of the delighted crowd, when the soldiers entered the city with some captives, sheaves of wheat, and the cattle taken from the enemy, — a rustic festival, which time and the fortune of Rome will change into that triumphal ceremony which is the continual ambition of her generals and one of the causes of her greatness.



ETRUSCAN CUPS, AFTER MICALI'S MONUMENTS INÉDITS.

To the north and south of the Tiber, however, among the Etruscans, Rutulians, and Volscians, the arts had already begun to make way. Pliny saw at Caere and Ardea some paintings still preserving all the freshness of their colors, which he regarded as anterior in date to Rome. The numerous objects found in the second of these towns prove that it had a regular school of artists. Praeneste was also a city fond of works of art; every day some

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 15.

[2] Plut., *Cam.* 32.

are discovered in its ruins. A tomb which is believed to have belonged to the *gens* Sylvia, from which Romulus was said to be descended, has just yielded a treasure which dates perhaps from seven or eight centuries before our era.



GROUP IN BRONZE RECENTLY FOUND AT PALESTRINA (PRAENESTE).[1]

The Romans, who adopted everything from their neighbors, adopted from them even the statues of their divinities; but they themselves made none. For a long time they represented the gods by a naked sword, a lance, or an unhewn stone. For them, the place where a thunderbolt had fallen became a temple, *puteal*;[2] the tree struck by lightning a sacred object; and from a handful of baked earth they made their Lares and Penates, whom they thought they saw dancing in the flame on the hearth. Strange fortune of religious conceptions! Art, one of the elements of the human trinity,[4] was born of the religions of India, Egypt, and Greece,



PUTEAL OF LIBO (SILVER COIN).[3]

[1] Of course this group, like the Mercury on page 196, is of a relatively modern period. We shall see later on a very curious cup, also found at Praeneste.

[2] *Puteal* means the brink of a well. It was a stone enclosure surrounding a well or consecrated place. The puteal of Libo is often represented on the medals of the *gens* Scribonia; it protected, according to some, a place in the Forum which had been struck by a thunderbolt; according to others, the place where Navius had performed his miracle. Scribonius Libo having repaired it, gave his name to it.

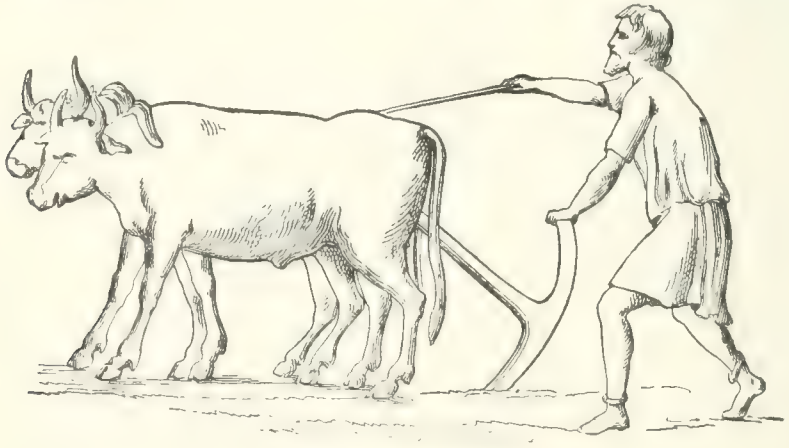
[3] See Cohen, *Med. Consul Aemilia*, No. 10.

[4] The Good, the Beautiful, and the True.

where it grew and developed; but it could not proceed from the temple of Jehovah, and on the soil of ancient Rome it always remained a foreign importation.[1] Even after the Tarquins, the images of the gods, the work of Etruscan artists, were still made only in wood or clay, like that of Jupiter in the Capitol, and like the quadriga placed on the top of the temple. Etruria also furnished the architects[2] who built the *Roma quadrata* of the Palatine and constructed the first temples; she provided even the flute-players necessary for the performance of certain rites.

II. Private Manners.

All the activity of the Roman tended to a practical end, — public affairs, agriculture, and domestic cares. Two words signified



THE PLOUGHMAN.[3]

for him all good qualities, all virtues,[4] — *virtus et pietas*; that is to say, courage, force, an immovable firmness, patience in work, and respect for the gods, his ancestors, his fatherland, and his family, for the established laws and discipline. Cicero well remarks,[5]

[1] This sterility of Judaea and Rome is, of course, only shown in plastic arts.

[2] *Fabris undique ex Etruria accitis.* (Livy, i. 56; cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 12.)

[3] After an engraved stone in the collection of Florence.

[4] *Appellata est ex viro virtus.* (Cic., *Tusc.* ii. 18.) [The peculiar Roman *gravitas* should have been added. — *Ed.*]

[5] *Tusc.* i. 1. Properly speaking, the originality of the Greeks exists especially in political constitutions; that of Rome in civil laws. Cicero says (*de Orat.* i. 44), *Incredible*

without unduly flattering the national pride: "In sciences and letters, the Greeks surpass us; but there is more order and dignity in our customs and conduct. Where else is there to be found that severity of manners, that firmness, that greatness of soul, that uprightness, that good faith, and all the virtues of our fathers?"

Their domestic life, in fact, was simple and austere: no luxury, no idleness; the master ploughs with his slaves, the mistress spins in the midst of her women.[1] Royalty, even wealth, does not exempt from labor; like Bertha the Spinner, Queen Tanaquil[2] and Lucretia set the example to the Roman matrons. "When our fathers," says Cato, "desired to praise a man of property, they called him a good ploughman and a good farmer; this was the highest of eulogiums[3] [and on many epitaphs noble women were praised for chastity and diligent spinning]. Then men lived on their lands, in the rustic tribes, which were the most honorable of all, and they only came to Rome on market days[5] or assembly days. In the villa — a miserable cabin made of mud, rafters, and branches — not a day, not a moment, was lost. If bad weather prevented work in the fields, there was plenty to do at home in cleaning the stables and the yard, in mending old ropes and old



A WOMAN SPINNING.[4]

est enim quam sit omne jus civile, praeter hoc nostrum, inconditum ac paene ridiculum. He went too far in this contempt for the civil laws of Greece, as is proved in numerous works recently written upon the jurisprudence of Athens. We even find in the Digest the text of the Athenian laws which were copied by the Romans.

[1] Colum., *de Re rust.* xii. *praef.*

[2] At the time of Varro, they showed in the temple of Sancus her distaff and spindle, still full, they said, of the wool which she spun. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. 48.)

[3] Cato, *de Re rust.*, *praefat.*, and Pl., *ib.* xviii. 3. The persons of most consideration in the city were the *locupletes loci, hoc est agri plenos*, and the anniversary of the foundation of Rome was celebrated on the 21st of April, the day of the feast of Pales, the guardian deity of flocks.

[4] Taken from a bas-relief at Rome, representing the arts of Minerva.

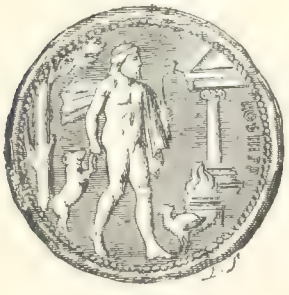
[5] *Nundinae*, every nine days. After the year 287 the comitia could be convoked on market-days. *Nundinarum etiam conventus manifestum est propterea usurpatos, ut nonis tantummodo diebus urbanae res agerentur, reliquis administrarentur rusticae.* (Colum., *praef.*, and Macr., *Sat.* i. 16.)

clothes; even on feast days one can cut brambles, trim hedges, wash the flock, go to the city to sell oil and fruits."[1] In order to regulate the order of these country labors, calendars were afterward drawn up, which we have found, and which are the predecessors of our almanacs.

Here follow the indications given by one of them for the month of May: —

MENSIS	The Month
MAIVS	of May
DIES. XXXI	XXXI days.
NON. SEPTIM	The nones fall on the 7th day.
DIES. HOR. XIIII S	The day has 14½ hours.
NOX. HOR. VIIII S	The night has 9½ hours.
SOL TAURO	The sun is in the sign of Taurus.
TVTEL APOLLIN	The month is under the protection of Apollo.
SEGET RVNCANT	The corn is weeded.
OVES TONDVNT	The sheep are shorn.
LANA LAVATVR	The wool is washed.
IVVENCI. DOMANT	Young steers are put under the yoke.
VICEA. PABVLAR	The vetch of the meadows
SECATVR	is cut.
SEGETES	The lustration of the crops
LVSTRANTVR	is made
SACRVM. MERCVR	Sacrifices to Mercury
ET FLORAE.[2]	and Flora.

Horace does not draw a more agreeable picture of ancient city manners. "At Rome," he says, "for a long time a man knew no other pleasure and no other festival than to open his door at dawn, to explain the law to his clients, and to lay out his money on good security. They asked from their elders, and taught beginners, the art of increasing their savings and escaping ruinous follies."[3] In this Italy, so full of superstitions, Cato will not have the farmer lose his time in consulting the aruspices, augurs,



SYLVANUS.[4]

[1] Verg., *Georg.* i. 273; Colum., *de Re rust.* ii. 21, and Cato, *de Re rust.* 39.

[2] This inscription (*Corpus inscr. Lat.* vol. vi. p. 637) is taken from the *Calendarium rusticum Farnesianum*, also called *Monologium rusticum Colotianum*; it is a marble cube, bearing on its four sides the indication of the works and festivals for each month.

[3] *Ep.* ii. 1, 103–107.

[4] This bronze of Hadrian represents Sylvanus, the guardian of the rural domain, who for this reason was associated with the Lares, dragging a ram and holding the *pedum*, or crooked

and soothsayers; he forbids him religious practices which would take him away from his home. His gods are on the hearth and at the nearest cross-roads. The Lares, Manes, and Sylvani are sufficient for the protection of the farm; there is no need of other gods.[1]

These laborious and economical habits, which introduced usury, one of the plagues of Roman society, have been those of all agricultural nations; but everywhere men forgot them to welcome the guest who was sent by the gods, and hospitality was, even for the poorest, a religious duty. Among the Romans, avarice and mistrust closed against the stranger the doors of the *villa*, which was always surrounded with broad ditches and thick hedges, for useless expenses must not be incurred; nor was it ever right to give or lend without gain,[2] except on the great day of the festival of Janus, the 1st of January, when everybody exchanged good wishes and presents, *strenae*. The French have kept both the word and the thing, *étrennes*. "The father of the family," said Cato, "must make money of everything, and lose nothing. If he gives new brooms to his slaves, they must return the old ones; they will do for pieces. He must sell the oil if it is worth anything, and what remains of the wine and wheat; he must sell old oxen, calves, old carriages, old iron, old slaves and sick ones; he must sell always. The father of the family must be a seller, not a buyer."[3] *Durum genus!*

The father of the family! It is always he who is mentioned, for there is no one else in the house; wife, children, clients, slaves, — all are only chattels,[4] instruments of labor, persons without will and without name, subjected to the omnipotence of the father. At once priest and judge, his authority is absolute; he alone is in communication with the gods, for he alone performs the *sacra privata*,

staff of the shepherds. In front, there are a temple, a burning altar, and a bird: behind, a tree, which recalls the god of the woods. As the god cannot offer sacrifices to himself, and we see neither the sacred knife nor the cup of libations, I should be inclined to think that they wished to signify by this representation, that, thanks to Sylvanus, the altar would not lack the necessary victims.

[1] *De Re rust.: Rem divinam nisi compitalibus, in compito aut in foco faciat.*

[2] *Satin semen, cibaria, far, vinum, oleum, mutuum, dederet nemini.* (Cato, *de Re rust.* 5.)

[3] Ibid. 2.

[4] *Mancipia*, hence *emancipatio*: they are not *sui*, but *alieni, juris*, and cannot enter an action. It is the father who answers for them or judges them.

and as master, he disposes of the powers and life of his slaves. As husband, he condemns his wife to death[1] if she forges false keys or violates her vow, and he is exempt, in her case, from the religion of mourning, the piety of remembrance.[2] As father, he kills the child that is born deformed, and sells the others, as many as three times, before losing his claims upon them. Neither age nor dignities emancipate them. Though consuls or senators, they may be dragged from the platform or the senate-house, or put to death like that senator, an accomplice of Catiline, who was killed by his father. If he is rich, he will lend at 12, 15, or 20 per cent., for the father of the family must turn his money as well as his lands to account, and the law grants to him the liberty and even the life of his insolvent debtor. Finally, at his death, neither his children nor his wife can claim any of his goods, if he has bequeathed them to a stranger; for he has the right to dispose of his *res* as he chooses.[3] Nevertheless the city includes and rules the family. For the wish of the father to be carried out, it is necessary for his will to be accepted by the Curiae, and they do not like the patrimony to depart from the family.

It is through women especially that manners change, that families, classes, and fortunes mingle; but in this society, so severely disciplined, the woman, the changing element, remains under guardianship[4] all her life. She belongs to the house, not to the city, and in the house she always has a master, — her father when she is a girl; her husband when she is married; her nearest male agnate when she is a widow. One of the causes of the ruin of Sparta was the right which Lycurgus had left to women of inheriting and disposing of their goods.[5] At Rome, if the woman

[1] Dionys., ii. 25; Pl., *Hist. Nat.* xiv. 13; Suet., *Tib.* 35; Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 32; Plut., *Rom.* 22; κλειδῶν ὑποβολῇ *Egnatius Maecenius uxorem, quod vinum bibisset, fusti percussam interemit.* (Val. Max., VI. iii. 9.) [But not, I fancy, without a family council. — *Ed.*]

[2] *Uxores viri lugere non compellentur. — Sponsi nullus luctus est* (Dig. iii. 2, 9); and elsewhere, *Vir non luget uxorem, nullam debet uxori religionem luctus.*

[3] *Uti legasset super pecunia, tutelave suae rei, ita jus esto.* (*Fr.* XII. Tab.) Wills had to be presented for the sanction of the Curiae or at the moment of setting out for an expedition in *procinctu* (*exercitus, expeditus, et armatus*). (Ulp., *Fr.* xx. 2; Gaius, ii. 101.)

[4] *Nullam ne privatam quidem, rem agere feminas sine tutore auctore . . . in manu esse parentium, fratrum virorum. . . .* (Cato, ap. Livy, xxxiv. 2.) The guardian had over the ward the rights of the *patria potestas.* (Fest., s. v. *Remancipata.*)

[5] Arist., *Polit.* ii. 6.

obtained any share[1] in the heritage of her father or husband, she could not, except in the case of the Vestals, *in honorem sacerdotii*, either transfer or bequeath it without the consent of her guardians, that is to say, of her husband, brothers, or her nearest male relatives on the paternal side, all interested, as her heirs, in preventing a sale or a legacy. They had also the right of opposing ordinary marriage (*coemptio vel cohabitatio*). The father only, by refusing his consent, could prevent solemn marriage (*confarreatio*),[2] which, in any case, did not take place between a plebeian and a patrician. Placed under perpetual tutelage, she could confer no right, and the relationship established by her had no civil effects; the child followed the father. In short, when she passed into another house, the woman did not take the lares of the paternal hearth, for these domestic gods never went to dwell under a strange roof. For her there was another family, and other gods. "Marriage," said the lawyers later, "is an association based on the community of the same things, divine and human."[3]

But, whether maid or matron, the woman was treated with reverence. Marriage was a holy thing, consecrated by religion; and the mother of a family reigned alone by the side of her husband in the conjugal dwelling, in which polygamy was proscribed. Like him, she performed the sacred rites at the altar of the Penates; if he was a flamen, she became a priestess, *flaminica;* she alone had the right of wearing in the streets the *stola*, which caused a matron to be recognized at a distance, and assured her public respect.

The right of life and death given to the husband over his wife was originally only applied in the case of patrician marriage by *confarreatio*, the law not yet concerning itself with plebeian unions. As soon as the betrothed had tasted of a symbolical cake (*far*), passed under a cart-yoke, put the *as* in the balance, on the Penates, on the threshold of the conjugal house, and pronounced the formula, *Ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia*, she fell, according

[1] The share of a child, τελευτήσαντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κληρονόμος ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ὡς θυγάτηρ πατρός. (Dionys., ii. 25.)

[2] Dionysius says of this sort of union that it took place κατὰ νόμους ἱερούς.

[3] *Nuptiae sunt conjunctio maris et feminae consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani juris communicatio.* (Dig. xxiii. 2, 1.) *Uxor socia humanae rei atque divinae.* (Cod. ix. 32, 4.)

to the hard expression of the law, into the hand of her husband (*in manum viri*), and her dowry became, like her person, the property (*res*) of her husband.[1] The XII. Tables grant the same rights to the plebeian marriage when it has lasted a year without interruption, *usu anni continui in manum conveniebat.*



STOLA.[2]

In case of divorce, the husband kept the dowry. But in this age of harsh and austere manners, divorce was unknown,[3] and the matrons had not yet raised that temple to Modesty whose doors were closed against the woman who had twice offered the sacrifices of betrothal.

Customs and beliefs, on the contrary, made almost a necessity of divorce, when the marriage remained barren. For it was not the union of two hearts, but the accomplishment of a civil and religious obligation,—to give new defenders to the city and perpetuate for the domestic gods the rites of the hearth — for the ancestors, the honors of the tomb. When a family disappeared, they said, "It is a hearth extinguished."

Aristocratic associations insured to the future head of the family — the eldest son — greater advantages than to his brothers.

[1] *Omnia quae mulieris fuerunt, viri fiunt, dotis nomine.* (Cic., *pro Caecina.*)

[2] Distinctive garment of Roman matrons. Taken from the *Mus. Borbon.* iii. pl. 37.

[3] The first divorce mentioned by the Annals, that of Sp. Carvilius, is in the year of Rome 520 (233). "He separated from his wife," says Aulus Gellius (IV. iii. 2), "although he loved her much, because he could not have children by her."

Roman law did not go so far as proclaiming the right of primogeniture, which proceeds from a principle unknown to antiquity, — the indivisibility of the fief, — for it was too much preoccupied with the absolute power of the father to limit his rights in anything; but in leaving him the free disposition of his goods, it permitted him, in the interest of his house, to settle a greater portion on the eldest of his children.[1] These rights of the father, however, being once reserved, Roman law ordained, in case of decease *without will*, equal division among all the children. This entirely democratic clause, after having enfeebled the patrician aristocracy, enabled the lawyers of the Middle Ages to make a breach in the feudal system.

Such is the law of the Quirites, *jus Quiritium*, and we find here the triple basis on which rests this society, so profoundly aristocratic, — the inviolability of property, of land, or of money; the unlimited rights, and the religious character of the head of the family.[2]

III. Public Manners.

The rights of parental authority were likely to produce docile subjects. Having become a citizen, the son transferred from his father to the state the same respect and the same obedience. It is a characteristic of small societies that patriotism varies inversely with the extent of territory, and is stronger in proportion as the enemy's frontier is nearer. For then the man belongs more to the state than to his family. He is rather a citizen than husband or father, and domestic affections are postponed to love of the native soil and its laws. To serve the state was the first law of the Romans; and in the *Dream of Scipio*, that half-Christian essay, immortality is promised only to great citizens. By these causes is explained

[1] Thus, in Greek mythology, Hercules is submissive to Eurystheus.

[2] Dionysius (ii. 26) contrasts the prodigious extension at Rome of the *patria potestas* with the narrow limits in which Solon, Pittakos, Charondas, and all the Greek legislators had confined it. At Rome the father was everything in the family, as the state was everything in the city. This severe organization proves that at first the most rigorous discipline had been necessary to insure its safety, and that some trace of it was left in the *gentes*.

the respect of the plebeians for institutions, even when they were opposed to them, and those *secessions*, unaccompanied by pillage, those bloodless revolutions, that pacific progress which took place gradually in constitutional ways. Hence come, too, in ordinary life, the submission to old customs and to the letter of the law, on which it would be sacrilege to put a new construction, — that blind faith in the incomprehensible formulae of worship and jurisprudence, and the authority, so long recognized, of the *acta legitima*.

The word religion signifies bond [or obligation]. In no other country, in no other times, has this bond been so strong as at Rome; it united the citizens to one another and to the state. As the Romans saw gods everywhere; as all nature, sky, earth, and water was to them full of divinities who watched over human beings with benevolent or jealous eyes, there was no act of life which did not require a prayer or an offering, a sacrifice or a purification, according to the rites prescribed by the ministers of religion. This piety, being the offspring of fear, was all the more attentive in observing signs considered favorable or the reverse; so that everything depended on religion, — private life, from the cradle to the tomb, public life, from the comitia to the field of battle; even business and pleasure.[1] Games and races were celebrated in honor of the gods; the people's songs were hymns, their dances a prayer, their music, uncouth but sacred harmonies; and, as in the Middle Ages, the earliest dramas were pious mysteries. By the continual intervention of the pontiffs, who knew the necessary rites and sacred formulae, by that of the augurs, aruspices, and all the interpreters of omens, this religion, devoid of dogmas and of clergy, of ideal and of love — made up of silly superstitions, like that of some of their descendants — was yet a great force of cohesion for the state and a powerful discipline for the citizens.

No people — some famous examples notwithstanding — ever pushed so far the religion of the oath. Nothing could take place — raising of troops, division of booty, lawsuits, judgments, public affairs, private affairs, sales, contracts, or anything else — without the swearing

[1] Livy well says (vi. 41): *Auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac pace domi militiaeque omnia geri, quis est qui ignoret?*

of either fidelity and obedience or of justice and good faith, the gods being called upon to bear witness to the sincerity of the parties. At sales the purchaser, in the presence of five citizens of full age, put the bronze, the price of the purchase, into a balance held by the *libripens*, and touching with his hand the land, the slave, or the ox which he was buying, said: "This is mine, according to the law of the Quirites; I have paid for it in copper duly weighed." This right of selling or buying by *mancipation*[1] (*manu capere*, to take with the hand), without the intervention of a magistrate and without written receipt, was one of the privileges of the Quirites, and doubtless one of their most ancient customs. It explains the importance of that law, — *Uti lingua nuncupassit, ita jus esto*, such as the word is, so is the right, — which penetrated so far into the Roman habits that it made them the most faithful of all nations to their word, but to the literal word, to the actual sense, even should good faith be impaired thereby. Thus for a loan it was necessary to say: *Dari spondes?* Dost thou promise the gift? And the lender must reply: *Spondeo*, I undertake to do so. Should either of the two change one of these words, there was no longer any contract, no creditor or debtor; and if the money had been delivered it was lost. A man brings into court a neighbor who has cut his vines, and produces against him the terms of the law; but the law speaks of trees, he says vine — the suit cannot proceed. The leaders of a sedition, seeing that the soldiers are hindered from joining by the oath they have sworn to the consuls, propose to kill the latter. "When they are dead," say they, "the soldiers will be free from their oath." At the Caudine Forks the generals give the Samnites a verbal promise; but there is not, as is necessary to bind two nations, any treaty concluded by the fetiales with the sacred herb, and consecrated by the sacrifice of a victim, therefore the agreement is, as regards religion, invalid, and the Senate annuls it.[2]

This servile attachment to legal forms came from the religious

[1] All objects of property were divided into *res mancipi* (lands, houses, slaves, oxen, horses, mules, asses), and *res nec mancipi*. The possession of the latter was transmitted by the simple delivery to the purchaser. For the others, the formalities just described were necessary.

[2] Livy, ii. 32.

character of the law and from the belief imposed by the doctrine of augury, that the least inadvertence in the accomplishment of rites was sufficient to alienate the good will of the gods. Consuls were often obliged to resign on account of some negligence committed in the consultation of omens.[1] How often did religion itself suffer thereby, when by clever evasions the Romans deceived their gods with an easy conscience!

The principal occupation of the Romans was agriculture; for the small amount of manufacture then at Rome, save a few trades necessary to the army, was abandoned to the poor citizens and strangers.[2] But agriculture did not enrich the small proprietor; it was well when it yielded him a livelihood, and he was not forced, in order to supply a deficiency of the crops, to draw on the rich man's purse, — to have recourse to the fatal assistance of the usurer. In later times the usurer was a plebeian knight or a freed man. At this epoch he was almost always a patrician,[3] for to the incomes derived from their estates the patricians united the profits of maritime commerce, which they had perhaps reserved to themselves. The insolvent debtor had no pity to expect, for movable property was as strictly protected as landed property. "If he pay not," said the law, "let him be cited into court. If illness or age hinder, let him be provided with a horse, but not a litter. The debt being acknowledged and judgment given, let there be thirty days' grace. If he still fails to pay, the creditor shall cast him into the *ergastulum*, bound with straps or chains weighing 15 pounds. At the end of sixty days let him be produced on three market days and sold beyond the Tiber. If there be several creditors, they may divide his body; it matters not whether they cut more or less."[4] This was a dangerous and

[1] Plutarch, *Marcell.* 5.

[2] To Numa, however, is attributed the formation of nine corporations (Plut., *Numa*, 17): the flute-players, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, shoemakers, turners, copper-workers, and potters; all the other artisans were united in a single corporation.

[3] Dionys., iv. 11; Livy, vi. 36. *Nobiles domos . . . ubicumque patricius habitet, ibi carcerem privatum esse.*

[4] . . . *Secanto, si plusve minusve secuerunt, se* (for *sine*) *fraude esto.* (Frag. of XII. Tables.) It may possibly be that in the fifth century before our era, the *sectio* no longer referred to more than the price of the sold debtor; but for earlier ages it must certainly be taken in its literal sense, although, according to Dion. (Frag. xxxii.), who knows nothing of it, it was never practised.

impolitic cruelty, for the crowd could not always remain indifferent to the sight of a corpse, or the appearance in the Forum of a man of the people half dead under the lash for the sake of a little money which he could not pay.

To sum up, the history of the early age of Rome shows us a cold and melancholy people, eager for gain, disdaining the ideal which returns no interest — without fire, without youth. But this nation, which seems never to have lived its teens, owed to its origin, and the circumstances of its historic existence, the most severe discipline in the family, in religion and in the state. If during centuries it never knew aught of poetry or art, it had more than any other the sentiment of duty: its citizens knew how to obey. That is why, in later times, they knew how to command. Moreover, the aristocratic constitution which resulted from its customs permitted it to be prudent in designs and persevering in action; and a military organization, already excellent, henceforth provides it with the means of carrying out everything which it undertakes. When the endless strifes of the Forum and the outer world come, it can apply itself to them with the energy which insures victory, with the political ability which preserves the state.

[1] The Lares, each holding a rod and caressing a dog; above, a head of Vulcan, and pincers; on the right and left the letters LA RE (*Lares*). Reverse of a silver coin of the Caesian family.



L. CAESI.[1]

SECOND PERIOD.

ROME UNDER THE PATRICIAN CONSULS (509–367 B. C.).

STRUGGLES WITHIN — WEAKNESS WITHOUT.

CHAPTER VI.

INTERNAL HISTORY FROM 509 TO 470.

I. Aristocratic Character of the Revolution of 509: The Consulship.

THE Kings of Rome had not been more fortunate than the Caesars were afterward. Of seven of them, five had died, as so many Emperors did, a violent death. The reason was that both had the same enemy, — a powerful aristocracy. Moreover, the abolition of royalty is a very common historical incident. Throughout the whole Graeco-Italian world, the kings of the heroic age give place sooner or later to the nobles, who, at Rome, were called patricians. *Superbus* does not, perhaps, merit the reputation that legend has affixed to him; but the nobles did not wish for another chief who could, like Servius, prepare for political life the crowd of plebeians whom they held in subjection, or, like Tarquin, strike off the higher heads. They replaced the King by two consuls or praetors, chosen from their midst and invested with all the rights and all the insignia of royalty, except the crown and the purple mantle worked with gold.

At once the ministers and presidents of the Senate, — administrators, judges, and generals, — the consuls had sovereign power,

regium imperium,[1] but only for one year. In the interior of the city the nobles did not allow them both to exercise the prerogatives of their magistracy at the same time. Each had the authority, and the twelve lictors with their fasces, for a month. If they differed in opinion, the opposition of one, *intercessio*, arrested the decisions of the other, — a conservative measure; for the interdict prevails over the command, that is, the old order prevails against the new. For a sudden attack on the institutions they would have needed a military force; now Rome had no soldiers but her citizens, and no one could appear in arms within the pomerium. As the consuls were responsible for their acts, they were exposed, on quitting office, to formidable accusations. Thus the royal authority was divided, without being weakened; it remained strong without the power of again becoming dangerous, since it was renewed yearly; and by the *intercessio* it was self-restraining. But should a danger arise demanding the rapid concentration of power, it reappeared complete in the dictatorship.



CONSUL BETWEEN TWO LAUREL-CROWNED FASCES.[2]



FASCES.[3]

The nobles did not desire that the revolution should extend to the gods. Custom required that certain sacrifices should be offered by a king, so they appointed a *rex sacrorum* to perform them; but all ambition was forbidden him, he was declared incapable of filling any other office.

Finally, the centuries of Servius were re-established, or became for the first time the great political assembly of the Roman people, under guaranties which prevented all encroachment. In memory of their early character they met outside the

[1] *Uti consules potestatem haberent . . . regium.* (Cic., *de Rep.* ii. 32.) Livy (i. 60) says that the consuls were elected *ex Commentariis Servi Tulli.*

[2] Consular coin of Cn. Piso. The fasces, the insignia of victory, were surrounded with wreaths of laurel: the victor and his soldiers wore laurel too, for it was considered a preservative against evils, and a guaranty against the shocks of Fortune, which is wont to strike more particularly at happy people. This coin, given by Morell, after Goltzius, is no longer to be found in any collection.

[3] Consular coin of C. Norbanus: a fasces with an axe, a caduceus, and an ear of wheat.

pomerium, in the Field of Mars, not at the call of the lictors, like the comitia of the Curiae, but at the sound of the trumpet. Before they met it was necessary to consult the auspices, so that religion kept them in dependence on the patrician augurs. The convocation must be announced thirty days beforehand (*dies justi*), that none might be unaware of it; and to avoid all chance of surprise by the enemy, a red flag floated over the Janiculum, which a picket occupied while the comitia lasted.[1]

The government really remained in the hands of the patricians. They were masters of the Senate, the supreme council of the city, wherein most of the propositions afterward laid before the comitia must first be discussed, and they were predominant in the assembly of centuries by their wealth and the number of their clients. If any plebeians, who had by their fortune reached the highest classes, threatened to render the vote of the centuries unfavorable, the patrician magistrate, who presided over the comitia, could always, by means of the augurs, break up the assembly or annul its decisions; or, if ill omens failed, cause a popular resolution to be rejected by the Senate.

Rome had, then, an upper house, which discussed the law twice, once before and once after it had been laid before the comitia, and a lower house, composed of the whole people, which voted, but did not discuss. It was somewhat like our three readings. But the largest share of influence was accorded to maturity of mind and to experience in public affairs, since by its preliminary authorization the Senate had the initiative in proposing laws, and, by their right of confirmation or rejection, the power to arrest the proceedings of a magistrate who had presented to the comitia, and caused them to pass, a revolutionary bill.

All was done with the same precautions in the elective comitia: the president proposed to the people the candidates whom the Senate and the augurs preferred, and the assembly

[1] Livy, xxxix. 15 . . . *nisi quum vexillo in arce posito comitiorum causa exercitus eductus esset.* Cf. Aulus Gellius, xv. 27; Dionys., vii. 59. . . . ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ, and Macrob., *Sat.* i. 16. The comitia could be held only on set days, *dies fasti*, during which it was allowable to engage in state affairs. There were about 190 of these days in the year. The *dies nefasti*, or ferial days, were those on which religion closed the tribunals and forbade all public transactions. (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 29; Festus, s. v. *Dies comitiales.*)

could only vote on these names. If a flatterer of the masses succeeded in obtaining a nomination displeasing to the great, the assembly of the Curiae, composed of patricians only, had the right of refusing to grant the chosen magistrate the *imperium*, — that is, the powers necessary for the exercise of his office;[1] and this assembly also formed the supreme tribunal of the city.[2]

It was really, then, the patricians who made the laws and appointed to public offices, all of which they themselves filled, *jus honorum*. They held the priesthood and the auspices; they were priests, augurs, and judges; and they carefully hid from the eyes of the people the mysterious formulae of public worship and of jurisprudence. Finally, they alone had the *jus imaginum*, which fed the hereditary pride of family, while at the same time the prohibition of marriages between the two orders seemed likely to bar forever the people's access to the positions held by the nobles, and entry into that Senate which was their fortress.[3]

But the plebeians had in their favor their numbers, and even their very misery, which soon drove them into successful revolt. They were no longer a stranger people, they were a second order in the State, which grew unobserved and unceasingly in face of the other, and which the patricians were obliged to arm in order to resist Tarquin, the Aequi, Volsci, and Etruscans. This assistance must earn its reward. Already the people had received judges of their own, who decide in most civil suits, and religious festivals, at which the assembled plebeians could reckon their numbers; and it was from the military centuries, or the two orders united, that the nomination of the consuls[4] proceeded, as Servius Tullius is said to have proposed. Henceforth the comitia centuriata makes the laws which the Senate proposes, and the elections which the Curiae confirm, and decides for peace or war. These serious innovations satisfied popular ambition for the time, for the

[1] *Ut pauca per populum, plerague Senatus auctoritate . . . gerentur . . . Populi comitia, ne essent rata, nisi ea patrum approbavisset auctoritas.* (Cic. *de Rep.* ii. 32.) *Ergo . . . nec centuriatis, nec curiatis comitiis patres auctores fiant.* (Livy, vi. 41.)

[2] It will be seen further on that it was the XII. Tables which gave the *centuries* their high criminal jurisdiction.

[3] . . . *Servili imperio patres plebem exercere, de vita atque tergo regio more consulere, agro pellere et ceteris expertibus soli in imperio agere.* (Sall. *Hist. fr.* i. 11.)

[4] Dionys., v. 2.

plebeians saw men of their own order in the first classes, and patricians in the last, like Cincinnatus, who, after his son's lawsuit, had only six acres of land for his own property.[1]

The Roman plebs was not, however, like that populace of great cities which is seen chafing, struggling, and calming down at random, — a blind force, which only becomes formidable when it finds a leader. The plebeians, too, had their nobility, their old families, and even royal families; for the patricians of conquered towns, like the Mamilii, the Papii, the Cilnii, and Caecinae in later times, had not all been received into the Roman patriciate. Other families, of patrician origin, but whom circumstances unknown to us drove out of the Curiae or hindered from entering them — the Virginii, the Genucii, the Menii, the Melii, the Oppii, the Metelli, and the Octavii, placed themselves at the head of the people; and these men, who could vie in nobility with the proudest senators, by joining their fortunes with the order into which they had been driven, furnished the plebs with ambitious leaders, and its efforts with skilful direction.[2] As the price of the help afforded to the nobles against Tarquin, they

[1] Val. Max., IV. iv. 7.

[2] The Metelli claimed descent from Caeculus, son of Vulcan and founder of Praeneste. They were plebeians, and yet Livy calls them patricians (iv. 1). The *gens* Furia, on the other hand, was patrician, yet he calls the Furii plebeians (ix. 42 and xxxix. 7); the Melii and Menii were plebeians: he calls them patricians (v. 12); the Virginii (v. 29) and the Atilii (iv. 7) were patricians: he makes them plebeians (v. 13, and x. 23); the Cassii, Oppii, and Genucii are in like manner called by turns patricians and plebeians, consuls and tribunes. One branch of the *gens* Sempronia, the Atratini, are patricians; another branch, the Gracchi, are plebeians. The explanation of this peculiarity, which occurs too often to be due to an error on the part of Livy, may perhaps be found in the supposition that, out of regard for [traditional] numbers (see p. 189), there remained outside the original Senate certain families who were yet held in as high consideration as those whose chiefs, having become senators, conferred on their descendants the name of patricians. In that case the Curiae must have comprised families which had the auspices, all the rights of the sovereign class of citizens, and admission to office, without being patrician, and yet not plebeian. When two orders only came to be recognized in the city, some of these families re-entered the aristocratical body; others must have been thrown back upon the people, whose strength they constituted. Members of these uncertain families may have even been placed by the censors on the list of the Senate. This would explain the phrase of Livy (v. 12) about the plebeian Licinius Calvus, before the year 367 B. C.: *vir nullis ante honoribus usus, vetus tantum senator*. Dionys. (Frag. xlvi.) asserts that it was through fear of tribunitian accusations (see p. 164) that some patricians had caused themselves to be inscribed among the plebeians. The reason is a poor one; for an *adoption* was necessary in order to change one's family, and in that case the person adopted took the name of the adopter. Whatever explanation is accepted, however, this much is certain, and we only insist on this important point, that there were, either between patricians and people, or at the head of the people, noble and wealthy families interested in overthrowing the distinction between the two orders.

had obtained the enforcement of the constitution of Servius. Hereafter they will extort further concessions; for Etruria is arming in the King's cause, and behind the Veientines and Tarquinians may be already seen the preparations of Porsenna. A common misfortune may bring the two orders nearer by humbling the military pride of the nobles.

Aristocracies die out when they are not renewed, especially in military republics, where the nobles are found in the first ranks of battle, and pay for their privileges with their blood. Decimated by warfare and by that mysterious law of development in the human species which causes the extinction of old families,[1] every aristocracy which does not receive recruits from without its pale is soon exhausted and destroyed by the action of time alone. The 9,000 Spartans of Lycurgus were no longer more than 5,000 at Plataea, fewer still at Leuctra and at Sellasia. But the nobility of Rome never closed its "golden book." Under Tullus the great families of Alba, under Tarquin a hundred new members, had been admitted to the Senate. After the abolition of royalty, the fathers felt the need of strengthening themselves by drawing towards them all the men of consideration in the city to whom the Curia had hitherto been closed.[2] Brutus or Valerius restored the Senate to the usual number of 300 members, as it had been deprived of many by the cruelty of Tarquin and the exile of his partisans.[3] At the same time the Senate distributed among the people the lands of the royal domain, abolished customs, and lowered the price of salt,[5] — a clever



COIN REPRESENTING BRUTUS.[4]

[1] The pestilences so frequent at Rome also contributed to the extinction of families. After the plague of 462 B. C., which carried off both the consuls, several patrician families disappear. After that epoch there is no mention of the Lartii, Cominii, and Numicii, and we no longer, or only rarely, meet with patricians of the name of Tullius, Sicinius, Volumnius, Aebutius, Herminius, Lucretius, and Menenius.

[2] I cannot possibly admit the strange theory, originating in Germany, of the constitution, after the year 509, of a plebeio-patrician Senate. The whole internal history of Rome up to 367 B. C. protests against this supposition.

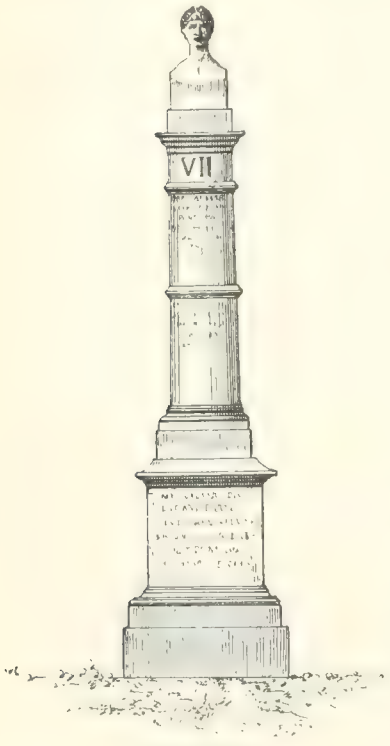
[3] The exiles were so numerous that they fought in separate bodies. (Dionys., v. 6.) A passage in Cicero (*de Rep.* i. 40) shows that there was a violent reaction against the friends of the last King.

[4] Denarius of the Junian family.

[5] Livy, ii. 9. For these proceedings Brutus had re-established, or caused to be confirmed by the Curiae, the quaestors established by the kings. (Tac., *Ann.* xi. 22.) Plutarch refers their creation to Valerius.

move in two ways, for by satisfying the ambition of the chiefs, it separated them from the masses, which remained without leaders, while at the same time it interested the latter, by increasing their material welfare, in the cause of the nobles.

To the first year of the Republic, too, are said to belong the laws of Valerius, who, being left sole consul for some time after the death of Brutus, exercised a kind of dictatorship, and made use of it to pass laws which the *intercessio* of a colleague would perhaps have prevented. These laws punished with death whosoever should aspire to royalty, and authorized disobedience to a magistrate who should continue his office beyond the appointed term. He caused the fasces to be lowered before the popular assembly, and recognized its sovereign jurisdiction by carrying the law of appeal (*provocatio*),[1] which was to Rome what the *habeas corpus* has been to England. In order to show clearly that the power of life and death was taken away from the consuls, he took the axes out of the fasces within the city and within a mile of its walls. Beyond that they were restored to the lictors, for the consuls on passing the first milestone[2] recovered that unlimited power which was



A MILESTONE.

[1] *Neque enim provocationem longius esse ab urbe mille passuum.* (Livy, iii. 20.) "This was," says Cicero (*de Rep.* ii. 31), "the first law voted by the centuries." The appeal forbade *eum qui provocasset virgis caedi securique necari.* (Livy, x. 9.) Compare Val. Max., iv. 1, and Cic., *de Rep.* ii. 31. Dionysius (v. 19) extends the prohibition to fines. But if this occurred, it could only be after the decemvirate. There is attributed to Valerius, too, a law which would throw open the candidature for the consulship. Ὑπατείαν ἔδωκε μετιέναι καὶ παραγγέλλειν τοῖς βουλομένοις. (Plut., *Popl.* ii.) It is, of course, understood that this refers only to patricians who might demand of the Senate or consuls to be inscribed on the list of candidates.

[2] The value of the Roman mile is about 1615 yards (1481.75 metres). Upon the roads which issued from Rome, each mile was marked by a numbered post, and the distances counted from the gate of the circuit wall of Servius. The post represented by the engraving, after a restoration of Canina, was the first upon the Appian Way. It is much later in date than our present epoch,

as necessary to them in the army as it was dangerous in the city.

Thus the patricians and the plebeians remained two distinct orders, widely separated by the inequality of their condition: the one, descendants of the early conquerors and guardians of the ancient worship; the other, a mixed mass of men of all kinds of origins and religions, long kept in subjection by the ruling people, the Quirites, and still placed, as having neither the same blood nor the same gods, under the insulting prohibition against intermarriage with patricians. Fortunately the assembly of centuries united them in a single people, and this union saved them. At first, it is true, it benefited only the patricians, who appropriated the lion's share of the royal spoils. But the plebeians little by little forced them to an equitable division. The establishment of the tribuneship was their first and surest victory; for before attacking they must learn how to defend themselves.

II. The Tribunate.

At Rome, as at Athens, and in all the states of antiquity wherein handicrafts did not support the poor people of free condition, debts were the primary cause of democratic revolutions. Rome, being an exclusively agricultural state, would have needed, in order to profit by the advantages of that condition, a long period of peace or a vast territory, which might save the greater portion of the land from undergoing the ravages of war. Now warfare was constant, and after the conquest of Porsenna and the rising of the Latins, the frontier was so near the town, that the lands of the enemy might be seen from the top of the walls.[1] There was, then, neither repose nor safety to be had; whence it resulted that everywhere there was crowding and bad husbandry. Called to arms every year, the plebeian neglected his little farm; moreover

as it bears the names of Vespasian and of Nerva. The use of these posts must be much more ancient than Gracchus, who is supposed to have established them. (Plut., *C. Grace.* 6–7.) The post was at first a rough-hewn stone, which, by degrees, in the vicinity of Rome and large towns, assumed the shape of a monument.

[1] For the military history of this epoch, see next chapter.

he must equip himself at his own expense, provide his own food in war time, and yet pay the tax, which was relatively heavier for the poor than the rich, because, being based upon landed property, it did not allow for the debts of the one class or the credit of the other. But if the war was not successful; if the enemy, who could in a single day traverse the whole territory of the Republic, came and cut down the crops and burned the farms; if to the pillage of the people of Latium and the Sabine land there were added inclemency of weather, — how was the farmer to support his family or rebuild his burned home?

There were means of coming to some understanding with the gods. A temple was promised, it might be to some foreign deity whom they felt guilty of having neglected; or they offered a sacrifice, and thought they had set themselves right with the celestial powers. Thus, a famine having broken out during the Latin war, the dictator Postumius promised a sanctuary to a Greek divinity, Demeter, who caused the fruitfulness of the Campanian plains, whence the Senate, no doubt, procured corn. She took, on the banks of Tiber, the name of an old Etruscan deity, Ceres;[1] and to minister at her altar a woman was summoned from Naples or Velia, who on her arrival received the rights of citizenship, because a Roman tongue only could invoke the gods in favor of Rome.

The usurer's account was a more difficult matter to settle. All the hard-earned savings went first, then the booty won in previous campaigns, and finally the hereditary patrimony, — the last pledge on which the poor man had raised a loan at an enormous rate of interest. Thus a great number of plebeians had, within a few years after the expulsion of the kings, become the debtors of the wealthy, like their descendants, the peasants of the Roman Campagna, who, ruined by usury and monopolies, sell their crops before they have been sown. But the wealthy were to be found especially among the patricians. Being possessed of vast estates, and holding the lands of the public domain, which, as it was usually left for pasturage, had little to fear from the enemy's ravages, they could still export to foreign countries the wool of their flocks

[1] Servius, *ad Aen.* ii. 325. The name Ceres has no meaning in Latin.

and the produce of their land. Their fortune was less dependent on a bad season or a hostile incursion. Thus they always had money for that lucrative business[1] which brought in more than the best land or the most dogged work. At Rome, as at Athens before the time of Solon, and as in all the ancient states of Asia and the North, the law assigned to the creditor the liberty and life of the debtor; it was a pledge, a mortgage held on his person. If the debtor did not fulfil his obligations within the legal period, he became *nexus*,[2] that is to say, he bound his person to pay his debt by labor. He was not a slave; but his creditor could impose servile duties upon him, and even keep him imprisoned in the *ergastulum*. His children, unless he had previously emancipated them, shared his fate, for they were his property; and his property, like his person, belonged to his creditors until he had freed himself from his debt.



CERES FOUND AT OSTIA IN 1856. (MUSEUM OF THE VATICAN.)

It was not necessary that many plebeians should find themselves under the action of this severe law, to cause a widespread

[1] Usury was a national vice at Rome. Polybius knew this so well, that he honors Scipio for not having been guilty of it (xxxii. fr. 8). We know that Cato the Censor carried on the most disreputable form of it, — maritime usury; and we see in Plutarch the parsimony of Crassus, notwithstanding his immense fortune.

[2] See page 31. The *nexum* was the verbal agreement undertaken by the creditor, in the presence of witnesses, to pay back the loan.

irritation; its very existence was sufficient. The people soon saw that the revolution had merely substituted patrician for royal authority; and they conceived a violent hatred for these haughty masters, who treated them with the violence they themselves had suffered at the King's hands.[1] At first they peaceably demanded the abolition of debts; then they refused to obey the conscription for service against the Latins. The situation seemed so critical to the Senate that they revived royalty with all its power for a time. In 501 B. C. they created the dictatorship, the powers of which were unlimited. Elected, on the invitation of the Senate, by one of the consuls, and chosen from among the *consulares*, the dictator (*magister populi*)[2] had, even in Rome, twenty-four lictors bearing the axes in the fasces, as a sign of absolute authority. The ordinary magistrates were under his orders, and the right of appeal to the people was suspended; it was like our declaration of martial law. He was nominated for six months, like his lieutenant, the *magister equitum*, but none ever retained these formidable powers so long. So soon as the danger had passed which had caused the suspension of public liberty and the legal establishment of this provisional tyranny, the dictator abdicated.[3] The Senate had thus reserved an extraordinary magistracy for those critical times from which states often emerge only at the cost of their liberty. More than once, indeed, did the dictatorship save the Republic from the enemy without and from the agitations of the Forum within. If for nearly three centuries Rome never felt the stormy vicissitudes of the Hellenic

[1] *Propter nimiam dominationem potentium.* (Cic., *pro Corn.* fr. 24.) Sallust speaks similarly. (*Hist. frag.* i. 21.)

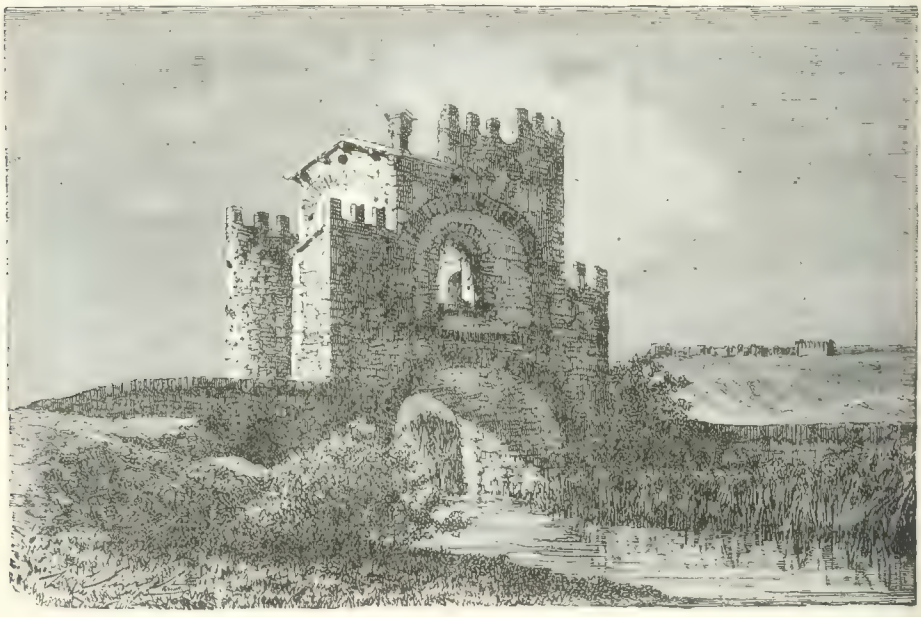
[2] *Lars*, in Etruscan, means lord and master. (Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 51.) The expression *magister populi* has the same meaning, and the dictatorship was probably an imitation of what took place in Etruria when, in grave circumstances, she appointed a *lars*, like Porsenna or Tolumnius.

[3] Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* v. 82; Fest, s. v. *optima lex.* A tradition, reported by Livy, would assign another cause for the creation of this magistracy, — that the two consuls were partisans of the King. The Greeks translated the word dictator by μόναρχος and αὐτοκράτωρ. Zonaras (vii. 13) says: τὴν δ' ἐκ τῆς μοναρχίας ὠφέλειαν θέλοντες . . . ἐν ἄλλῳ ταύτην ὀνόματι εἵλοντο. Machiavelli made the following remark, which is confirmed by Montesquieu (*Esp. des Lois*, ii. 3:) "Without a power of this nature, the state must either be lost in following the ordinary lines of proceeding, or else quit them, in order to save itself. But if extraordinary means do good for the moment, they leave a bad example, which is a real evil." The dictatorships of Sulla and Caesar have, of course, nothing in common with the ancient dictatorship.

republics; if those movements, which otherwise would have degenerated into revolutions, only resulted at Rome in the regular development of the constitution, — it was owing in a great measure to this office, this unlimited power of which moderated the public excitement, while at the same time it arrested ambitious designs.

Startled by these menacing displays, by this unlimited power, the plebs stifled its murmurs for some years, and the consuls were able to count on its support in the regal wars. But in 495 B. C., Appius Claudius, the most pitiless of patricians, was appointed consul with Servilius. His pride, which chafed even at a complaint, was already exciting sullen anger, when a man suddenly appeared in the Forum, pale and fearfully emaciated. He was one of the bravest centurions of the Roman army; he had been in twenty-eight battles. He told how, in the Sabine war, the enemy had burned his house and his crops, and carried off his flock. In order to live he had borrowed money, and usury, like an odious sore, devouring his patrimony, had even invaded his body. His creditors had led away himself and his son, loaded with irons and lacerated with blows; and he showed his body still bleeding. At this sight the public fury knew no bounds, and a messenger having come to announce an incursion of the Volscians, the plebeians refused to take arms. "Let the patricians go and fight," said they; "let them have all the perils of war, since they have all its profits!" They only yielded when the consul Servilius had promised that after the war their complaints should be examined, and that, all the time it lasted, debtors should be free. On this assurance the people took arms. Before this, the Volscians had given three hundred hostages; Appius had them all beheaded. Then Servilius marched on Suessa Pometia, which was taken, and the booty distributed among his soldiers. But when the victorious army returned to Rome, the Senate refused to fulfil the consul's promises. The poor found themselves again at the mercy of the pitiless Appius, and the *ergastula* were filled anew. In vain the people exclaimed loudly against it; Appius was inflexible. In order to frighten the multitude, he caused a dictator to be appointed. The choice fell upon a man of a popular family, Manlius Valerius, who renewed

the pledges of Servilius, and with an army of 40,000 plebeians defeated the Volscians, Aequians, and Sabines. The people thought that they had this time secured the execution of the consular promises; again they were deceived. A few poor men only, it is said, were sent as colonists to Velitrae. The indignant Valerius resigned, calling to witness Fidius, the god of pledged faith, which had been broken.



BRIDGE OF NOMENTUM.



ANNA PERENNA.[1]

To avert a revolt in the Forum, the consuls of the year 493, availing themselves of the military oath taken to their predecessors, forced the army to go out of the city. But outside the gates the plebeians abandoned the consuls, and crossing the Anio, probably at the spot where the bridge of Nomentum was built, they marched, under the leadership of Sicinius Bellutus and Junius Brutus, to the Sacred Mount,[2] and encamped there; those of

[1] C. ANNI. T. F. T. N., that is, C. Annius, son of Titus, grandson of Titus Annius. Head with a diadem, attributed by Cavedoni to Anna Perenna: to the right, a caduceus; on the left, a pair of scales. Silver coin of the Annian family.

[2] The *mons sacer* is an elongated hill, separated from the Anio by a meadow, in which there still exists the ancient bridge, surmounted by a pontifical building of the fifteenth century. (See cut.)

Rome withdrew at the same time with their families to the Aventine.[1] Tradition had it that an old woman of Bovillae brought them every morning smoking hot cakes, which she had sat up all night to bake: it was the Goddess Anna Perenna.[2] Under this legend lies hidden a remembrance of the assistance given to the plebeians by the neighboring cities.

Some time passed in delay and in fruitless negotiations. At last the patricians, frightened by the menacing position of the legions, nominated two consuls, friends of the people, and sent ten consulars as a deputation to the soldiers. Among them were three former dictators, also Lartius Postumius, Valerius, and the plebeian Menenius Agrippa, the most eloquent and popular of the senators. He told them the fable of the belly and the members, and brought back their demands to the Senate. They were remarkably moderate. All slaves for debt were to be set free; the debts themselves, at least those of insolvent debtors, to be cancelled.[3] They did not even demand that the criminal law should be altered; fifty years later, we shall find it still inscribed by the decemvirs on the Twelve Tables. But they would not consent to come down from the Sacred Mount until they had nominated two tribunes, Sicinius and Brutus, whose right the Senate should recognize of assisting the harshly used[4] debtor, and of staying by their veto the effect of the consular judgments. In this way those Romans who remained without patrician protection, and had no one to defend them, would henceforth have two official patrons with whom it would be necessary to reckon.[5]

These representatives of the poor had neither the laticlave with a border of purple, nor lictors armed with fasces. No external mark distinguished them from the crowd, and they were preceded by a single apparitor in plain dress. But, as fetials in an enemy's territory, their person was inviolable. They devoted to

[1] Cic., *de Rep.*, ii. 37; Livy, ii. 32; App., *Bell. Civ.* i. 1.

[2] Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 654.

[3] Dionys., vi. 83.

[4] At first the tribune could only protect the plebeian who had been insulted or struck in his presence.

[5] Zon., vii. 15: *προστάτας δύο*; and Livy, ii. 33; iii. 55. The tribunes were not allowed, except during the Latin games, to be away from Rome at night, and their door always remained open. Their power ended one mile from the walls, where the *imperium* of the consuls began.

the gods any one who struck them, by saying *sacer esto*,[1] and his goods were confiscated to the profit of the temple of Ceres. No patrician could become a tribune (493 B. C.).

By this creation of two leaders of the people (soon afterward five, still later ten) the revolt, purely civil, if I may so term it, in principle became almost a revolution, and turned out to be the greatest event in the domestic history of Rome. "It was," says Cicero,[2] "the first reduction of the consular power, in constituting a magistrate independent of it. The second was the help which it afforded to the other magistrates, as well as to the citizens who refused obedience to the consuls."

The rich plebeians adopted the chiefs of the poor as being those of the entire order. Thus supported, this protective power soon became aggressive; and we shall see the tribunes, on the one hand, extending their veto to all acts contrary to popular interests,[3] and on the other politically organizing the people, outside the *auctoritas patrum*, and causing the *concilia plebis* to assert as their own the rights of deliberating, voting, and electing. Later on, we shall see them effacing the distinction between the orders by proclaiming the principle that the sovereignty resides in the whole people; and then will come the time when no one is so powerful in Rome as a tribune of the people. This power doubtless committed many excesses. But without it, the Republic, in subjection to an oppressive oligarchy, would never have fulfilled its great destinies. "Rome ought either to have continued a monarchy," said even Cicero,[4] who had much personal ground for complaint against the tribunate, "or there was no need to grant the plebeians a liberty which was not made up of mere empty words." This liberty now begins for them, since there is no freedom apart from strength, and there is no strength in societies except in discipline. Disciplined by its new chiefs, the people were soon able to maintain a regular struggle against the great,

[1] Zon. (*ibid.*) explains this expression, which occurs so often in legislation. The victim, led to the altar as a sacrifice, was *devoted*, *i. e.* given up to death; so also the man declared *sacer*.

[2] *De Leg.* iii. 7. The question how the tribunes were nominated between the years 493 and 471 is very obscure. I do not doubt, however, that it had been from the first reserved to the *concilium plebis*. See p. 295.

[3] Val. Max., ii. 7; Dionys., x. 2.

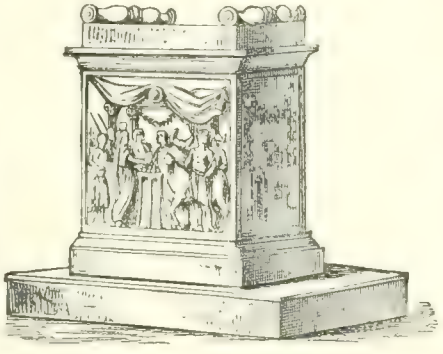
[4] *De Leg.* iii. 10; . . . *re non verbo.*

and obtain, one after the other, all the magisterial offices. The patrician city, forced to receive them, will be opened to the Italians also; later on to the world; and a great empire will be the recompense of this union, demanded and secured by the tribunes.[1]

It was with the most solemn ceremonies, by sacrifices and the ministry of the fetials, as if the matter in hand were a treaty between two different peoples, that the peace was concluded and celebrated. Every citizen swore to keep eternally the sacred laws, *leges sacratae*,[2] and an altar, erected to Jupiter Tonans on



B, LEFT SIDE.



A, ALTAR OF THE TEMPLE, THOUGHT TO BE THAT OF QUIRINUS, AT POMPEII.[3]



C, RIGHT SIDE.

the site of the plebeian camp, consecrated the mountain where the people had acquired their earliest liberties. Public veneration surrounded, to the day of his death, the man who had reconciled the two orders, and when Agrippa died the people gave him, as well as Brutus and Poplicola, a splendid funeral.

As the consuls had two quaestors, so the tribunes had under them, to guard the material interests of the plebeian community, two aediles, whose rights increased, as did those of the tribunes, and who finally had the care of all public buildings (*aedes*), especially that of the temple of Ceres, where were kept the senatus-

[1] On the successive additions to the tribunes' power, see Zonaras, vii. 15.

[2] Livy, ii. 33; Dionys., vi. 89.

[3] The altar of Mons Sacer was certainly very simple and unornamented, whilst that we give is much ornamented. It shows, at any rate, the general form of Roman altars, and how religious art decorated them. On one of its sides (Fig. A) is to be seen a sacrificial ceremony; on the other sides (Figs. B, C) are grouped different articles used in worship, — the *lituus* or augur's staff, the box for perfumes, etc.

consulta, and the right of controlling the supply of Rome with provisions.[1] In the second century B. C. the aedileship was, according to Polybius, a very illustrious office,[2] and Cicero calls the great Architect of the world *the Aedile of the Universe.*

It is certain that the plebeians had already their own special judges, *judices decemviri*, and their public assembly, *concilium plebis;* the patricians were naturally excluded from them, or, to speak more exactly, did not condescend to enter them.[3]

We shall close with two remarks: the tribunate is the most original of Roman institutions, for nothing like it has existed either among ancients or moderns; and the revolution whence it proceeded did not cost one drop of human blood.

III. The Agrarian Law.

The beginnings of the tribunate were humble and obscure, like those of all the plebeian magistracies.[4] But a patrician who had been consul and celebrated a triumph three times — Spurius Cassius — revealed to the tribunes the secret of their power, viz. popular

[1] Dionys., vi. 90.

[2] Polyb., x. 4.

[3] Livy, iii. 55, and ii. 56, 60; Dionys., ix. 41.

[4] To fill up the interval void of acts which intervenes between the years 493 B. C. and 486 B. C., there are usually placed, immediately after the establishment of the tribunate, the trial of Coriolanus and the disputes of the tribunes with the consuls respecting the colonies of Norba and Velitrae, — that is to say, the conquest for the tribunes of the right of speaking before the people without interruption, of convoking the comitia of tribes, of declaring plebiscita, of judging and condemning to death patricians. Thus we fail to recognize the humble beginnings of this magistracy, which in the first year of its existence was certainly not strong enough to brave the Senate, the patricians, and the consuls. Besides this consideration many circumstances in the story are actually false. Thus Norba and Velitrae were not then Roman colonies, but independent Latin cities, as the treaty of Cassius with the Latins proves; Corioli was not a Volscian city taken by the Romans, but one of the thirty Latin republics. Then Coriolanus is said to have borne when very young his first arms at the battle of Lake Regillus, in 496 B. C., and in 492 B. C. he demands the consulship and is father of several children. The tradition of Coriolanus has no doubt a historical basis; but this proscription of one of the most illustrious patricians, this vengeance of a chief among the banished, ought to belong to the epoch which saw the condemnation of Menenius and Appius, the exile of Caeso, and the attempt of Herdonius. Niebuhr also believes the Icilian law to be posterior to that of Volero, and Hooke had previously proved it. It was, in truth, a plebiscitum, and the people were only able to pass it after the adoption of the Publilian law in 470 B. C. Besides, the first use of the Icilian law was made only in 421 B. C. in connection with Caeso (*hic primus vades publico dedit*); the tribunes would thus have remained more than thirty years without using it.

agitation. He was the first to start amongst the crowd that grand watchword, "the agrarian law;" and the tribunes after him had only to pronounce it to raise in the Forum the most furious storms. In the Middle Ages, to possess land was to take rank among nobles; at Rome, it was to become truly a citizen, to have true riches, such as alone brought honor, possessed endurance, and the only kind that Rome, without industry and with but little trade, could know and respect. Hence the importance of the agrarian laws; for, political rights being in proportion to fortune, to diminish that of some and increase that of others amounted, in the order of the social system, to raising the latter and bringing down the former. By touching property they touched also the very constitution of the state, — they laid a hand on that which religion had consecrated. Of course the upper classes repelled always, by either force or deception, those laws which sought to give the people, at their expense, a little fortune and power.

The agrarian laws did not, however, attack hereditary patrimonies, ordinarily of small extent, but property usurped from the state, and which could be recovered in its name from the dishonest holder. Like the territory of all the peoples in Italy and Greece, the *ager Romanus* had been primitively divided into equal parts among all the citizens; these *assigned* lands, the limits of which the augurs themselves drew, formed the inviolable and hereditary property of the Quirites. But in this division of the soil there had been reserved for the wants of the state a certain extent of land, generally pasturage and forests, which continued to be the common domain, the *ager publicus*, and on which every one had the right of pasturing his flocks (*pecus*), for the payment of a small rent (*pecunia*). This public domain grew with the conquests made by Rome; for by the right of war all conquered lands belonged to the conquerors, who generally made of them a twofold division, — the one, restored to the old inhabitants or assigned, as property of the Quirites, to particular Roman citizens (*coloni*); the second, without doubt the more considerable, attached to the public domain.

If the *ager publicus* had continued wholly communal, it would have yielded but a slight profit. To increase its value, a part of it was enclosed; and the state, as proprietor, received from the

farmers of it a tenth part of the produce. This tithe formed, down to the time of the Veian war, along with the rent for pasturage, the principal revenue of the city; hence the importance of all questions relating to the *ager publicus*. But the farmers, at first, were all patricians,[1] and the Senate, forgetting the interests of the state in behalf of those of their own order, neglected, little by little, to demand the tithes and rents. This was, however, the mark which distinguished these leaseholds, and, at all times, revocable possessions, from full *quiritary possession*. So, on this mark disappearing, the farms became changed into freeholds, and the state lost doubly, by the diminution of the rents paid to the treasury and by the loss of the public domain, transformed into private domains,[2] without the possessor paying for these usurped lands the *tributum ex censu* which was levied on all quiritary (freehold) property.

However, ancient jurisprudence declared that there was never any statute of limitation against the state;[3] which, therefore, retained all its rights over these usurped domains, and was able to resume them, whoever might be the holder, the original farmer, his heirs, or any one who had bought from them for ready money. For, in the case of both parties, the unjust possessor or the *bona fide* purchaser, it was nothing else than a property held without title.

During the monarchy, agrarian laws had been frequent, because it was the interest of the kings, surrounded by a jealous aristocracy, to keep friends with the partisans of the people; but since the exile of Tarquin there had been no other assignment than that of Brutus. How much misery, however, had not the plebeians borne, during those twenty-four years, from war and usury! So the most illustrious of the patricians, the only one of this epoch who, with Valerius, had been three times decorated with the consular purple,

[1] A passage of Cassius Hemina, in Nonius (ii. s. v. *Plebitas*) leads to the belief that plebeians could not be admitted to the occupation of domain land. There is certainly reason to believe in the principle here implied, since the plebeians were considered as a foreign people. But the same passage proves that there were also plebeians holders of domain land: *Quicumque propter plebitatem agro publico ejecti sunt:* and Sallust (*Hist. frag.* 11) says also, that some time after the expulsion of the Tarquins, they were driven from the public lands, *agro pellere*. We shall see Lucinius Stolo in the possession of 700 acres.

[2] Cf. Aggenus Urbicus, *de Controv. agror.*, ap. Ges., *Rei agrariae scriptores*, p. 69. *Negant illud solum, quod solum populi Romani esse caepit, ullo modo usicapi a quoquam mortalium posse.*

[3] Cic., *de Rep.* ii. 14.

Spurius Cassius, desired to restore to the state its revenues and lands, and to give the poor the means of becoming useful citizens. He proposed to divide a part of the government lands amongst the most needy; to compel the farmers of the state to pay their tithes regularly; and to use this revenue in paying the troops.[1] If these were indeed the demands of Cassius, we know not how to rate too highly the unrecognized glory of this great citizen, who after having consolidated abroad the tottering fortunes of Rome by his double treaty with the Latins and Hernicans,[2] wished, at home, to prevent trouble by helping the poor, and who, almost a century before it was adopted, had proposed the important measure for the settlement of the soldiers' pay (486).

But these popular and patriotic demands aroused the indignation of the Senate. The usurpation of the *ager publicus*, against which Cassius protested, was the principal source of patrician fortunes. A long possession seemed, besides, to have established a right, and the great number of possessors of domain land no longer distinguished their hereditary estates from the fields which they kept from the state. However, it would have been dangerous, at a moment when the people saw a consul at their head, to reject the law: the Senate accepted it without seeing it carried out, but hastened to be avenged on Cassius. The multitude once appeased, dark rumors spread about the city: "Cassius was only a false friend to the people. To obtain allies he had already sacrificed the interests of Rome to the Latins and Hernicans; but he wished to stir up the poor against the great, and profit from their quarrels to get himself declared king." The tribunes, jealous of their popularity, and the people, whom it is so easy to frighten with empty shadows, deserted him, when, on retiring from the consulship, the nobles accused him of treason in the comitia curiata, *ex more majorum*. Condemned to be beaten with rods and beheaded (486), he was executed by order of his father in his ancestral home.[3] Thus have

[1] This law is not that of Cassius, but that of Sempronius Atratinus, who very probably did no more than reproduce the principal provisions of Cassius, excluding, however, the Latins, whom Cassius, in order to strengthen the alliance of Rome with them, admitted to a share of the lands which they had recently conquered in concert with the Romans. (Dionys., viii. 68, 69; Livy, ii. 41.)

[2] See p. 307.

[3] Dion Cassius (*Frag.* 19) regards him as a victim of the nobles: *οὐκ ἀδικήσας τι ἀπώλετο.*

perished so many popular patricians, victims of a powerful aristocracy. The favor of the people is dangerous: it has slain more tribunes than it has crowned.

The nobles, once rid of Cassius, sought to preclude the return of the danger. The powerful house of the Fabii was signalized by its zeal for the interests of the Senate, and it was one of its members that had pronounced sentence of death against Cassius; the nobles desired no other consuls, and during seven years (484–478) a Fabius forms a member of the consulate. In vain, also, did the tribunes call for the acceptance of the agrarian law. C. Maenius even wished, in 482, to oppose his veto to the raising of troops, since the Senate would not proceed to a division of the lands. But the consuls conveyed their tribunal out of the city, where the tribunitian protection did not extend, and summoned the citizens to the enrolment, causing, by their lictors, the farms to be burned, the fruit-trees to be cut down, and the fields laid waste of those who did not give their names. These violent acts might prove dangerous: the Senate preferred fighting the people with its proper weapons, by gaining some members of the college of tribunes, whose opposition stopped the veto of Sp. Licinius in 480, and of Pontificius[1] in 479. But the soldiers took it on themselves to avenge the feebleness of the tribunate, and in 480 the legions refused to gain a victory over the Veientines, so as not to secure to Caeso Fabius the honor of a triumph.

Here the history becomes obscure. The Fabii, chiefs of the Senate, pass over to the people, and then are forced to leave Rome. We cannot but see in this change one of those frequent revolutions in aristocratic republics. Without doubt, the patricians were alarmed at seeing the consulate become the heritage of one family, and the Fabii were obliged to seek among the people, notwithstanding their ambition, that support which the Senate intended to withdraw. Won over by the popular words and conduct of M. Fabius (479), the soldiers promised him, this time, the defeat of the Veientines. The battle was bloody; the consul's brother perished: but the soldiers kept their word: the Etruscans were crushed.[2] On their return the Fabii received the wounded plebeians into their houses,

[1] Livy, ii. 43, 44.

[2] Livy, ii. 44; Dionys., ix. 6.

and henceforth no family was more popular. The next year, Caeso Fabius, having owed the consulate "rather to the people's votes than those of the nobles,"[1] forgot that he was the accuser of Cassius, and wished to extort from the patricians the execution of the agrarian law. Since all hope of obtaining justice for the people was lost, the whole *gens*, with its clients and partisans, left the city, where it was uselessly compromised in the eyes of the patricians, and in order to be still useful to Rome in its voluntary exile, it established itself before the enemy[2] on the banks of the Cremera. Later on, the pride of the Fabian *gens* insisted in seeing in this exile the devotion of three hundred and six Fabii, who sustained, with their four thousand clients, on behalf of tottering Rome, the war against the Veientines. One Fabius only, left at Rome because of his tender age, prevented, it is said, the extinction of the whole clan.[3]

After conquering in many encounters, they allowed themselves to be drawn into an ambuscade in which the greater part perished. The rest took refuge on a steep hill, and fought there from morning till evening. "They were surrounded by heaps of dead; but the enemy was so numerous that the arrows rained on them like flakes of snow. By dint of striking, their swords had become blunt and their bucklers had been shattered. Yet they never ceased fighting, and snatching arms from the enemy, they fell on them like wild beasts."[4] While these heroic scenes were going on, which remind us of the exploits sung in the *chansons de geste*, the consul Menenius came by chance into the neighborhood with an army; he did nothing to save the Fabii. Perhaps this family, so proud, which had tried to rule in Rome by its consular office, and afterward by the favor of the people, was sacrificed to the jealous fears of the Senate, as afterward Sicinius and his band to the terrors of the decemvirs (477).

The pontiffs inscribed among the *dies nefasti* that on which

[1] *Non patrum magis quam plebis studiis . . . consul factus.* (Livy, ii. 48.)

[2] *Cum familiis suis.* (Aul. Gell., xvii. 21.)

[3] Dionys., ix. 15; Livy, ii. 50; Ovid., *Fast.* ii. 195, *seq.* Dionysius says four thousand clients and ἑταῖροι; Festus, five thousand clients. The Vitellii pretended also, aided only by their clients, to have defended against the Aequicolae a town which took their name, Vitellia. (Suet., *Vitell.* i.)

[4] Dionys., ix. 21.

the Fabii had perished, and the gate by which they had left was cursed; no consul would ever cross the entrance on an expedition.[1] Rome preserved the memorial of its misfortunes, and by this mourning, perpetuated through centuries, she prevented its repetition.

IV. Right of the Tribunes to accuse the Consuls and to bring forward Plebiscita.

The people had not been able to prevent the exile of the Fabii; they wished at least to avenge them. The tribunes accused Menenius of treason (476 B. C.); shame and grief overcame him, he starved himself to death. This was a considerable success.[2] Until then the power of the tribunes had been confined to their veto, and this the consuls well knew how to render illusory; but we see them now adopting a new weapon. The disaster at Cremera and the public mourning helped them to gain the right of citing the consuls to the bar of justice. Henceforth the tribunitian accusers waited for those magistrates who are opposed to the agrarian law, till they gave up office. Excluded from the Curiae, the Senate, and the magistracies; annulled in the centuries by the preponderating influence of the patricians; deprived by the dictatorship of the tribunitian protection, — the plebeians now found the means of intimidating their most violent adversaries by summoning them before their tribes, *concilium plebis*. For meeting and acting the tribunes had need neither of the permission of the Senate nor the consecration of the augurs;[3] and the patricians who could not pretend to the tribunate did not vote in the popular assembly, just as English peers do not in the elections for the Lower House of Parliament. In less than twenty-six years, seven

[1] Dion., *Fr.* 21.

[2] From the texts of Dionys. (ix. 44, 46) and of Lydus (i. 34, 44) we might conclude that a law conferred on the tribunes this right of accusing the consuls; but we cannot understand how this law could have been made. We must rest content to be ignorant of many things respecting these old times.

[3] Μήτε προβουλεύματος . . . μήτε τῶν ἱερῶν. (Dionys., ix. 41.) *Plebeius magistratus nullus auspicato creatur.* (Livy, vi. 42.)

consuls and many patricians of the most illustrious families were accused, condemned in penalties, or escaped this shame only by exile or voluntary death.[1]

In 475 B. C. Servilius, and in 473 L. Furius and C. Manlius were accused by the tribunes, the former for a mismanaged attack in the war against the Veientines, the others for not having executed the agrarian law. Servilius escaped; but Manlius and Furius had as their opponent the tribune Genucius, who had sworn before the people to allow no obstacle to stand in his way. On the day of the trial he was found dead in his bed (473).[2]

This assassination spread terror among the people and its chiefs, and when the consuls forced the plebeians to enlist, arbitrarily distributing the ranks, and disdaining to heed any complaints, not a voice arose from the tribunes' seat. "Your tribunes are deserting you," cried Publilius Volero, a brave centurion who refused to serve as a common soldier. "They prefer to allow a citizen to perish under the rods than expose themselves to assassination." On the lictors approaching to lay hold on him, he pushed them away, took refuge in the midst of the crowd, stirred it up, roused it to action, and drove from the Forum the consuls and the lictors with their fasces broken.

The year following he was named tribune (472). He could have taken revenge by an accusation against the consuls: he preferred employing for the popular cause the courage which a successful rising had just aroused in the people. It was the army which, on the Sacred Mount, had elected the first tribunes; but this army, in a state of revolt against the consuls, was the plebeian part of the comitia centuriata; and whilst it had, without doubt, been decided that the new chiefs of the plebs should be designated in the popular assembly of the tribes, the patricians well knew that if they succeeded in carrying the election back to the centuries,[3] the revolution would be abortive. Efforts

[1] Menenius and Servilius (Livy, ii. 52), the consuls of the year 473 (ii. 54): Appius (ii. 56), Caeso (iii. 12), the consuls of the year 455 (iii. 31). Cf. Dionys., x. 42. He says elsewhere (vii. 65): Ἐνθὲν δὲ ἀρξάμενος ὁ δῆμος ἤρθη μέγας ἡ δὲ ἀριστοκρατία πολλὰ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀξιώματος ἀπέβαλε. Livy (ii. 54) says the same thing.

[2] According to Dion Cassius there were many more murders.

[3] Cicero (*pro Corn.* 19) and Dionysius (vi. 89) say that the first tribunes were chosen by the curies. But we cannot understand how the victorious plebs could consent to receive its new leaders from the hands of the patricians.

were certainly made to effect this end. Volero wished to decide the matter by demanding that the designation by the tribes should be definitely established. This law would restore to the tribunate its democratic vigor. The patricians succeeded during a year in preventing it from passing. But Volero was re-elected, with Laetorius as colleague, who added to the Publilian proposal: that the aediles should be named by the tribes, and the tribes should take cognizance of the general affairs of the state, that is to say, the plebeian assembly should have the right of making *plebiscita*.[1] On their part, the Senate took care that Appius Claudius should secure the consulship, as being the most violent defender of patrician privileges.[2] The struggle was sharp; it was the most serious contest since the creation of the tribunes. "This man," said the colleague of Volero, of Appius, "is not a consul, but an executioner of the people." Then, sharply attacked by Appius at the assembly: "I speak with difficulty, Quirites, but I know how to act: to-morrow I will have the law passed or I will die under your very eyes." The next day Appius came to the Forum, surrounded by the whole patrician youth and by his clients. Laetorius again read his rogation, and before calling on the tribes to vote, ordered the patricians, who had not the right of voting in these comitia, to retire. Appius opposed this: "The tribune has no right over the patricians." Besides he had not used the customary formula: "If you think it good, withdraw, Quirites." To discuss law and legal forms in the midst of a revolution was to increase further the popular ferment. Laetorius, instead of answering, sent against the consul his *viator*; the consul, his lictors against the tribune; and a bloody fight took place. Laetorius was wounded; but, in order to save Appius, the consulars were obliged to hurry him away into the senate-house. He entered, calling the gods to

[1] Dionysius, ix. 43; Zonaras, vii. 17. As Heaven was not consulted for the holding of *comitia tributa*, so neither were they preceded by solemn sacrifices, like the *comitia centuriata*; they were beyond the control of the augurs. (Dionysius, ix. 41, 49.) They were held on market days, in order that members of the rustic tribes might attend; if the debate had not closed with sunset, it could not be resumed till the third market day following. The patricians, having in the curies their own proper assembly, and all the influence in the Senate and the centuries, did not vote in the *comitia tributa*. (Livy, ii. 60.)

[2] *Propugnatorem senatus, majestatisque vindicem suae, ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum tumultus.* (Livy, ii. 61.)

witness the weakness of the Senate, who were allowing laws to be imposed more severe than those of the Sacred Mount (471).[1]

Nevertheless, the people remained masters of the Forum, voted the Publilian law, and forced the Senate to accept it by seizing the Capitol. Twenty-four years ago, they had compelled the patricians to grant the creation of the tribunate only by leaving the city; now, to complete the victory begun on the Sacred Mount, it was the very citadel of Rome that they held by arms. What boldness in men so recently enfranchised! What strength in this people, lately so humble! The defeat of the aristocracy has, sooner or later, become certain; for the people will find in the tribunate, henceforth free from the influence of the nobles, a sure protection; in the assemblies which have the right of making plebiscita, a means of action; lastly, in their numbers and discipline, an ever-increasing power.[2]

Among the tribunes nominated after the adoption of the Publilian law was Sp. Icilius. To prevent the return of fresh acts of violence, he made use of the right which had just been recognized as belonging to the commonalty, and had this law passed:[3] "that no one should interrupt a tribune when speaking before the people. If any one infringed this prohibition, he was to find security to come up for judgment; if he failed to do so, he was to be punished with death and his goods confiscated."

In the struggle, Laetorius had been wounded, perhaps killed.[4] But Appius had been humbled as patrician and consul; the death of a tribune did not satisfy his wounded pride. An invasion of Aequians and Volscians placed the plebeians at his mercy, by obliging them to leave Rome under his command. Never had authority been more imperious or arbitrary. "My soldiers are so many Voleros," said he, and he seemed to try, by dint of his unjust severity, to drive them into revolt. Whether it was treason, or a panic, or the vengeance of soldiers who wished to dishonor

[1] Dionys., ix. 48.

[2] These plebiscita were not then obligatory on the two orders; but in formulating the wishes of the people, they gave them a force which it was difficult to resist for long. Legally, these plebiscita required the sanction of the Senate and the Curiae.

[3] Dionys., vii. 17. This Icilian law is commonly assigned to the time of the trial of Coriolanus (see p. 288, note 4). We conform, in placing it here, to the opinion of Niebuhr and the logical concatenation of facts.

[4] At least he does not appear again.

their general, is uncertain; but at the first charge against the Volsci, they threw down their arms and fled to the Roman territory. There they again encountered Appius and his vengeance. The centurions, the officers who had abandoned the standards, were put to death, and the soldiers decimated. This bloodshed atoned for the last plebeian victories.

Appius re-entered Rome, certain of the fate which awaited him, but satisfied with having, at the price of his life, once at least subdued this people. Summoned, on quitting his consulship, before the popular comitia, he appeared in the character of accuser and not of suppliant, inveighed against the tribunes and the assembly, and made them yield by his haughtiness and boldness. The day of judgment was put off: he did not wait for it; a voluntary death forestalled his condemnation, and the crowd admiring, in spite of itself, this indomitable courage, honored the funeral of Appius by an immense attendance (470). Livy makes him die of sickness: this is less dramatic, but more probable.[1]

In 493 the tribunes had only their right of veto; in 476 they acquired the right of accusing consulars, and in 471 that of passing plebiscita by the people. Thus twenty-three years had sufficed for organizing the political assembly of the plebeians, and for making it already, within certain limits, a legislative and judicial power. As regards the agrarian law, it had been rejected, and, in spite of so many high-sounding words and promises, the people continued in poverty. But it was in exciting the crowd by this delusion about the equality of property that the tribunes had gained their place in the state and some trustworthy guaranties. So it has been, and always will be.

[1] Dionys., ix. 54; Livy, ii. 61.

[2] AED. Pl. (*aediles plebis*). Head of Ceres. The reverse, M. FAN. L. CRT. P.A. Marcus, Fannius, and Lucius Critonius, aediles of the people. Silver moneys of the families Fannia and Critonia. We shall return to this matter when the creation of the curule aedileship takes place.



PLEBEIAN AEDILES.[2]

CHAPTER VII.

MILITARY HISTORY OF ROME FROM THE DEATH OF TARQUIN TO THE DECEMVIRS (495-451).

I. The Roman Territory in 495; Porsenna and Cassius.

MONARCHY had given to Rome a grandeur which the treaty of Tarquin with Carthage testifies,[1] and to the plebeians a well-being which resulted from the commerce which this treaty shows,[2] as well as by successful wars made under the kings, and the immense works carried out by Ancus, Servius, and the two Tarquins. The aristocratic revolution of 509 caused the Romans to lose this power and prosperity. The people sank into misery, and Rome was almost reduced to its own walls.

The most dangerous of the wars called forth by this revolution was that which Porsenna, the powerful Lars of Clusium, conducted. He conquered the Romans and took from them the territory of the ten tribes established north of the Tiber. Rome hid her defeat under heroic legends, and it was only after she had become mistress of the world that she did not blush to avow the acceptance from Porsenna of harder conditions than she herself ever imposed after her most brilliant victories. He forbade the use of iron, except for agricultural purposes,[3] and exacted as sign of submission that the Senate should send him a curule chair or ivory throne, a sceptre, and a crown.[4] Rome being overcome,

[1] See p. 251.

[2] *Dedita urbe . . .* (Tac., *Hist.* iii. 72) *defendit ne ferro nisi in agricultura uterentur.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 39.)

[3] Dionys., v. 34.

[4] There remains a curious proof of the extent of this commerce. It is a cup in silver *repoussé* work, recently found among a large number of other gold, silver, and bronze objects at Praeneste (Palestrina), and preserved in the Kircher Museum [Collegio Romano] at Rome. All the objects which compose this treasure differ greatly both from Etruscan and from Greek

Porsenna aimed at conquering Latium, which three centuries earlier the Etruscans had victoriously traversed, and at opening



PHOENICIAN CUP FOUND AT PRAENESTE.

up a route towards the lucumonies of the Vulturnus. The Greeks of Campania saw with terror the preparations for this new invasion, and to prevent it they came to the help of the Latin cities which were resisting the Etruscans. Aricia, which has

art. They recall, by their Oriental stamp, other finds made in Cyprus or Greece. Our patera is an imitation of the Egyptian. The centre is filled with a war scene. A prince is in the act of putting to death some captives. Before him stands the God Horus: behind a warrior in arms, who brings other victims. Above, a sparrow-hawk with outspread wings. The border is filled with symbolic scenes. Four sacred barks are symmetrically disposed; on two of them

bequeathed its name to the picturesque village of Laricia on the southern slopes of the Alban Mount, near the charming Lake of Nemi, was then the most flourishing city in Latium. It had resisted Tarquin Superbus, and when the son of the King of Clusium, Aruns, appeared before its walls with a powerful army, the inhabitants met him bravely in the field with their Latin and Greek allies. But they were unable to withstand the charge of the Etruscan phalanx, and they were already retiring in disorder, when the men of Cumae, by a skilful manœuvre, charging the enemy in the rear, changed his victory into defeat.[1] Aruns was slain, and there are shown near Laricia the ruins of a tomb, built in the Etruscan manner, where they allege that he was buried.[2] The *débris* of his army took refuge in Rome, which profited from this reverse to rise in insurrection; the Etruscan rule was driven back again beyond the Tiber.

Rome recovered its liberty, but not its power;[3] for the Etruscans continued masters of the right bank of the river, and

is the scarabaeus, symbol of the sun and immortality; in the two others some divinity. Between the ships are thickets of lotus and a woman who is nursing a boy.

"Two circles of hieroglyphic writing are round these scenes; but the whole is coarsely imitated; the hieroglyphs give no sense.

"The sparrow-hawk is surmounted by a Phoenician inscription which M. Renan reads: *Eschmunjair ben Ischeto* (Eschmunjar, son of Ischeto).

"These words are engraved in a very delicate character. They determine conclusively the Phoenician origin of the treasure of Praeneste and of other similar finds. But, besides, they help to fix the date with all but certainty.

"The character of the letters does not permit us to carry down the composition of the inscription lower than the sixth century B. C. The hieroglyphics lead to the same conclusion. M. Maspero finds among them no sign which appears in the texts from the twenty-seventh dynasty on (about the fifth century). The inscription furnishes us again with an indication of another sort. M. Renan translates the last proper name by 'the work of Him' (of God), and compares it to analogous names such as Abdo (the servant of Him), etc., etc. Now the pronoun suffix 'of Him,' which is written in Phoenician by a *vav*, the Carthaginians render by *alef*. Our inscription writes it by the latter letter. Then again, on a cup of the same sort, but without inscription, found in the same place, are seen following, in a circular design, the different events of a royal hunt. Now among the animals hunted by the King is a large ape, probably the gorilla, unknown in Egypt and in Syria. It results from this that these plates or cups are most likely of Carthaginian origin." As our manufacturers imitate for the slop trade the products of China and Japan, so the Carthaginian merchants had made gold and silver articles badly copied from the Phoenician or Egyptian styles. Our imitation Poeno-Egyptian cup, bought from the sailors of the coast by some rich inhabitant of Palestrina, is a proof of the activity of the Carthaginian commerce with the Latin cities. [Cf. M. Clermont-Ganneau's remarkable tract on the second cup, representing the adventure with the colossal ape. — *Ed.*]

[1] Dionys., v. 36.

[2] Canina has given the restoration of it.

[3] This clearly results from the war against Veii in 483, and from the reduction of the

on the left bank was recovered only the old *ager Romanus*, limited on the south by the lands of the Latins of Gabii, Bovillae, Tellenae, and Tusculum.

From the lofty citadel of this last-named city, which rises 15 miles off from the walls of Servius, can be seen all who leave Rome by the *porta Capena;* but from that distance also



MAP OF THE "AGER ROMANUS"

the Tusculans, their faithful allies, signalled, by two beacon-fires on their ramparts, the approach of the Aequians and Volscians.

On the east some successful expeditions into the Sabine territory extended the Roman frontier to the neighborhood of

30 tribes of Servius to 20, the number which is found after the expulsion of the kings. In 495 are named 21 (Livy, ii. 21); a new tribe, called Crustuminian, from the name of a conquered city, having been formed after the Sabine war. Fidenae, which was reduced only in the year 426, is two leagues from Rome.



TOMB, CALLED THAT OF ARUNS.

Eretum, which remained free.[1] Tibur, nearer Rome, from which it was separated only by 20 miles, also kept its independence, and promised to defend it bravely by the worship which it paid to its civic divinity, Hercules of the Rocks, *Hercules Saxanus*, whose temple rose above the Falls of the Anio. And it did in reality defend it for more than a century and a half.[2] On the north the frontier reached scarcely beyond the Janiculum. Rome was at



TUSCULUM. RESTORED BY CANINA.

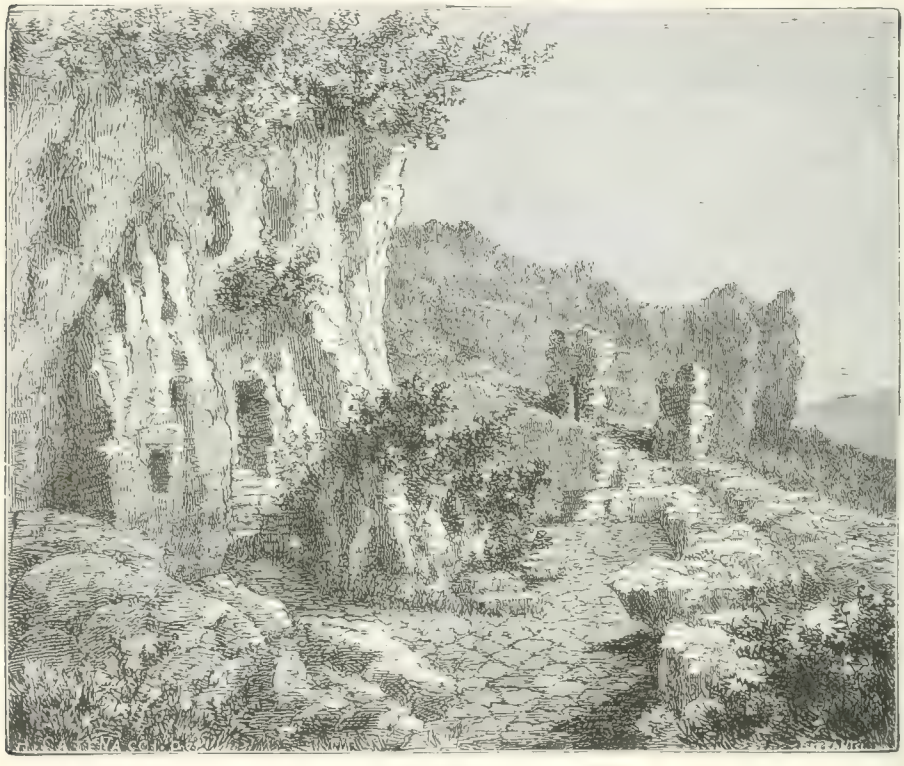
that time no longer a great state, but it was always one of the greatest of the Italian cities, and this made its fortune. Within its circumference, and on this territory of only a few leagues in extent, were reckoned, if we believe Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[3] 130,000 fighting men, — 130,000 men under the command of the consuls, directed in times of peril by one will, and always under

[1] Since the war during which the Sabine Attus Clausus settled at Rome (see p. 177, n. 1), there was no independent Sabine town nearer Rome than Eretum.

[2] It was not taken till 335.

[3] Dionys., v. 20; he says, according to the census-lists.

excellent discipline. Thanks to the concentration of their forces, the Romans were able to attend safely to their internal disputes; for, though they expended in their Forum the energy which they should have transferred more advantageously to fields of battle, yet they were too strong to be overwhelmed by any enemy who might attack them, — a serious war always bringing back union, and with it invincible power. Thus they never ceased having



TUSCULUM. — PRESENT STATE.

confidence in their good fortune; from the earliest days of the Republic they had raised a temple to Hope.

Their enemies were above all the Aequians and Volscians. Mountaineers, poor and fond of pillaging, always threatening and yet inaccessible, to-day in the plain burning the crops, to-morrow strongly entrenched or hidden among the mountains, the Aequians were, if not the most dangerous, yet at least their most troublesome enemy. The Volscians, numerous, rich, and possessing a fertile territory, ought to have caused more alarm, had they

not been divided into a multitude of small tribes, which never united either for attack or defence, and showed neither plan nor perseverance in their expeditions, which the impatience of some and the sluggishness of others generally foiled. This state of division; the want of a capital, the loss of which might by one blow end the struggle; as well as the nature of the country, intersected with mountains and marshes, should have made the war interminable. With such enemies there was no other way of finishing it than that which, but recently, the Pontifical Government employed against the brigands of the Roman States: to raze the cities and exile or exterminate the population. This is what Rome did. But when the war was ended, the country of the Volscians was nothing but a mere solitude.



HOPE.[2]

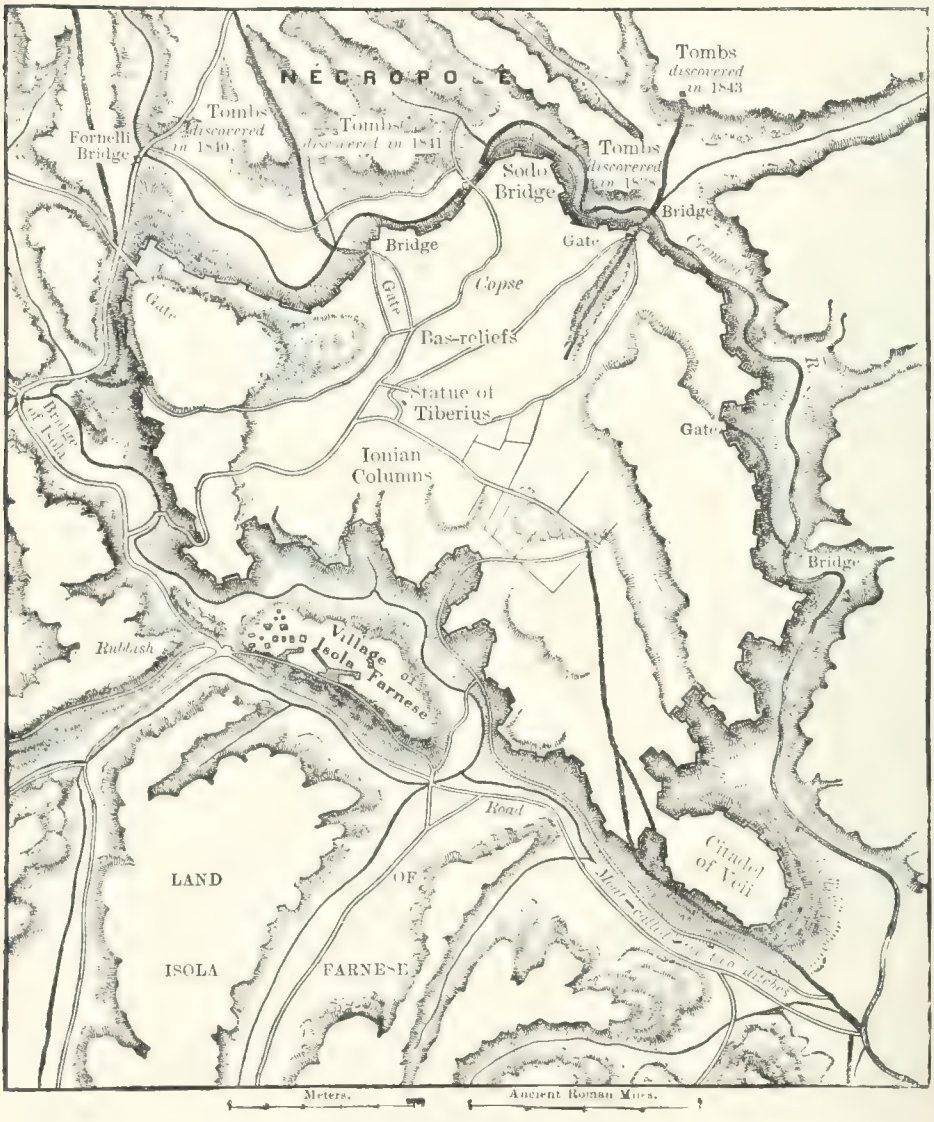
In Etruria, the enemy was different; Veii, a commercial and industrial city,[1] was only 4 leagues from the Janiculum. On this side they knew where to strike: it was simply to march directly against the city, besiege it and take it. But the danger for Rome was the same as for Veii, for the two cities found themselves existing under very similar conditions: both large, populous, strong in situation, protected by strong walls, and able to put considerable forces on foot. So Rome was not in a state for undertaking this siege, which would end the war, till a century more had elapsed.

Among these enemies we have reckoned neither Latins nor Hernicans, whom their position necessarily rendered allies of the Republic. It was by the burning of the Latin farms that the incursions of the Aequians and Volscians always became known at Rome; and the Hernicans, established between these two people,

[1] Dionys. (ii. 52) calls it as great as Athens, and Livy (v. 21) finer than Rome. It was situate where the Isola Farnese is now, on a height which overlooks a magnificent valley, through which runs the Cremera, a short way from the first posting station on the route from Rome to Florence, 11 miles from the walls of Servius.

[2] This statue is reproduced in the Atlas of the *Bull. arch.* 2, vol. ix. pl. 3, under the title of *Statua archaica.*

in the valley of the *Trerus*, had to suffer daily from their depredations. This alliance dated from ancient times (*feriae Latinae*).



PLAN OF THE CITY OF VEII.[1]

Under the last Tarquin it was changed on Rome's side into a domination which the exile of the kings removed, and which the

[1] This plan has been drawn up by Canina, who has marked on it the tombs discovered in the Necropolis, and the part of the city where were found some columns, bas-reliefs, and a colossal statue of Tiberius, which is in the Chiaramonti Museum. Veii, which remained deserted till Caesar's time, received from him, and later on from Augustus, a colony, and New Veii seems to have continued several centuries.

battle of Lake Regillus did not re-establish. Rome and the Latins continued separate, but the increasing power of the Volscians and the ravages of the Aequians drew them closer. In 493 B. C., during his second consulate, Sp. Cassius signed a treaty with the 30 Latin cities, either designedly omitted, or misunderstood by the Roman historians, because it bears witness to their feebleness after the wars of the kings; but there could still be read, in the time of Cicero,[1] on a bronze column: "There shall be peace between the Romans and the Latins so long as the sky remains above the earth and the earth under the sun. They shall never arm against each other; they will not afford any passage to the enemy across their territory, and they will bring aid with all their force whenever they are attacked. All booty and conquests made in common are to be divided." Another witness[2] enables us to add: "The command of the combined army shall alternate each year between the two peoples."

Seven years later, during his third consulship, some time before proposing his agrarian law, Cassius concluded a like treaty with the Hernicans.[3] From that time the Aequians and Volscians could make no movement which Hernican or Latin messengers did not at once announce at Rome, and the legions hastening either up or down the Valley of the Trerus were able to threaten the very heart of the enemy's country. These two treaties added more to the grandeur of Rome than any of those which it signed ever after; for they assured its existence at a time when its power might have been nipped in the bud. The whole weight of the war against both Aequians and Volscians fell upon its allies, and on this side it generally played the part of a mere auxiliary. Hence the little importance of these wars, in spite of the acts of heroism and devotion, the great names, and the marvellous stories with which the annalists have adorned them.

[1] Cic., *pro Balbo*, 23; Livy, ii. 33.

[2] Cincius, mentioned by Festus, s. v. *Praetor ad portam . . . Quo anno Romanos imperatores ad exercitum oporteret. . . .*

[3] It is by virtue of this treaty that the colony of Antium was divided between the Romans, Latins, and Hernicans: *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ . . . ἐπιτρέψαι Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνικῶν τοῖς βουλομένοις τῆς ἀποικίας μετέχειν.* (Dionys., ix. 59.)

II. Coriolanus and the Volscians; Cincinnatus and the Aequians.

The Volscians, established among mountains (*monti lepini*), which reach a height of 5,000 feet, and whose waters form the Pontine Marshes, had the twofold ambition of stretching at once along the fertile Valley of the Tiber and along that of the Liris. After the fall of Tarquin, they had retaken the cities which that King had conquered from them. Stopped, on the south, by the strong position of Circei, which, nevertheless, fell into their power, and by the impassable and sterile country of the Aurunci, they threw themselves upon the rich plains of Latium, took Velitrae and Cora, in spite of their powerful fortifications, and carried their outposts within ten miles of Rome.[1] The most fortunate of their invasions, and that to which all their conquests have been attached, was led by an illustrious Roman, an exile of the *gens* Marcia.



CERES.[2]

He was, says the legend, a patrician distinguished for his

[1] At Bovillae, which they took (Plut., *Cor.* 29), as well as Corioli, Lavinium, Satricum, and Velitrae. (Livy, ii. 39.)

[2] Taken from an ancient painting in the museum at Naples.

courage, piety, and justice.[1] At the battle of Lake Regillus he had won a civic crown, and gained at the taking of Corioli the surname of Coriolanus. Once, when the plebeians refused to give levies of troops, he had armed his own clients, and sustained alone the war against the Antiates. Yet the people, whom he wounded by his pride, refused to give him the consulship, and Coriolanus conceived a feeling of hatred which he showed by some hasty words. During the retreat to the Sacred Mount the lands remained uncultivated; to fight against famine, a temple was vowed to Ceres, and what was of greater service, they bought corn in Etruria and Sicily, where Gelon refused to take money for it. The Senate wished to distribute it gratuitously to the people: "No corn or no more tribunes," said Coriolanus. This expression was understood by the tribunes, who instantly cited him before the people. Neither the threats nor entreaties of the patricians could move them, and Coriolanus, condemned to exile, withdrew to the Volscians of Antium, a powerful and rich maritime city. Tullius, their chief, forgot his jealousy and hatred, that he might arouse in the heart of the exile a desire of revenge; he consented to be simply his lieutenant, and Coriolanus marched upon Rome at the head of the Volscian legions. No army, no fortress stopped him, and he encamped at last near the Cluilian ditch, ravaging the lands of the plebeians, but sparing purposely these of the nobles. In vain did Rome try to bend him. The most venerable of the consulars and the priests of the gods came to him as suppliants, to receive only a harsh refusal. When the deputation returned in despair, Valeria, sister of Poplicola, was praying with the matrons at Jupiter's temple. As if by an inspiration, she led them to the house of Coriolanus and prevailed on his mother Veturia to endeavor to touch the heart of her banished son, whose proud spirit had not been broken by the prayers of his country and his gods. At the approach of these ladies, Coriolanus maintained his fierce aspect. But they told him that amongst them were his aged mother and his young wife leading her two children by the hand. Too Roman still to fail in filial respect, he advanced

[1] Dionys., viii. 62: Ἄδεται καὶ ὑμνεῖται πρὸς πάντων ὡς εὐσεβὴς καὶ δίκαιος ἀνήρ. This legend has been much discussed, and Shakespeare has utilized it, without clearly sifting out the element of truth it contains. [Was this to be expected? — *Ed.*]

to meet Veturia, and ordered the fasces to be lowered in her presence: "Am I face to face with my son, or with an enemy?" said the dignified matron. The wife did not dare to speak, but threw herself weeping into the arms of her husband, and his children clung to him: he was overcome, and withdrew. The Roman women had saved Rome the second time.

The story is beautiful, but scarcely credible. Tired of war and laden with booty, or finding that resistance grew stronger as they approached Rome, the Volscians withdrew to their cities. The legend adds that they did not pardon Coriolanus for thus stopping them in the middle of their revenge, and that they condemned him to death. According to Fabius, he lived to an advanced age, exclaiming: "Exile is very hard upon an old man."

We can hardly refuse to believe that Rome was reduced to the last extremities, and that the Volscians were established in the centre of Latium; but it was a patrician who had conquered, and thus honor was saved.

Coriolanus, on his part, had reason to find a stranger's bread very bitter, for exile at Rome was both a civil and religious excommunication. The exile lost not only his country and property, but his household gods, his wife, who had the right of re-marrying, his children, to whom he became a stranger, his ancestors, who were no longer to receive funeral sacrifices at his hands. Our civil death is less terrible.[1]

The mountains which separate the basins of the rivers Liris and Anio descend from the borders of Lake Fucinus to Praeneste, where they terminate at Algidus by a sort of promontory which commands the plain and valley of the Tiber. By following the hidden mountain paths, the Aequians could reach Mount Algidus unperceived, the woods of which still covered their march and ambuscades.[2] Thence they burst unexpectedly on the Latin lands;

[1] Cicero wishes that he could be put to death, for the reason that this is a more suitable end for the brave: *Huic generi mortis potius assentior*; but Atticus answers: "It is true that rhetoricians are allowed to lie in history if their art gains by it!" (*Concessum est rhetoribus mentiri in historiis ut aliquid dicere possint argutius!*) If we compare this with what is cited from Livy above, p. 185, we shall find that these Romans had a strange idea of the duties of an historian.

[2] *Nigrae feraci frondis in Algido.* A few years ago Algidus was still the haunt of brigands who infested the neighborhood of Palestrina and Frescati.

and if they were in sufficient numbers, or the enemy too cautious, they were soon in the midst of the Roman territory. Every year these incursions were renewed. It was not war; but it would have been far better to have serious engagements than these unceasing acts of brigandage. The Latins were rendered so weak that the Aequians were able to take several of their cities.[1] According to the treaty of Cassius, Rome was bound to send all their forces to their help. Their internal dissensions and the dangers they ran on the side of Veii, kept the legions in the city or to the north of the Tiber. However, the Senate felt alarmed when it saw the Aequians established on Mount Algidus, and the Volscians on the Alban Mount, separating the Latins from the Hernicans and threatening two peoples at the same time.[2] A forty years' truce, which the Veientes had just signed (474), and the adoption of the Publilian law (471), by ending for a time the Etruscan war and the troubles of the Forum, enabled them to listen to the complaints of their allies.

Two members of the *gens* Quinctia, Capitolinus and Cincinnatus, gained the honors of this war.

T. Quinctius Capitolinus, a popular patrician, had been the colleague of the imperious Appius. While the Voleros of the latter allowed themselves to be beaten by the Volscians, Quinctius seized the booty gained by the Aequians and re-entered Rome with the title of *Father of the Soldiers*. Consul a second time in 467, he took possession of Antium, a part of whose territory was distributed amongst some Roman colonists, and he had on his return so brilliant a triumph that he obtained the surname of Capitolinus. The Aequians continued in arms. Four times their active bands audaciously penetrated into the Campagna of Rome: one day they even surrounded the consul Furius in a narrow gorge. Two legions were on the point of destruction: Capitolinus saved them. At the news of the danger, the Senate had invested the other consul with dictatorial power by the formula: *Caveat consul ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*, and it was

[1] In the legend, all these towns, even Corbio, beyond the Anio, are taken by the Volsci; all the successive conquests of both Volsci and Aequi were attributed to the Roman exile.

[2] These two mountains are the watershed between the basins of the Tiber and the Liris, and they dominate the whole Latin plain.

employed only to charge Capitolinus with the difficult duty of delivering the consular army.

Never had Rome, since Porsenna, been so seriously threatened; internal troubles had begun again respecting the proposal of Terentillus. The pestilence was raging with a violence so much more fatal because the inroads of the enemy filled the city, during the heat of summer, with men and troops accustomed to the pure mountain air.[1] In 462 an army of Aequians and Volscians encamped only three miles from the Esquiline Gate; three years later a night attack delivered the Capitol for a moment into the hands of the Sabine Herdonius; the year following Antium revolted, and the consul Minucius allowed himself once more to be shut into a defile by the Aequians. Cincinnatus alone seemed able to save the Republic. He retook the Capitol, and restored to the Romans the fortress which was also their sanctuary. In this matter he made himself conspicuous by a severity which gained the confidence of the Senate: he was made dictator.

The senators who were sent to inform him of this election found him across the Tiber in the field which was named for a long time the meads of Quinctius. He was digging a ditch, and he received them resting on his spade. After the accustomed salutations, they requested him to assume his toga, in order to receive a communication from the Senate. "He is astonished, asks if all is not well, and sends his wife Racilia to find his toga in the hut. Having put it on, after having brushed off the dust and perspiration, he returns to the deputies, who salute him dictator, present their congratulations, and press him to return to the city."[2] If this scene is not historic, it is at least according to the manners of the time and the character of the man. What follows shows the patrician, so proud of his descent, taking possession of power with the same simplicity which he had shown in quitting his plough and displaying the activity and energy of men born to command. A boat awaited him on the Tiber; he embarked and was received on the left bank by his three sons, his relatives, and the greater part of the senators.

[1] Livy, iii. 6.

[2] Ibid., iii. 26.

Before the end of the day he went to the Forum, and then named as his cavalry chief another patrician as poor as himself, and ordered all business to be suspended, all shops closed, and all men able to take arms to meet on the Field of Mars before sunset, each with five stakes and enough bread for five days. Evening being come, he set out and marched six leagues in four



SEZZE.

hours; before daybreak the Aequians were themselves enclosed by a ditch and a palisade work: they were compelled to pass under the yoke. On his return in triumph to Rome, followed by the consul and the army that he had saved, he compelled Minucius to set him free from his special charge, had the consular fasces[2] broken before him, and on the seventh day laid down the dictatorship, in order to return to his own fields.

[1] Setia was on a hill, difficult of access, which rose above the Pontine Marshes; the town of Sezze has kept the name, and occupies the same site.

[2] Dionys., x. 22; Livy, iii. 26–30: *Vi majoris imperii.* The school of Niebuhr regards this story as legendary.

In spite of this success, which national vanity has thus embellished, as is the case in so many other points of Rome's military history, the war was not ended; the Aequians kept possession of Algidus, as did the Volscians of the Alban Mount.

During the half century that had elapsed since the expulsion of the kings, the decadence of Rome's power was not arrested one instant. In 493 its territory was at least protected by the



RUINS OF A TEMPLE NEAR SEZZE.

Latins; but of the thirty Latin cities which had signed the treaty of Cassius, thirteen were now either destroyed or held by the enemy, and among them some of the strongest places of Italy, such as Circeii, at the foot of its promontory, Setia, Cora, and Norba,[1] all three in the mountains of the Volscian territories and surrounded by strong walls. If the *ager Romanus* was not yet encroached upon, the barrier which ought to have protected it had been partly destroyed. Was Rome more fortunate in the north against the Etruscans?

[1] Other Latin cities taken or destroyed: Velitrae, Tolina, Ortona, Satricum, Labicum, Pedum, Corioli, Carventum, Corbio. (Dionys. and Livy, *passim.*)

III. War against Veii.

A great part of Etruria had taken part in the expedition of Porsenna; since that time the invasions of the Cisalpine Gauls and the increasing power of the Greeks and Carthaginians had divided the attention and forces of the Etruscan cities; some of them watching, on the north, the passes of the Apennines; others, in the west, on the coasts threatened by the Ligurian pirates, and on the southwest over their own colonies, which, one by one, were slipping from their hands. The old league was dissolved, and all idea of conquest in the direction of Latium had been abandoned. But Veii, at a distance from the Gauls and the sea, was too near Rome not to profit by its weakness. The war, however, did not break out till 482 B. C. It lasted nine years.

Two incidents only have been preserved of this war, far more serious for Rome than the incursions of the Aequians and Volscians, — the foundation by the Romans of a fortress on the banks of the Cremera, from whence they extended their ravages for two years up to the walls of Veii, and the occupation of the Janiculum by the Veientines. We have already seen that the Roman annalists do great honor to the patriotic devotion of the Fabii for having held in check all the enemy's forces, till the day when, surprised by an ambuscade, the whole *gens* perished.[1] The Veientines in their turn burned up everything along both banks of the Tiber, and established themselves on the Janiculum, from whence they saw Rome at their feet. One day they crossed the stream and ventured to attack the legions on the Field of Mars. A vigorous effort repulsed them; the next day they were caught between two consular armies, and at last driven from the dangerous post which they held. The war was carried up to the very walls of Veii; a forty years' truce left the two peoples in the position which they held before hostilities began (474 B. C.)

In this war Veii had not been supported by the great lucumos of the north, whose attention was at that time called

[1] See p. 294.

elsewhere, where the fate of their rivals was being decided. While in fact Rome was rehearsing her part for future greatness by these obscure contests, and for the pillage of the world by the carrying off some rustic plunder, the armies of Xerxes were shaking Asia, and three hundred thousand Carthaginians, his allies, made a descent on Sicily (480). The ability of Themistocles at Salamis saved Greece; that of Gelo at Himera assured the welfare of Syracuse and of the Italiot Greeks who disputed with the Etruscans the commerce of the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Adriatic. At first the Greeks closed against them the Straits of Messina; then in the year which preceded the forty years' truce they annihilated their fleet in the vicinity of Cape Misenum.[1] Hiero established in the Isle of Ischia a station for his galleys, which cut the communications between the Etruscan cities of the Vulturnus and those of the Arno. Thus the most dangerous enemies of the ancient subjects of Porsenna were wasting their forces in these distant wars, and this enabled the Romans to indulge with impunity in all the disorders which accompany growing liberty.

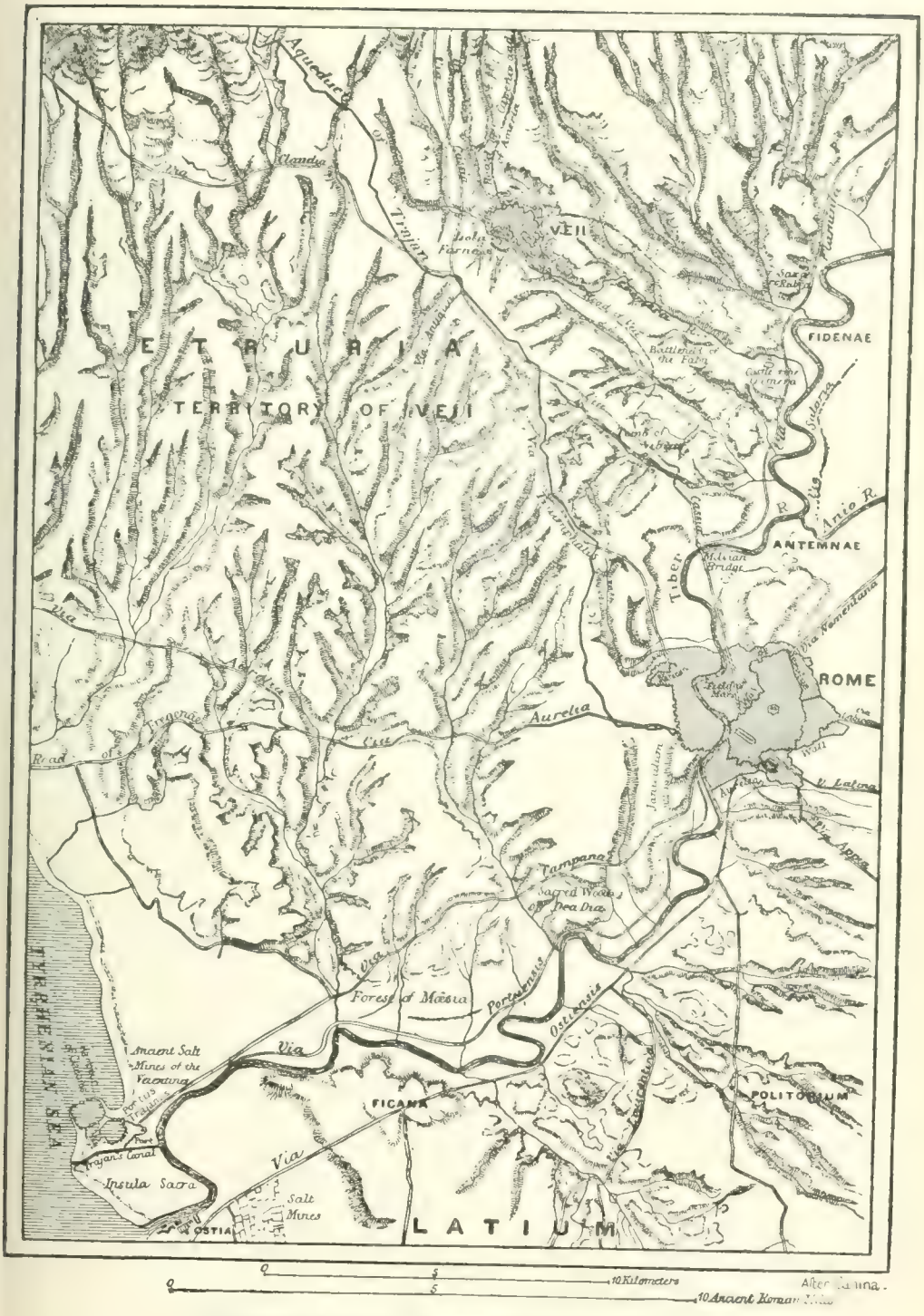
During these first years of the Republic, so fruitful for Rome's institutions, nothing had been done to extend its power. Rome, at all events, had lasted, gaining daily strength and confidence. Its territory, properly so called, had not been impaired, and the population grew warlike in these struggles which were not really dangerous. The soldiers whom Appius decimated without resistance, whom Cincinnatus loaded with five stakes, their arms, and their victuals, for a march of nearly twenty miles in four hours, were already the legionaries who could conquer the Samnites and Pyrrhus. Rome need no longer fear for her existence, as in the time of Porsenna, and she has the right to great expectations.



HOPE.[2]

[1] See p. 79.

[2] *Cabinet de France*, No. 94 in the Catalogue: cameo of archaic style, representing Hope standing, with a diadem, lifting up the skirt of her tunic with the left hand, and holding in her right the flower which promises to bear fruit.



SOUTHERN ETRURIA (TERRITORY OF VEII).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DECEMVIRS AND CIVIL EQUALITY (451-449).

I. Bill of Terentilius.

UP to the time of Volero and Lætorius, the people had only won the means of fighting; and the struggle, in spite of the violences which had already taken place, had not yet seriously begun. The aristocracy preserve all the offices which they held after the exile of the kings, the supreme command, the magisterial offices, religion, justice; but the plebeians were formerly without guidance and object: now their chiefs are measuring the distance which separates them from power.

The internal history of Rome is truly of an admirable simplicity. First of all, an aristocracy which forms by itself the whole state, and below, far below, strangers, fugitives, men without family and almost without gods. But then the plebeians, used as instruments for conquests, see their number as well as their worth and their strength increase by these conquests. It comes to pass that they help the nobles to drive out a tyrant; next day they are forgotten: they fly to the Sacred Mount from their misery and servitude, and discover chiefs who discipline this mob, hitherto untrained, exercise it in the conflict, and gradually arm it at all points. Presently they pass from the defensive to attack their foe.

In 462 the plebeians demanded the revision of the constitution and a written code.[1] This was too much to ask at once, for they were not strong enough to triumph at once. So then victory was gained piecemeal, so to speak, and needed more than a century

[1] *Legibus de imperio consulari scribendis* (Livy, iii. 9); and further on (iii. 34): *Fons omnis publici privatique est juris:* and Dionys., x. 3: τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων νόμους, τῶν τε κοινῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων. Lastly, Zonaras, vii. 18: τὴν πολιτείαν ἰσωτέραν ποιήσασθαι ἐψηφίσαντο.

to complete it. In 450 they extorted civil equality; in 367 and 339 political equality; in 300, religious equality. The decemvirate was the conquest of equality in civil and penal law.

In the constitution nothing was written or determined; no one knew where the jurisdiction of the magistrates, where the powers of the Senate ceased. Law was not right, *rectum*, or, as the jurisconsults of the Empire defined it, the good and the just, *ars boni et æqui:* it was the order imperiously given, *jus*, by the stronger to the weaker, by the priest to the layman, by the husband to the wife and children.[1] Besides, to fulfil their duty, to protect the plebeians against iniquitous handling of the law, the tribunes needed to know it, and it continued in the uncertain and floating state of custom. The judge gave sentence, "according to the usage of their ancestors," *ex more majorum*, that is, after the particular law of an ancient sovereign people of whom the new people knew nothing. The tribune C. Terentilius Arsa was determined to destroy this uncertainty and the arbitrary conduct it authorized. Abandoning the agrarian law, which was becoming stale, he demanded in 462 that five men should be nominated to draw up a code of laws, which should determine, by limiting it, the power of the consuls.[2] A plebiscitum had no force over the *populus;* the Senate was then able to avoid considering this proposition, but it attempted to stop the tribune by the veto of one of his colleagues. But they had all sworn to remain united, and neither threats nor evil omens could turn them from their purpose.

The leader of these acts of patrician violence was the son of Cincinnatus, Caeso, a young man proud of his power, his exploits, and his high rank. At the head of the young patricians he disturbed the deliberations, attacked the crowd, and more than once drove the tribunes from the Forum. This man seemed to contain in himself all dictatorships and consulates, and his audacity made the tribunitian power useless. A tribune dared nevertheless to make use of the Julian law. Virginius accused Caeso of having struck one of his colleagues in spite

[1] For the aristocratic idea of order, *jus* from *jubeo*, we have substituted the idea of justice. The French word *droit* comes from the Latin *rectum* and *directum*, in Italian *diretto*, in Spanish *derecho*, in German *recht*, in English *right*, among the Scandinavians *ret*. The Slavs start from another idea, not that of rectitude, but of truth, *prawda*.

[2] Livy, iii. 9.

of his inviolable office, and a plebeian bore witness that he had knocked down, on the Suburan road, an old man, his brother, who died some days after of his wounds. The people were much excited by this murder, and Caeso, set free on bail, would have been condemned to death at the next comitia, had he not voluntarily gone into exile to Etruria. He had been compelled to find bail to the amount of 30,000 lbs. of bronze; to pay it, Cincinnatus sold all his property except four acres (461 B.C.).[1]

Like Coriolanus, Caeso determined to be avenged, and the tribunes came one day to denounce before the Senate a conspiracy he had organized. The Capitol was to be surprised, the tribunes and chiefs of the people to be massacred, the sacred laws abolished. The Capitol was in fact, in the following year, seized during the night by the Sabine Herdonius, at the head of 4,000 adventurers, slaves or exiles, among whom probably was Caeso (460).[2] This bold stroke frightened the Senate as much as the people, to whom the consul Valerius promised the acceptance of the Terentilian bill in return for their help. The Capitol was retaken by the aid of the dictator of Tusculum, C. Mamilius,[3] and not one escaped of all those who were holding it. But Valerius, the popular consul, had fallen during the attack, and was replaced by Cincinnatus, who thought the Senate released from its promises by his death. "So long as I am consul," said he to the tribunes, "your law shall not pass, and before leaving office I will nominate a dictator. To-morrow I lead the army against the Aequians." They announced their opposition to the enrolment. "I do not want fresh soldiers; the legionaries of Valerius have not been disbanded; they will follow me to Algidus." He wished to take the augurs there, in order that they might consecrate a place for deliberation and compel the army, as representative of the people, to revoke all the tribunitian laws.[4] The Senate dared not follow their consul in this violent reaction. They merely rejected the law; but the same

[1] Livy, iii. 13; Dionys., x. 4–8.

[2] Dionys., x. 9, 14; Livy, iii. 15: *tribunorum interficiendorum, trucidandae plebis.*

[3] He received, in recompense, the freedom of the city. It was, without doubt, a descendant of Tarquinius Superbus, who had a son-in-law a dictator of Tusculum; his family was reckoned among the more illustrious plebeian families.

[4] Livy, iii. 20.

tribunes were re-elected for the third time. So they were in the years following, up to the fifth time; and with them was brought forward the hateful bill, in spite of a new dictatorship of Cincinnatus, who employed his authority to exile without appeal the accuser of his son (458 B. C.).

This state of things kept men's minds in such a continual ferment, that the Senate thought it prudent to consent to nominating for the future ten tribunes, two for each class (457). The people, above all those of the lower classes, expected from this increase more efficacious protection, the patricians greater facility for bribing some members of the college. Other concessions followed.

In 456 the tribune Icilius demanded that the lands of the public domain on the Aventine should be distributed among the people.[1] In vain the patricians troubled the assembly and upset the voting-urns; the tribunes, supported by the brave Sicinius Dentatus, condemned several young patricians to confiscation of their property as authors of these violent acts. The Senate secretly bought back their lands and restored them. But the tribunes had proved their strength; they secured the acceptance of the law by the tribes, compelled the consuls to take it to the Senate, and Icilius obtained the right to enter the curia to defend his plebiscite. From this innovation sprang the right for the tribunes to sit and speak in that assembly; later on, they had even, as had the consuls and praetors, that of calling it together.[2] The law passed. Many of the poor who lived outside the city went to live on the Aventine, and the force of the plebs increased by the number of those who were able to hurry to the Forum at the first call of the tribunes. The popular hill was covered with plebeian houses. The citizens too poor to build one from their own resources united with others; each flat had in this way its proprietor, — a custom which still exists at Rome, in Corsica, and even in some cities of France. As the public domain retained not

[1] Dionys., x. 31. The condition of *ager publicus*, preserved by the Aventine up to 456, contradicts the tradition relative to the establishment, on this hill, of the Latins conquered by Ancus. (Cf. p. 156.)

[2] We see them, after the decemvirs, in full possession of this right. Cf. Livy, iii. 69; v. 1, 2, 3, 6, 26, 36, etc. *Tribunis plebis senatus habendi jus erat, quamquam senatores non essent, ante Atinium plebiscitum.* (Aul. Gell., xiv. 8.)

a foot of soil, there the patricians could not stay; and this hill became a sort of fortress of the people. Under the decemvirs it was the asylum of plebeian liberty.[1]



WALL OF THE AVENTINE.[2]

In 454 a law presented to the centuries by the consul Aternius recognized in all the magistrates, even in the tribunes and aediles, the right of punishing by fine those who did not show

[1] The Icilian law was placed among the number of the *leges sacratæ*, following Livy (iii. 32); but Lange (*Römische Alterthümer*, i. 519 and 532) thinks with reason that Livy has confounded this *lex Icilia* with the Icilian plebiscitum of 471, which was in fact a *lex sacrata*. (See p. 297, n. 3.) Up to that time a great number of plebeians inhabited, as tenants, houses belonging to the patricians; the latter lost by this law the influence they used to exercise, under the title of landlords, over a certain number of the plebs.

[2] After a photograph by Parker. The Aventine, formerly covered with temples and thickly populated, would be a mere solitude without two or three convents which rise on it above the Tiber.

to them the respect and obedience which their office demanded.[1] The lowest fine was fixed at one sheep, and the maximum, which could be reached only by an increase of a head for each day of refusal, at two oxen and thirty sheep. At the same time this law put a limit to the arbitrary manner in which the consuls had up to that time fixed the amount of the fines.

A short time after an official coinage began. The state had at first only certified the quality of the metal[2] by stamping the pieces of bronze, *aes*, the weight of which was afterward determined by the buyer's balance, whence the form of purchase called *mancipatio per aes et libram*:[3] "I take this object bought with this bronze duly weighed." To this first warranty there was added another in the time of the decemvirs,[4] — the evidence of weight; they ran in a mould pieces of bronze of a circular form, bound to weigh twelve ounces.[5] This was the *as librale*, which carried a stamp with a figure indicating its value, and which was divided as follows: —

As	= 1	pound, bearing the head of	Janus.
Semis	= $\frac{1}{2}$	"	Jupiter.
Triens	= $\frac{1}{3}$	"	Minerva.
Quadrans	= $\frac{1}{4}$	"	Hercules.
Sextans	= $\frac{1}{6}$	"	Mercury.
Uncia	= ounce $\frac{1}{12}$	"	Rome.

The appearance of money is one of the great events in history. For more than a century and a half, to the year 268 B. C. the Romans were satisfied with their heavy bronze money, while for

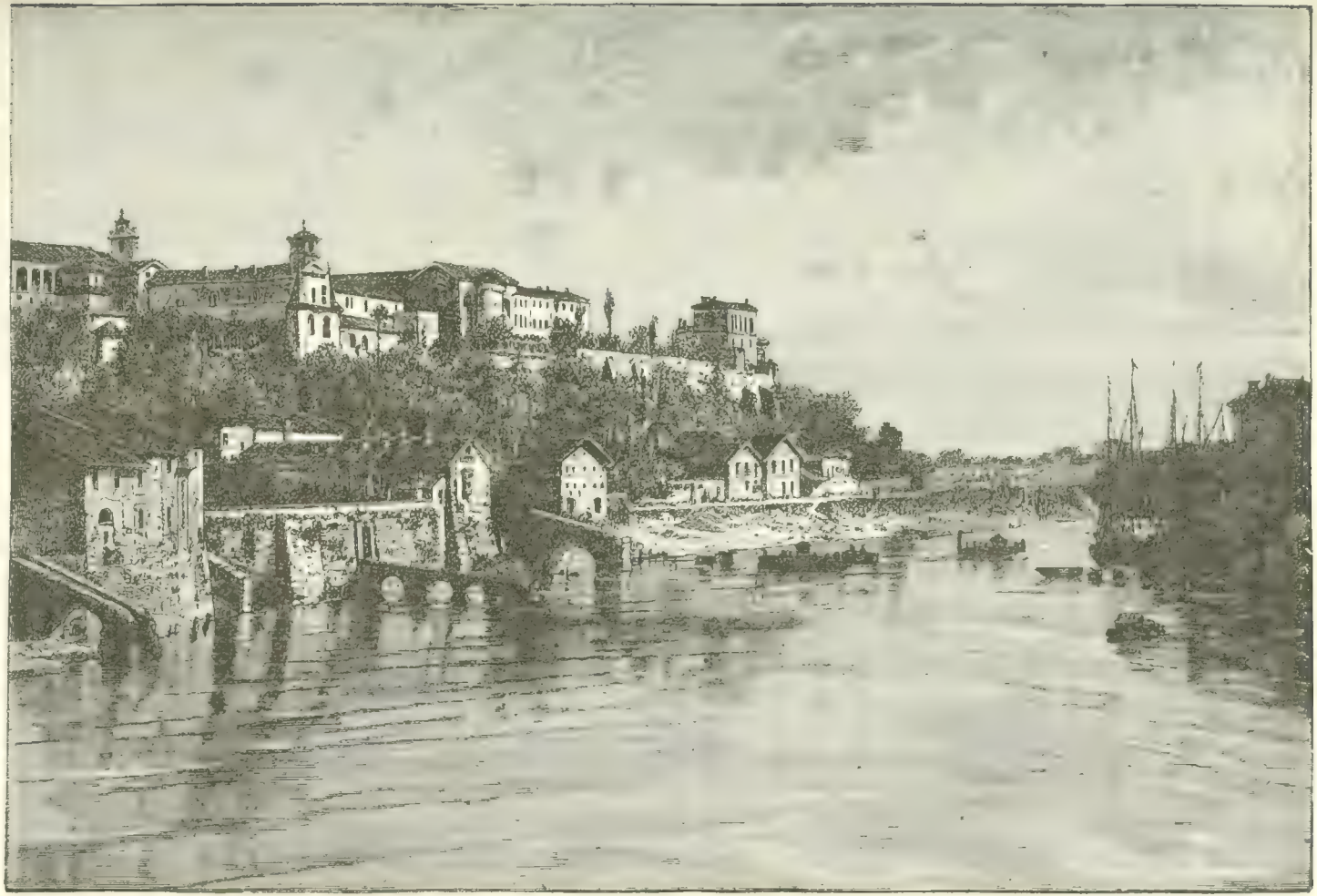
[1] Dionys., x. 50; Cic., *de Rep.* ii. 35.

[2] The primitive bronze was of almost pure copper: 93.70 of copper and 6.30 of tin.

[3] The Roman pound, which was divided into 12 ounces, weighed 327.4 grammes.

[4] In the Twelve Tables the penalties are given in *ases;* cf. Gaius, iii. 223.

[5] It is believed that no single *as* reached this weight; the greater number in reality weighed 9 to 10 ounces. But in 1852 there were found at Cervetri 1575 *ases*, many of which weighed 312 grammes; whence it must be inferred that the greater part of the ancient *ases* had about the normal weight (see p. 630, No. 2). Respecting the successive reductions of the weight of the *as*, which fell to 4 ounces at the end of the Samnite War; to 2 ounces at the end of the First Punic War; to 1 ounce in 217; and later on to $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, during the early Empire; even in the middle of the 3d century to $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{12}$ of an ounce, — see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 5; Festus, s. v. *Sextantarii ases;* Mommsen, *Hist. of Rom. Money;* and Marquardt, *Handb.* ii. p. 9 *et seq.* It is easy to tell by a cursory inspection of the table on p. 630 and by the finish of the work of the stamped *ases*, that these coins are of much later date than the *ases* which were cast. The former date, in fact, only from the second century B. C.



THE AVENTINE (PRESENT STATE).

a long time Greece, Sicily, and South Italy were coining silver money, which is the most beautiful yet known. How wretched the commerce for which such means of exchange sufficed! Let the as cast at Rome be compared with the coins of Thurii and Syracuse, and we can measure the distance which then separated the Romans from the Greeks!

The division of the lands of the Aventine was a true agrarian law, and the *lex Aternia* repressed one of the most crying abuses[1] which Terentilius had attacked. The Senate hoped in this way to impose upon the people, and to delay, by these partial satisfactions, two formidable demands, the agrarian law and the *lex Terentilia*. But the tribunes would not tolerate either truce or respite; the two proposals were immediately resumed, and to get them passed there was elected to the tribunate the most renowned and popular of the plebeians, Sicinius Dentatus, an old centurion who had been present in 120 battles, followed 9 triumphs, slain 8 of the enemy in single combat, received 45 wounds, all in front, earned 183 necklaces, 160 gold bracelets, 18 lances, 25 suits of armor, and lastly 14 civic crowns for the same number of citizens whom he had saved.[3] Employing a means of intimidation which his predecessors had already employed, Sicinius condemned two consuls to fines. The Senate saw the necessity of giving up force without excluding diplomacy, in order to divert the revolution. It accepted the proposition of Terentilius, which the tribunes had changed into a demand for a complete revision of the constitution.[5] One of the consulars condemned, Romilius, had supported the bill, no doubt hoping that the new legislation would take from



CIVIC CROWN WITH LAUREL LEAVES.[2]



CIVIC CROWN.[4]

[1] The importance of this law will be felt if we recall the effect that was produced in England by the penalties enforced by the Government of Charles I. At Rome in 430 the penalties in kind were converted into penalties in money.

[2] OB CIVIS SERVATOS, a large bronze of Augustus' time.

[3] Aul. Gell., ii. 11.; Dionys., x. 37.

[4] AVGVSTO OB C.S. (*ob cives servatos*) in a crown of oak. Reverse of a gold coin of the family *Petronia*.

[5] The lawgivers were to seek *quae aequandae libertatis essent.* (Livy, iii. 3.)

the hands of the tribunes, if it did not destroy the tribunate itself, this terrible right of accusation before the people.[1] The astonished Dentatus praised his courage, abjured their old hatred, and in the name of the people remitted the penalty which ought to have been paid into the treasury of Ceres. "This money," replied Romilius, "belongs now to the gods; no one has the right to dispose of it;" and he refused the boon.

However, three commissioners were named, Sp. Postumius, A. Manlius, and P. Sulpicius, to go, perhaps to Athens,[2] at any rate to the Greek cities of Italy, to collect the best laws. To give the strangers a high idea of the Roman people, the quaestors caused the vessels in which the ambassadors sailed to be richly decorated.

Rome was at peace during the absence of the three deputies. On their return (452) some discussion arose respecting the composition of the legislative commission. This was where the nobles determined to face the tribunes. The question was indeed very serious, for all antiquity thought that the legislator ought to be invested with unlimited power. The consuls, the tribunes, the aediles, the quaestors were then to give way to ten magistrates charged with drawing up the new code. The most precious of the republican conquests, the *provocatio*, was even suspended; but the rights acquired by the plebeians during the last 50 years were reserved![3] Besides, before the new laws could be put in force they would have to receive the approbation of the Senate and the sanction of the people. Rome did not then give up her liberties. In pleading their acquaintance with law, the patricians kept the ten places of legislators for themselves. This first choice decided that the reform should not have a political character.

[1] Dionys., x. 48 and 58.

[2] Livy affirms it, *Atticis legibus* (iii. 32); Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 27) says only . . . *et accitis quae usquam egregia.* [The nature and duties of the censorship (cf. below, p. 345, *seq.*) make it very probable that the financial measures of the decemvirs were borrowed directly from those adopted by the Athenians, who then ruled over a great maritime power. — *Ed.*]

[3] The law *de Aventino publicando* and the *leges sacratae* were, however, removed from the right of general revision granted to the decemvirs. The sentence was terrible for any who should have violated these laws: *Sacer alicui deorum sit cum familia pecuniaque.* (Cf. Fest., s. v., and Livy, iii. 32.)

II. The Decemvirs (451–449).

In the year 451 B. C., on the Ides of May, the decemvirs, who had all served as consuls, entered on their duties. They were: App. Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius, T. Romilius, C. Julius, T. Veturius, P. Horatius, and the three commissioners.[1] Each day one of them held the presidency, the government of the city, and the twelve lictors. Unanimous in their acts, just and affable towards all, they kept the Republic in a state of profound peace, diminishing rather than exceeding their powers. A dead body had been found in the house of the patrician Sestius: not only did the decemvir Julius follow up the prosecution, but though he had the right of judgment without appeal, he sent the case to the people's assembly. At the end of the first year, ten tables were set up in the Forum, that any one might propose amendments, to be afterward reviewed by the decemvirs, then approved by the Senate, accepted in the comitia centuriata, and sanctioned by the Curiae under the presidency of the Pontifex Maximus. The gods seemed to give their assent by sending favorable auguries.

These ten tables were the old customs of Rome, or of primitive Italy, modified by some things borrowed from the legislation of the Greek cities, which the Ephesian Hermodorus had explained to the decemvirs.[2]

However, the code was not yet complete. In order to finish it, the powers of the legislative commission were continued, but with the aid of other men, in accordance with the spirit of the Roman constitution. Among the resigning decemvirs was Appius Claudius, who during the first year had concealed his pride and ambition under popular appearances. Called upon to preside at the comitia of election, he opposed the candidature of Cincinnatus and Capitolinus, whom he would not have been able to mould to his designs,

[1] I follow Dionysius; the list in Livy differs somewhat.

[2] As a reward, they erected a statue to Hermodorus in the Comitium. He had been exiled from Ephesus by the jealousy of the populace, who had caused this law to be passed: *Nemo de nobis unus excellat: sin quis extiterit, alio in loco et apud alios sit.* Heraclitus said that by reason of this decree: *universos Ephesios esse morte mactandos.* (Cic., *Tusc.* v. 36.) Envy is at the root of every democracy.

and only allowed those to be nominated who were devoted to him. He did not fear to collect votes for himself, though, as president of the comitia, custom forbade his re-election. His new colleagues, obscure men, submitted to his ascendency. Preceded by 120 lictors [an innovation], with the rods and axes, they seemed to be ten kings,[1] and they were so in pride.

Like their predecessors, they were unanimous, for they had mutually promised that the opposition of none of them should check the acts of his colleagues;[2] and this agreement consolidated their power. Henceforth, the fortune, honor, and the lives of the citizens were at their mercy. The Senate might now have played a splendid part, that of defending the public liberties. It preferred giving way to the old spirit of rancor, and hailed this tyranny arising from a popular law. The patrician youth, for a long time accustomed, under Appius and Caeso, to violence, became for the city a sort of decemviral army, and the senators, deserting their posts in the senate-house, retired to their country houses.

However, the decemvirs published two new tables, "filled," says Cicero,[3] "with unjust laws," and the year ended without their expressing any intention of abdicating. Rome had given herself masters. There existed, in fact, no legal means of depriving a magistrate of his *imperium*, if he did not, of his own accord, come to the Forum and declare that he resigned his office, and swear that he had done nothing contrary to the laws: *jurare in leges*. Fortunately, the Sabines and Aequians renewed the war. The Senate had to be convoked.

Free states, which change character and sentiments by force of external or short-lived impulses, owe their stability to the existence of houses in which the principles and opinions of their forefathers are perpetuated, as a heritage transmitted to the latest posterity. The popular patricians did not on this occasion fall short of their name. A Valerius rose, as soon as the session was opened, and in spite of Appius, who refused to let him speak, he denounced the conspiracy formed against liberty. "These are the Valerii and Horatii who expelled the kings," said Horatius Barbatus; "their

[1] Dionys. (x. 58) pretends that three were plebeians; Livy (v. 7) makes them all patricians.

[2] Livy, iii. 36: *intercessionem consensu sustulerant.*

[3] *De Rep.* ii. 37: *duabus tabulis iniquarum legum additis.*

descendants will not stoop their head under the Tarquins." The decemvirs interrupted and threatened him; they threatened to hurl him from the Tarpeian rock; but even the uncle of Appius declared against him. Still timid counsels prevailed, and, at the end of a stormy sitting, ten legions were intrusted to the decemvirs. Two armies left Rome; being badly led, and disloyal to their chiefs, they were beaten. In one Dentatus served, who did not hide his hate. In order to get rid of him, the decemvirs sent him to choose a site for a camp, and gave him as escort some soldiers ordered to assassinate him. The Roman Achilles only succumbed after having killed fifteen of the traitors. The report was circulated that he had perished in an ambuscade; but no one doubted that he had been sacrificed to the fears of the decemvirs. Another crime at last brought about their fall.

From the elevation of his tribunal Appius had seen, several times, a beautiful young girl, hardly grown up, going to one of the public schools, held by freedmen in the Forum; and a criminal passion seized him. She was the daughter of one of the highest plebeians, Virginius, who was then with the army of Algidus, and the affianced of the former tribune Icilius. The decemvir suborned one of his clients, Marcus Claudius, and charged him to lay before him a suit which would bring Virginia into his power. The scene is very Roman, and well told by Livy. No seduction, no abduction or open violence: the iniquity is accomplished with the observance of legal forms which disguise the violation of the law. A stranger, ignorant of the real motive of the suit, would have admired in Appius the imperturbable magistrate in the midst of popular clamor.

One day Claudius seized the maiden under pretence that she, being the child of one of his slaves, belonged to him. The tears of Virginia, the cries of her nurse, stirred up the crowd. Her father's friends protested against this insolent and false pretence; but Claudius called on Appius to have his rights respected, and the iniquitous judge, contrary to the very law which he had himself passed, adjudged provisional possession to his accomplice. Icilius cried out, and the crowd grew agitated; Appius, with a hypocritical appearance of legality, consented to let Virginia free till the morrow, to hear the father's deposition, and determine the question

of her paternity. But at the same time he despatched a secret emissary to the chiefs of the legions of the Algidus to enjoin them to prevent Virginius leaving the camp. The friends of Icilius forestalled the messenger, and in the morning the father was at the Forum with his daughter and neighbors dressed in mourning. His presence did not stop Appius. All the available fighting men were in the armies; in Rome there remained only women, old men, and infants; and the decemvir believed that his lictors and clients would be able to keep in check this timid crowd. So when Claudius had explained his case, he declared, without allowing the father to speak, that the proof was complete, and that Virginia was a slave. Claudius wished to carry her off; the women who surrounded the damsel repulsed him, and Virginius, raising against Appius his arms menacingly, cries: "It is to Icilius that I have affianced my child, and not to you! It is for marriage, and not for shame, that I have brought her up!" And he added, pointing to the unarmed citizens: "Will you permit it? Perhaps; but surely those who have arms will not!"

Appius, carrying out his part as magistrate occupied only with administering justice and order in the city, deigns to answer. "Secret meetings," said he, "are held the whole night long in the city to stir up sedition; I know it, not by the insults of Icilius yesterday, by the violence of Virginius to-day, but by sure proofs. Therefore I am prepared for the struggle, and have come down to the Forum with men-at-arms to check, in a manner worthy of my powers, those who disturb the public peace." And he ended by saying: "Citizens, keep quiet, it is the wisest course; and you, lictor, go, disperse the crowd, and make way for the master to seize his slave."

At these threatening words the multitude dispersed of its own accord. Then Virginius, despairing of aid, addressed the decemvir: "Appius," said he, "pardon the grief of a father, and permit me, here in the presence of my child, to ask her nurse the whole truth!" And he led Virginia towards a corner of the Forum where was a butcher's stall: he takes up from it a knife, and strikes her to the heart, preferring to see her dead than dishonored; then, covered with her blood, he fled to the

army encamped on Algidus. The soldiers rose in revolt, marched upon Rome, where they seized the Aventine, and then, followed by all the people, united on the Sacred Mount with the legions of the Sabine army.

For some time the decemvirs hesitated, supported by a party in the Senate who dreaded the results of a plebeian revolution. But if it had been necessary to yield forty-six years before, when the patricians were still powerful and the plebeians without leaders, how was it possible to resist now when the people had the experience derived from their last struggles and the consciousness of their strength? The decemvirs abdicated (449 B. C.).

Is this story of Appius in all parts credible? and has not Livy been, this time also, the echo of this bitterness, which for ten years had checked the great popular reform — the drawing up a code of written law? Appius has been represented as a friend of the people: in proof of this it is asserted that he it was who gave three places to the plebeians in the second decemvirate; that he continued to hold office for the purpose of crushing the opposition of the irreconcilables in the Senate who refused to accept the last two tables, — in short, that the story aimed at perpetuating, by the blood of a virgin, the victory of the plebeians, as the blood of Lucretia, sixty years earlier, had perpetuated that of the nobles. This is possible; but with such confirmed scepticism no history at all can exist; and it being impossible to prove a negative, the old story preserves a part at least of its rights.

III. The Twelve Tables.

The Twelve Tables made little change in the old rights of individuals. Aristocratic customs were too deeply rooted to permit them yet awhile to become modified by that spirit of equality and justice which the tribunes by degrees infused into the Roman constitution. The decemvirs preserved to the paterfamilias absolute power over his slaves, children, wife, and property.

If no will was left, the inheritance passed to the *agnati*;

if they failed, to the *gentiles:* the law did not as yet recognize the *cognati,* or relations of the wife.[1]

The Twelve Tables did not introduce, as has been sometimes maintained, any new law concerning the family, granting more liberty to the wife and son. The emancipation of the son by these pretended sales freed him, it is true, from the paternal authority, but deprived him of his inheritance; for he suffered by emancipation a diminution of civil rights, *capitis diminutio,* which indicated certain disabilities; as, for example, inheriting from his father, being guardian of his nephews, posterity, etc., since the *capitis diminutio* destroyed the *jus agnationis.* Marriage, on the contrary, by cohabitation or purchase, *coemptio,* was raised, so far as the husband was concerned, to the strictness of the patrician marriage: *usu anni continui in manum conveniebat.*[2] The plebeian had from this time, over wife and children, the paternal and conjugal power which the patrician had hitherto possessed, and which later on the provincial could obtain only by the gift of civic freedom. It is the *civil* marriage which receives the sanction of the law, and which is placed, so far as its results are concerned, on a level with the *religious* marriage,[3] which will ultimately quite disappear. In four years Canuleius made use of the rights recognized in the plebeian marriage to suppress the interdiction preserved in the Twelve Tables, of unions between the two orders. Thus the gates of the patrician city will open first to the plebeians of Rome, then to the Italian allies, and finally to their subjects in the provinces.

The ancient patrician *gens* must have been copied early in the families of rich plebeians; but the bonds of the *clientela* being gradually relaxed, the Twelve Tables tried to strengthen this social institution of old Italy. "If the patron does an injury to his client," it is said therein, "let him be accursed." It was a last effort to tie up to his condition the client, who, finding in the law that protection which he had formerly sought from the great

[1] As regards property, the omnipotence of the father was, in the 2d century B. C., restrained by *lex Furia,* which forbade making a bequest of more than 1,000 ases to the same person, in order to prevent the abuse of legacies, which cut up properties and impoverished the old families.

[2] Gaius, i. 111, and Cic., *pro Flacco,* 34.

[3] On the marriage by *confarreatio,* see p. 196, n. 2.

man, drifted away from the *gens* into the common crowd, where he found more liberty. Soon he espoused its interests and passions, as the clients of Camillus did, who voted against him. This was an unfelt and yet profound revolution, for a part of the forces belonging to the aristocracy thus passed over to the plebeian camp.

Property remained also under the same conditions: it was either public or private. As to the first, there was never any freehold, because the state could not lose its rights; as for the second, two years sufficed to acquire it, for the state was interested in this, that the land should not remain without culture. If it was a question of personal property or of slaves, one year was enough. But against a foreign possessor the law was always open: *adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas*.[1] Hence the efforts of provincials, when Rome had extended her conquests to a distance, to obtain the title of citizen, which, among other privileges, gave, after an enjoyment for two years, the right of property over those uncertain lands, so numerous everywhere where the legions had passed.

In the heroic ages the law protected persons but little, because they knew how to defend themselves, and because courage was respected even to the extent of violence. The Twelve Tables have, then, comparatively light penalties for attacks on the person. But — and this is characteristic of Rome — attacks against property are severely punished. Theft becomes in them an impiety: for property is not only the power of the rich and the life of the poor, but all the goods which the house contains are a gift of the Penates, and the harvest is even Ceres herself. "Any one who shall have bewitched or used magical arts (*excantassit, pellexerit*) against another's crops, or who shall have carried off, during the night, the pasture of the flocks of his neighbor or cut his crop,[2] let him be devoted to Ceres, *Cereri necator*. At night let the robber be killed with impunity; during the day, if he make resistance. Let him who shall set fire to a shock of corn be bound, beaten with rods, and then burned. The insolvent debtor

[1] On the synonymy of *hospes*, or *peregrinus*, and of *hostis*, cf. Cic., *de Off.* i. 12; Varr., *de Ling. Lat.* v. 1. The stranger is an enemy: this was for the Romans the first principle of the law of nations.

[2] In the Twelve Tables, says Pliny (xviii. 3), it is a more serious crime than homicide.

shall be sold or cut in pieces."[1] Yet the Twelve Tables had moderated the severity of Numa's law respecting the removal of boundaries. It was no longer a capital crime;[2] soon it became simply a misdemeanor; and the Mamilian law (239 or 165 B. C.) limited the punishment of the offender to a fine. It was inevitable that time and the revolutionary spirit of the plebeians should alter the sacred character of property of former times.

For offences regarded as less grave, two modes of punishment were in use among all barbarous peoples: the *lex talionis*, or corporal reprisals, and the private indemnity. "He who breaks any one's limb shall pay 300 ases to the injured party; if he do not compound with him, let him submit to the talio."

Let us remark that this severe people yet had relatively speaking some very mild laws. It knew nothing as yet of torture, nor condemned either to imprisonment or penal servitude. All offences, even a good part of what we should call crimes, were compounded for by fine, — a punishment not liked by us, because it affects not only the guilty, but the family; a punishment which the Romans preferred, because all the members of a family were conjointly responsible. In regard of crimes they troubled themselves only with those which affected the public peace, and they had only two forms of punishment for them: death and banishment. The condemned were thrown from the Tarpeian rock, strangled in the *Tullianum*, or beaten with rods and beheaded. The Porcian law in the next century suppressed punishment by death for the citizen.

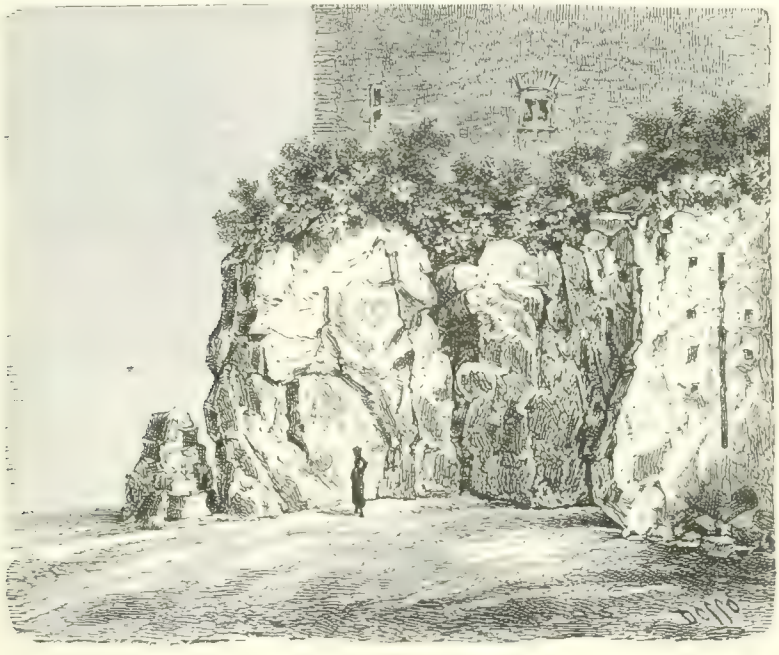
Cicero has preserved for us some curious directions about funerals. "You remember," says he, "that in our infancy we were made to recite the Twelve Tables, which now hardly any one knows." After having reduced luxury to three mourning robes, three bands of purple, and ten flute-players, they put down the lamentations: "Let the women no longer tear their cheeks; let them no longer use the *lessus* at funerals[3] . . ." Praiseworthy directions, for they applied alike to rich and poor, which is very

[1] See p. 270.

[2] Cf. Trotz, *de Termino moto*. It is the establishment of the *iter limitare*. By means of this arrangement the need of applying Numa's law occurred but rarely, and this law fell into disuse.

[3] . . . *Nove lessum funeris ergo habento.* Cicero adds: *Lessum quasi lugubrem ejulationem, ut vox ipsa significat.* (*De Leg.* ii. 23.)

proper, since death effaces every difference. There are other regulations: "Let no one be buried within the city," — a religious prohibition which caused sepulture to take place in the country or along the high roads leading to the city. "Let no gold be put into the graves," — a useless expense, which the Etruscans incurred voluntarily, but which the Romans spared. However, "any one whose teeth are bound with gold wire may be



THE TARPEIAN ROCK.[1]

buried or burned with this gold," — a respect for the corpse which the hand must not profane, and which must be consigned to the flame of the pile or the earth of the tomb. "Let the pile be erected sixty feet at the least from the house of another," — a precaution against fire, in order that the dead hurt not the living.

[1] "Travellers are shown a bare piece of rock at Rome and told: This is the Tarpeian rock; and they are astonished at its small height, not reflecting that the rock which is pointed out to them by the cicerone at random is only a small part of the Tarpeian rock. This name used to be given to the whole southern ridge. I live on this summit, and understand very well what would happen to me if they threw me out by the window into Strada di Consolazione: it would be a fall of 100 feet. Besides, the side of the Tarpeian rock bristled with projections, against which the bodies of those who were thrown down were mangled and smashed before reaching the bottom." (Ampère, *Hist. Rom. à Rome*, ii. 569, notes.)

"Let not the wood be polished with iron," — a useless luxury.[1] "Let funeral feasts be suppressed, as well as the throwing of perfumes into the flames; incense-boxes[2] and chaplets, except that which the deceased shall have gained by his courage, and which may, on the day of the funeral, be placed on his head," — precautions to restrain the pomp used by the great in these ceremonies. "Let not the bones of the deceased be kept for the purpose of performing the obsequies later on," — a prohibition against celebrating several times the obsequies of the same person, and of drawing, by this repeated show, the attention of the city to the same house.



A PRIEST PRESENTING THE INCENSE-BOX.

The greater part of these regulations were borrowed from the laws of Solon, who himself also had aimed at diminishing the influence of the Eupatridae by restraining show at funerals. But we shall see that the severities of the law will not prevail over manners. The funerals of the great were always at Rome among the most pompous ceremonies of the city, and by their tombs the Romans have created a kind of architecture, which we still copy.

Two questions of more importance from an historical point of view are: the introduction of several laws more favorable to the poor or the entire order of plebeians, and the general character which law takes in the Twelve Tables.[3]

Here were arrangements favorable to the plebeians: "Whoever shall lend money at more than $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent shall restore it fourfold;" that the *nexus* (the slave for debt) be not considered

[1] And perhaps a religious idea. We have seen that not a single nail was used in the construction of the Sublician bridge.

[2] *Acerra*, incense-box; one of these is represented in the engraving, which has been copied from a painted vase in the Naples Museum, which represents the preparations for a sacrifice.

[3] In the text, so far as it has been made out, there is much uncertainty in the order of the contents; but the order, which has much importance for the jurisconsult, has none for the historian.

infamous. This was a protection for the debtor against the usurer. "In state matters let them adjudge provisionally in favor of liberty," — a protection for the weak against the strong. "That it be permissible to form corporations or colleges, provided that nothing be done against the laws and the public weal." This was the right to the lower classes to form associations. "Let the false witness and the judge who has taken bribes be thrown from the rock," — a protection to the poor defendant against the rich suitor and the patrician judge. "That there be always right of appeal to the people from the sentences of the magistrates." This is a fresh sanction to the Valerian law, and a restriction put on the unlimited power of the dictatorship.[1] "That the people only, in the *comitia centuriata*, have the power of condemnation to death." This was a grant to the people of criminal jurisdiction, taken from the consuls, to whom the *lex Valeria de provocatione* had left the judgment in the first instance.[2] It was to the assembly of the centuries, where all patricians and plebeians are mingled according to scale of property, that the power passes. The Twelve Tables call it *maximum comitiatum*, the true assembly of the Roman people.

This was the general character of the law: "No more personal laws; *ne privilegia inroganto*." The civil legislation of the Twelve Tables recognizes Roman citizens only. Its regulations are made neither for an order, nor a class, and its formula is always: *si quis*, — if any one; the patrician and the plebeian, the senator and the pontiff, the rich and the proletarian, are equal in its eyes. *Forti sanatique idem jus esto*.[3] Thus by this blotting out of distinctions, formerly so deep, the final union of the two peoples is at last proclaimed, and this new people, formed by the entirety of the citizens, has now the sovereign authority which had till then remained in the hands of the patrician *populus*. "What the people shall have ordained finally shall be law."

[1] Fest., *Optima lex*: Livy, iii. 55; Cic., *de Rep.* ii. 31: *ab omni judicio pœnaque provocari licere.*

[2] Cicero said of this law: *admirandum, tantum majores in posterum providisse.* The Senate declared in 310 B. C. *judicium populi rescindi ab senatu non posse.* (Livy, iv. 7.) The elections and the laws were alone submitted to the *auctoritas patrum.*

[3] Let the strong and the weak have the same right. See in Festus, v. *Sanates*, the explanation of this word.

Two remarks must be made on this axiom: the first is that the law is no longer the revelation of the nymph Egeria or the inspiration of gods which should continue mysterious and unchangeable; the people who have made it can unmake it. The second is the clear and simple definition which is given of it. The Romans have not sought for it in philosophical considerations. They do not define a principle: they assert a fact, — a new proof of that practical spirit which demands from life and society only those useful results which they may afford.

The people had also obtained by the Twelve Tables some material ameliorations, and, if not political equality — from which the poor could scarcely profit, at least equality before the civil and criminal law, which gives even to the most wretched the feeling of dignity as a man.

The aristocratic spirit transpires, however, in this code drawn up by patricians: "Let the rich plead for the rich; for the poor any one who will."[1] This is only contemptuous; but the law is very severe against authors of scurrilous verses, and those who meet secretly at night;[2] and in one of the last articles added by Appius it sanctioned the invidious exclusiveness of former days: "Let there be no marriages between patricians and plebeians." It is a protest of the old masters of Rome against the new character of the law, in the name of their ancestors, of the nobility of their race, the religion of their families, and the special protection which the gods granted them. Let there be equality, since they could not prevent it; let the same judges, the same law, the same penalty strike Fabius and Icilius; but no mésalliances. Outside the tribunal let the one return to the crowd from which he came, the other to the *curia*, the temples of the gods, the hereditary atrium!

The patricians had, in fact, allowed nothing to be changed in the constitution: they remained consuls and senators, augurs and pontiffs, judges especially; and by the multifold forms of procedure of which the plebeians were ignorant, they were able to

[1] *Assiduo vindex assiduus esto; proletario quivis volet vindex esto.*

[2] *Qui caetus nocturnos agitaverit, capital esto.* For all these citations from the Twelve Tables I have followed the text given by Reiske in his edition of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, pp. 2366–2381.

nullify this publication of the law and this civil equality which they had been compelled to proclaim.[1]

In the populous cities of Italy and Greece neither law nor custom would suffer that state of war in peace — the right of taking justice into one's own hands — which so long decimated the modern nobility; and public good sense was sufficiently strong, in spite of blind superstition, to prevent referring the decision of a cause to the judgment of God, as was the case in the trial by ordeal in the Middle Ages.[2] In every case human justice adjudicated. But at Rome the judges were not a class of men whose life was devoted to the religious duty of affording justice. For every trial the consul named judges, always patricians; and these judges sat only on days fixed by the secret calendar of the Pontiffs, which changed yearly. They did not admit the litigants to set forth simply the matters in dispute;[3] mysterious formulae, gestures, and *actions* were necessary. It was required to hold in one hand a bit of straw as a memento of the lance of the Quirites, to touch with the other the object at stake, to declare his right in the established terms, to throw the straw at the object; then to defy the adversary; if the question related to a theft, to enter naked into the house of the suspected thief, girt with a linen band, a dish in the hand, etc.; and especially to avoid making any mistake, any error in this judicial drama, for then the suit could no longer proceed.[4] In this unknown labyrinth of legitimate acts and formulae of action, the plebeian easily strayed from the legal road, at the least hint from the judges; and the judge was so often his political adversary!

[1] Dionys., ii. 27: *φανεροὺς ἅπασι.* As regards equality before the civil law, it is still proved by these expressions: *aequatae leges* (Livy, iii. 31, 63, 67); *ἰσονομία, ἰσηγορία* (Dionys., x. 1); *νόμους κοινοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι* (x. 50). Appius says: *Si omnibus, summis infimisque jura aequasse.* (Livy, iii. 34.)

[2] [Nevertheless the legend of the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii is distinctly an appeal to the same principle, which we find in old Jewish history, and which was proposed by the Argives to the Spartans in Thucydides' time (cf. Thuc., v. 41). The Spartans thought it folly (*μωρία*), but thought it politic to agree. Of course the duel never came off. The Argives quoted the story of Othryades as an old decision in this way. In later Roman times a personal quarrel was settled characteristically by a sort of legal bet *ni vir bonus esset*, where a man's character was investigated in court, and if cleared, his opponent lost his stakes. — *Ed.*]

[3] Cf. Cic., *pro Murena*, 12, and Gaius, iv. 13–17. There were 5 formulas of actions: *sacramento, per judicis postulationem, per conditionem, per manus injectionem, per pignoris captionem.* The *acta legitima* were numberless; cf. Brisson, *de Formulis.*

[4] See p. 268.

Still, the new legislation had founded the civil law of Rome; four centuries after, Cicero still recommended its study, *carmen necessarium*,[1] and Gaius, under the Antonines, drew up a long commentary on the Twelve Tables. This reform did not satisfy all the hopes of the people; but the decemvirs had nevertheless given an impulse to the plebeian power, if not by their laws, at least by the acts of violence of their closing days.

[1] *De Leg.* ii. 4, 23.

[2] A woman holding a balance and a stick, which is doubtless a measure, the *pertica*, or perch.(= 10 Rom. ft. = 3 yds. 8 in.).



SILVER PENNY OF ANTONINUS PIUS.[2]

CHAPTER IX.

EFFORTS TO OBTAIN POLITICAL EQUALITY (449-400).

I. Re-establishment of the Tribunate and Consulate.

THE revolution of 510 B. C., made by the patricians, had benefited the aristocracy; that of 449, made by the people, profited the people. The decemvirs had abdicated, and two popular senators, Valerius and Horatius, had gone to the Sacred Mount to promise the re-establishment of the tribunate and right of appeal, extended to all the citizens, with an amnesty for those who had taken part in the revolt. The people returned to the Aventine, and in order to be assured that these promises would be kept, occupied once more the Capitol.[1] But no one dreamt of disputing the victory. The Pontifex Maximus held the comitia for the election of ten tribunes, then Horatius and Valerius were appointed consuls, who by several laws guaranteed the recovered liberty.

The first of these laws prohibited, under pain of death, the creation at any time of a magistracy without appeal.[2] The second gave the force of law to the *plebiscita*, that is to say, that resolutions passed in the assembly of the tribes should no longer need the sanction of the Senate, as did the resolutions of the centuries, to become general laws.[3] The third renewed the anathema pronounced against any who outraged the tribunitian inviolability.

[1] Cic., *pro. Cornel.* i. *Fr.* 25.

[2] Livy, iii. 55.

[3] Τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας δύναμιν τοῖς ἐν ταῖς λοχίτισιν ἐκκλησίαις τεθησομένοις. (Dionys., xi. 45.) M. Willems (*Le Droit public Romain*, p. 61) thinks that from this moment the patricians and their clients were admitted, if not by *right*, yet at least in *fact*, to the *concilia plebis*. The centuries preserved judgments for capital crimes, election to the chief magistracies, the right of making the most general laws, and of deciding for peace or war. The legislative power of the tribes was put in force respecting questions of internal order, and especially for the maintenance

The fourth ordered that a copy of all the Senatus-consulta, countersigned by the tribunes with the letter T.[1] to prevent all falsification, should be intrusted to the plebeian aediles and kept by them in the temple of Ceres on the Aventine. Another copy was, without doubt, kept by the quaestors in the temple of Saturn. The tribune Duilius had this law passed: that the magistrate who neglected to hold the comitia at the end of the year, for the election of the tribunes of the people, should be punished with the rod and axe.[2]

Liberty was assured; but the blood shed called for vengeance. Virginius accused the decemvirs. Appius, their chief, killed himself in prison before the trial; Oppius, the second in unpopularity, died in the same way. The others were exiled; their property was confiscated to the temple of Ceres. The people were satisfied with these two victims, and Duilius declared that he would oppose his veto to any further accusation.

However, the two consuls had resumed military operations against the Aequians and Sabines, and the latter were so thoroughly beaten by Horatius, that they remained at peace with Rome for a century and a half. On their return the consuls demanded a triumph; up to that time the Senate alone had the right to grant it, and refused. The tribune Icilius had it decreed by the people, and "the consuls triumphed not only over the enemy, but the patricians also." It was the tribunes also who, gradually bringing the people into the most important state affairs, decided in the debate between Ardea and Aricia.[3]

This matter is worth a moment's delay, for it has given occasion to one of those very rare stories which show us the interior of the Italian cities. Ardea, a very old Latin city, four miles from the sea, and Aricia, celebrated in antiquity for its terrible temple of Diana, and in modern times by its charming Lake Nemi, disputed about the territory of the city of Corioli,

and extension of public rights. Aul. Gellius (*Noct. Attic.* X. xx. 6) defines the plebiscitum: *lex quam plebs, non populus, accipit.*

[1] Val. Max., II. ii. 7; Livy (ii. 55) says: *Senatusconsulta quae antea arbitrio consulum supprimebantur vitiabanturque.*

[2] Livy, iii. 55; Diod., xii. 25. Another law, proposed by Trebonius, required the appointment of ten tribunes and forbade co-optation.

[3] Livy, iii. 71.

destroyed in one of the wars against the Volscians. After many battles, they chose Rome as umpire. The Senate referred the matter to the people, who, at the instigation of the nobles, played the part of judge in the fable of the Pleaders: they adjudged to themselves the contested territory. The Ardeates, more pleased with the discomfiture of Aricia than annoyed at having lost their case, or at least their nobles, who had need of a foreign alliance against the people of Ardea, made a treaty with Rome which gave some fertile lands to the Romans. Did this convention seem an act of treason to the plebeians of Ardea, or were they hurt in some other way? We know not; but a little while after they left the city, and in place of observing, in this *secession*, the patriotic moderation which the Roman historians confess in the seceders of the Sacred Mount or the Aventine, they returned to Ardea with a Volscian army. The patricians and their clients, incapable of defending themselves, invoked the help of their new allies. Those whom they termed rebels were conquered by a Roman army, and their chiefs perished under the axe. To re-people the city, now half desert, Rome sent there a colony; but the triumvirs put in charge by it of the division of the lands gave the best to their friends of Ardea; so the anger against them was so hot among the Roman people that, not daring to appear before them, they stayed in the colony, where doubtless they obtained a good number of *jugera* well selected. This history enables us to see in the Latin cities the same divisions as at Rome, and, among all those peoples, modes of action which prove that the ancients understood justice differently from us, or at least otherwise than as our moral treatises define it.

The year 449 had not taken from the patricians all their privileges. Rome has still two classes, but only one people; and the chiefs of the plebs, sitting in the Senate, are meditating, after the struggle to obtain civil equality, to commence another to gain political equality.

In a revolution, in fact, the party which has conquered opposition cannot stop short; its momentum carries it beyond the goal, and it preserves for a long while an impetus by which its leaders know how to profit — sometimes in the public interest, more often for their ambition. After the victory, the tribunes

employed the rest of their energy to complete the work of the decemvirs and carry out the Terentilian law. The patricians had more than once tried to slip into the tribunate; the Trebonian law closed it against them for ever. They had reserved to themselves the judicial power, except in the case of a capital sentence against a citizen, and the administration of the finances, by leaving to the consuls the right of appointing quaestors of the treasury. The tribunes obtained in 447 B. C. that the *quaestores parricidii* et *quaestores aerarii* should be for the future elected in the comitia tributa, although these two offices remained patrician.[1]

Two things maintained the insulting distinction between the two orders: the prohibition of marriage between patricians and plebeians, and the tenure of all the magisterial offices by those who formed since the origin of Rome the sovereign people of the *patres*. In 445 B. C. the tribune Canuleius demanded the abolition of the prohibition relative to marriages, and his colleagues a share in the consulate. This was a demand for political equality.

II. — New Constitution of the Year 444.

We know now that every aristocracy which closes its ranks soon perishes, because time and power quickly exhaust political families. Without knowing it, the Roman patriciate acted as if it comprehended this truth, and this perception of public necessities made the greatness of Rome. After a resistance skilfully calculated for opposing to the popular torrent a dam which broke its force without exciting it, the nobles always yielded; but, like a disciplined army which never becomes broken, they retreated in order to make a strong defence at the next point. Thus was prolonged this internal war, which moulded the robust youth of the Roman people.

When the *patres* heard this new and audacious demand of the tribune, their indignation burst forth. "Thus then," said Claudius, with his hereditary pride, "thus nothing will remain

[1] Tac., *Ann.* xi. 22.



LAKE NEMI.

pure: plebeian ambition will pollute everything, — time-honored authority, and religion, and family rights, and auspices, and the images of our ancestors." But the people used the method which had already been used twice before: they withdrew in arms to the Janiculum;[1] and the Senate, thinking that customs would be stronger than law, agreed that henceforth there should be legal marriages between patricians and plebeians.

When this barrier was once broken down, it was not possible to forbid the access of the plebeians to curule offices. However, by mere adroitness, the patriciate, though half conquered, defended itself for forty-five years longer; for it had in this struggle the gods themselves as allies, from the belief, deeply rooted in the people, that the hand of a noble was alone able to offer favorable sacrifices for the state. The colleagues of Canuleius asked, in the name of the plebeians, one of the consulships and two of the quaestorships of the treasury. The Senate granted that the quaestors of the treasury should be chosen without distinction[2] in the two orders; and thanks to this latitude, for a long time only patricians held this office. As regards the consulship, no concession was possible; rather than relinquish that also, the Senate preferred to dismember it. This royal power had already lost the right of performing certain sacrifices (*rex sacrorum*), the care of the treasure (*quaestores aerarii*), and the direction of criminal affairs (*quaestores parricidii*); and two new magistrates, *sine imperio*, that is, without military authority or jurisdiction, the CENSORS, created in 443 B. C., at first for five years, then for eighteen months (434), obtained the consular right of making the census, of regulating the classes, of administering the public domain, of farming out to the highest bidder the tax on the public lands, of watching over public morality, and, later, of drawing up the

[1] Flor., i. 25. *Tertiam seditionem . . . in monte Janiculo . . . duce Canuleio.* The patricians alone were able to take the auspices. This privilege, necessary for acquaintance with all the mysteries of religion and law, gave them a religious character, which the plebeians in the long run would share by the mixing of families. Hence the keen opposition of the Senate to a law which would lead to the mingling of the two orders. When Cleisthenes wished to strengthen, at Athens, the democratic element, he suppressed the *sacra privata*: . . . καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ κοινὰ καὶ πάντα σοφιστέον, ὅπως ἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀναμιχθῶσι πάντες ἀλλήλοις . . . (Arist., *Pol.* VI. ii. 11.)

[2] Livy, iv. 43: *promiscue.* The quaestors were treasurers of the public funds: they it was who opened and closed the treasury, in which were also deposited the standards of the legions.

list of senators and knights.[1] In this way they gradually attained the first rank in the state, and re-election to an office which became the highest honor in the city was presently forbidden.

There remained of the consular power its military functions, civil jurisdiction, the designation of new senators, the presidency in the Curiae and the comitia, the care of the city and the laws. These powers were given, but sub-divided, without curule honors, with six lictors in place of twelve, and under the plebeian name of tribune, to three, four, or six generals. To these *military tribunes*, elected without auspices,[2] religion forbade at first one of the most important prerogatives of the consuls, viz., the designation of a dictator.[3] Mere lieutenants, so to say, of an invisible magistracy, but which the Senate knows and inspires, they did not fight under their own auspices, and never did they obtain the most envied of military rewards, the triumph.[4] What power they have is also divided among them according to their number. One marches at the head of the legions, another commands the reserve, another the veterans, another again watches over the arsenals and provisioning of the troops. One only is invested with the religious and judicial functions of the consuls, viz., the *præfectus urbis*, president of the Senate and the comitia, guardian of religion, the laws, and all the interests of the city.[5] Also the Senate took care that these prerogatives, including the duties given later on to the *practors*, with the important privilege of naming the

[1] Pastures, woods, fisheries, salt mines, mines, harbor dues, etc. (Livy, xxxii. 7; xl. 51.) On the duties of the censors, see Cic., *de Leg.* iii. 3; Hist. Aug. *Valer.* 2. But all these duties were not theirs from the beginning. Livy says (iv. 8) *Res a parva origine orta.* The first mention of a *lectio senatus* by the censors is from the year 312 B. C. (Livy, viii. 29-30), which, however, does not mean that there had never been one before. [It appears from the researches of Soltau at the Carlsruhe Congress of Philologists (1882), that the censorate was directly imitated from the chief administrator (ὁ ἐπὶ της διοικήσεως) of the Athenian tributes. The direct influence of Greece on Rome is probably older and greater than is usually thought. — *Ed.*]

[2] This can be inferred from the speech of Appius (Livy, vi. 41), *nullus auspicato.* At least they had not the *maxima auspicia.* (Aul. Gell. xiii. 15.) Livy even says (v. 18) that they were nominated in the profane assembly of the tribes; but he contradicts himself elsewhere (v. 13).

[3] *Religio obstaret . . .* (Livy, iv. 31.) However, in 423 B. C., in a pressing danger, the augurs removed this prohibition, and the consular tribune, *præfectus urbis*, Corn. Cossus, nominates a dictator.

[4] Zonaras, vii. 19, confirmed by the silence of the triumphal fasti. The triumph was accorded to those only who had conquered *suis auspiciis.*

[5] Livy, vi. 5. In 424, four tribunes, *e quibus Cossus præfuit Urbi;* the same in 431 B. C., in 383, etc.

judges, remained in the hands of a patrician.[1] When the plebeians ultimately gained entrance into the consular tribunate, one place at least was always reserved for a candidate of the other order.[2]

Out of the consulate three offices are formed: the quaestorship, the censorship, and the consular tribunate. The two former are exclusively patrician. The military tribunes, in reality proconsuls confined, with one exception, to the command of the legions, could now be chosen without distinction from the two orders. But the law, in not requiring that every year a fixed number of them be plebeians, allowed them to be all patricians; and they remained so for nearly fifty years.[3]

In spite of such skilful precautions, the Senate did not give up the consulate. It held in reserve and pure from all taint the patrician magistracy, hoping for better days. The dictatorship, which was not effaced from the new constitutional code, and the right of opposition from the *patres*, remained as a last resource for extreme cases. Religion in fine always furthered the interests of the aristocracy; and if, in spite of the influence of the nobles in the assemblies, in spite of the arbitrary power of the president of the *comitia*, who had the right to refuse votes for a hostile candidate, the majority of votes were in favor of a new man, his election could still be quashed by an adverse decision of the augurs. If necessary, Jupiter thundered.



JUPITER.[4]

[1] Once, in 396, Livy names six plebeians. But in the place of P. Maelius the new fragments of the Fasti and Diodorus (xiv. 90) name Q. Manlius.

[2] As regards the frequent variations in the number of the consular tribunes, a thing so strange in Roman antiquity, they are explained by making the consular tribunes to be only generals. Their number grew according to the need. From 443 B. C. to 432 they are three, two for the legions, one to remain as prefect in the city. In 425, after the declaration of war against Veii, four are named. If the number reaches six in 404, it is still for the Veian war. When they are eight, it is perhaps, as Perizonius has maintained, because the censors were included.

[3] From 444 to 400 B. C.

[4] Jupiter with the sceptre and thunderbolt. Antique intaglio from the French National Collection, No. 1,420.

III. Struggle for the Execution of the New Constitution.

Whatever skill had been exhibited by the Senate, the principle of political equality had just triumphed, and the division of the curule magistracies was only a question of time. This time was long; for the question here was no longer to satisfy general interests, but only the ambition of some chiefs of the people. Thus the attack, though spirited, was ill-sustained; and the plebeians, content with the name of equality, neglected for a long time to grasp the reality.[1] We shall see them at the crisis ready to abandon Licinius Stolo and the consulate for a few acres of land.

The constitution of 444 B. C. authorized the appointment of plebeians to the consular tribunate; down to 400 B. C. none obtained it; and during the seventy-eight years that this office continued, the Senate twenty-four times appointed consuls; that is to say, it succeeded, one year in three, in its attempts to re-establish the ancient form of government.[2]

These perpetual oscillations encouraged the ambitious hopes of a rich knight, Spurius Maelius (439 B. C.). He thought that the Romans would willingly resign into his hands their unquiet liberty, and during a famine he gave very liberally to the poor. The Senate became alarmed at this almsgiving, which was not at all in accordance with the manners of that time, and raised to the dictatorship Cincinnatus, who, on taking office, prayed the gods not to suffer that his old age should prove a cause of hurt or damage to the Republic. Summoned before the tribunal of the dictator, Maelius refused to appear, and sought protection against



COIN OF SERV. AHALA.[3]

[1] Livy says, it is true, *imperio et insignibus consularibus usos:* but all that precedes, shows without doubt the inferiority of the tribunes to the consuls. If the name alone had been changed, the tribunes of the people would not have shown such obstinacy in demanding the consulate itself. "It was never a mere quarrel of words," says Madame de Staël.

[2] It was on the proposition of the Senate that the centuries decided each year whether they would elect military tribunes or consuls. It did not generally propose tribunes except when they were threatened with war: the ordinary formula at the time of the election of consuls was, *pax et otium domi forisque*.

[3] AHALA. Head of Servilius Ahala on a silver coin of the Servilian family.

the lictors amongst the crowd which filled the Forum. But the master of the horse, Serv. Ahala, managed to reach him, and ran him through with his sword. In spite of the indignation of the people, Cincinnatus sanctioned the act of his lieutenant, caused the house of the traitor to be demolished, and the *praefectus annonae*, Minucius Augurinus, sold, for an as per *modius*, the corn amassed by Maelius.[1] Such is the story of the partisan of the nobles;[2] but at that epoch to have dreamt of re-establishing royalty would have been a foolish dream, in which Spurius could not have indulged. Without doubt he had wished to obtain by popular favor the military tribunate, and in order to intimidate the plebeian candidates, the patricians overthrew him by imputing to him the accusation which Livy complacently details by the mouth of Cincinnatus, of having aimed at royalty. The crowd always can be cajoled by words; and the Senate had the art of concentrating on this word *royalty* all the phases of popular hatred. The move succeeded: during the eleven years following, the people nine times allowed the Senate to appoint the consular tribunes.[4] There was, however, in 433 B. C., a plebeian dictator, Mamercus Aemilius, who reduced the tenure of censorship to 18 months.



COIN OF AUGURINUS.[3]

These nine consulships gave such confidence to the nobles that the Senate itself had to suffer from the haughty insubordination shown by the consuls of the year 428 B. C. Though conquered by the Aequians, they refused to name a dictator. To overcome their resistance, the Senate had recourse to the tribunes of the people, who threatened to drag the consuls to prison.[5] To see the tribunitian authority protecting the majesty of the Senate was quite a new phenomenon. From this day the

[1] Livy, iv. 16; Flor., i. 26; Cic., *Cat.* i. 1. For a different story, cf. a newly discovered frag. of Dionys. Hal. in Müller's *Fragg. Hist. Graec.* ii. p. 31.

[2] Livy, iv. 12.

[3] C. AVG (urinus). Two persons, standing, hold, one of them, two loaves, the other, the augural *lituus*. In the midst a striated column, supporting a statue, between two corn-ears and two lions couchant. This silver coin of the Minucian family refers to some fact which has been lost. Livy (iv. 16) simply says: *Minucius bove aurato extra portam Trigeminam est donatus.* Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 3; xxxiv. 5.

[4] In thirty-five years, from 444 to 409 B. C., the Senate obtained the appointment of consular tribunes twenty times.

[5] Livy, iv. 26.

reputation of the tribunate equalled its power, and few years passed without the plebeians obtaining some new advantage.

Three years earlier the tribunes, jealous of seeing the votes always given to the nobles, had proscribed the white robes, which marked out from a distance, to all eyes, the patrician candidate.[1] This was the first law against undue canvassing.

In 430 a law put an end to arbitrary valuations of penalties payable in kind.[2]

In 427 the tribunes, by opposing the levies, obliged the Senate to carry to the comitia centuriata the question of the war against Veii.[3]

In 423 they revived the agrarian law, and demanded that the tithe should be more punctually paid in the future by the occupiers of domain land, and applied to the pay of the troops.

They miscarried this time; but in 421 it seemed necessary to raise the number of quaestors from two to four. The people consented to it only on the condition that the quaestorship be accessible to the plebeians.

Three years later 3,000 acres of the lands of Labicum were distributed to fifteen hundred plebeian families. It was very little; so the people laid claim, in 414, to the division of the lands of Bola, taken from the Aequians. A military tribune, Postumius, being violently opposed to it, was slain in an outbreak of the soldiery. This crime, unheard of in the history of Roman armies, did harm to the popular cause; there was no distribution of lands, and for five years the Senate was able to appoint the consuls. The patrician reaction produced another against it which ended in the thorough execution of the constitution of the year 444. An Icilius in 412, a Maenius in 410 B. C. took up again the agrarian law and opposed the levy. The year following three of the Icilian family were named as tribunes. It was a menace to the other order. The patricians understood it, and in 410 three plebeians obtained the quaestorship.

[1] In 431; cf. Livy, iv. 25.

[2] Cic., *de Rep.* ii. 35; Livy, iv. 30. The law fixed the value in silver of an ox and a sheep: an ox equalled 100 *asses*, a sheep 10.

[3] Livy, iv. 30. In 380 it was the tribes who decided that war should be made on the Volscians. (Livy, vi. 21.)

In 405 pay was established for the troops, and the rich undertook to pay the larger portion of it.

Finally, in 400, four military tribunes out of six were plebeians.

The chiefs of the people thus obtained the public offices, and even places in the Senate, and the poor obtained an indemnity which supported their families while they served with the colors. All ambitions, all desires are at present satisfied. Calm and union returned to Rome; we can see it in the vigor of the attacks on external foes.



ROME FOLLOWED BY A MAGISTRATE. BAS-RELIEF IN THE LOUVRE

CHAPTER X.

MILITARY HISTORY FROM 448 TO 389 B. C.[1]

I. Conquest of Anxur or Terracina (406).

IN the middle of the fifth century B. C., at the period which precedes and follows the decemvirate, the Latin confederation was dissolved and the Roman territory open to all attacks. Every year the Sabines descended from the mountains of Eretum, the Aequians from Algidus, the Volscians from the Alban Mount, and the Etruscans disturbed the right bank of the Tiber. It seemed as if a last effort must be made to set Rome free from her enemies. But the people had just made in their turn a plebeian revolution. Confidence grew again; the leaders were popular; the war became successful. During half a century Rome fought only for existence; afterward she fought for empire. She was helped by two powerful means, which the kings seem to have already employed,—military pay, which allows longer campaigns and stricter discipline; the colonization of captured cities, which assured the possession of conquests and prepared the way for new ones. Thus, in the space of fifty years, the Sabines, the Aequians, and the Volscians laid down their arms, Veii disappeared, and the Latins became the subjects of Rome.

The first expedition, after the re-establishment of liberty, was signalized by a victory over the Sabines, which confined them for a century and a half to the Apennines. Perhaps it was not the terror inspired by the Roman arms which deserves credit for this result, so much as the circumstances which offered to the Sabines more lucrative enterprises.

[1] It is necessary for all these wars to keep in view the map which we have given of the *Ager Romanus*, p. 302, and that of Central Italy.

The Samnites were at that time very restless in their mountains, and commenced against their rich neighbors those incursions which obtained for them Lucania and the Campanian plain. In 420 they took the large city of Cumae. The Sabines were doubtless engaged, as were all the mountaineers of the Apennines, in this reaction of the old Italian race against the foreigners, and Rome, thankful to count one enemy less, boasted of the moderation of the Sabines.

These movements of the Samnites made a diversion more favorable to the Romans by drawing away to the Liris the attention and forces of the Volscians, who, however, in 443 came as far as the Esquiline Gate. But T. Quinctius destroyed their army, and established at the entrance of their country[1] a garrison which kept them in check for fifteen years. Then, as if these people relieved one another to wear out Rome and exhaust it by a war without cessation, the Etruscans recalled the legions from the South to the North. Fidenae, five miles from the Janiculum, on the left bank of the Tiber, was an advanced post of Rome or Etruria, according as the descendants of the Roman colonists, sent by the kings into that city, or the inhabitants of Etruscan origin were the stronger there. In 430 the aborigines drove away the colonists and placed themselves under the protection of the Veientines and Faliscans, after having massacred, at their instigation, four ambassadors from the Senate. This war caused the appointment of two dictators — the one who took possession of Fidenae in 435; the other, the cavalry general, Corn. Cossus, who slew Tolumnius, lars or king of Veii, and offered up the second *spolia opima* (426 B. C.). To punish this second revolt, the Senate caused the whole Etruscan population to be massacred or sold. The terrified Veii begged a truce of twenty years (425). There is hardly another mention of the name of Fidenae in history. In the last century of the Republic might be seen in the Forum the statues of the four assassinated ambassadors; and when Augustus restored the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, he found there the armor of Tolumnius with his linen cuirass which bore an inscription.[2]

[1] At Verrugo, a city or position unknown, which has been thought to be in the environs of Signia.

[2] Livy, iv. 20.

In the interval between these two Etruscan wars, the Aequians and Volscians had taken up arms; and the dictator appointed against them, A. Postumius Tubertus, gave the first example of that inflexible discipline which formed the best infantry in the world. His son had fought without orders and returned as victor; but he had him beheaded[1] (431 B. C.). Tubertus



RUINS CALLED THOSE OF THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER FERETRIUS.

gained on Mount Algidus, over the allied army, a great battle, which gave some respite to the Romans. A truce of eight years, and then intestine divisions which enfeebled the Volscian nation, suspended hostilities in this direction. The Aequians, left to themselves, lost several cities,[2] — among others Labicum, — whither the Senate hastened to send a colony of fifteen hundred men, which barred the way against these turbulent

[1] *Val. Max.*, II. vii. 6; *Aul. Gell.*, XVII. xxi. 1.

[2] In 418 Labicum, where they sent a colony; in 414 Bola; in 413, Ferentinum, which the Hernicans re-entered.



THE CITY OF VEII (RESTORED BY CANINA).

mountaineers, and enabled the Romans to go to the Valley of the Trerus and help the Hernicans, their faithful allies. Rome profited from this success to strike some decisive blows at the Volscians. In 406 three armies menaced at the same time Antium, Ecetra,[1] and Anxur, or Terracina. Placed at the extremity of the Pontine Marshes, on the slope of a hill near the sea, Anxur was one of the richest cities belonging to this people, and a military position which commanded, at the same time, the Pomptinum and the passage from Latium into Campania. Tarquin had understood its importance, and the royal garrison which held it in 510 was sufficient to hold in check the whole country of the Volscians. While two armies marched with great ostentation towards Antium and Ecetra, a third, led by Fabius Ambustus, advanced rapidly upon Anxur and took the place before the inhabitants — a long distance from the ordinary seat of war — had time to realize the attack.[2] The two divisions which had covered this skilful and bold march joined with the soldiers of Fabius in dividing the plunder. A garrison was left in Anxur, and Fabius returned to inform the Senate that the Republic had reconquered the frontier held by Rome under the kings eighty years before.

The plebeians deserved recompense for this brilliant conquest; besides, the truce with Veii expired the following year, and that people showed hostile intentions. The Senate decreed that the infantry should receive payment from the public treasury.[3] The legionary, being consequently in no hurry to return to his own fields, remained longer under arms. The war might be extended, operations be prolonged, and the generals demand greater efforts and obedience from their soldiers.

Large operations now succeed the numerous skirmishes, whose repetition would fatigue by its monotony, did not the glory which this people attained in maturity throw an illusion of splendor over the obscure years of its youth.

[1] The position of this city is uncertain; perhaps not far from Ferentinum. Abeken (*Mittel-Italien*, p. 75) places it on Monte Fortino.

[2] Livy, iv. 59.

[3] *Ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet.* (Livy, *ibid.*)

II. Capture of Veii (395 B. C.).

The siege of Veii began in 405. The city was only four leagues from the Servian walls, and from the top of its walls could be seen the seven hills. So long as it remained standing on its escarped rock, overlooking and threatening the right bank of the Tiber, the Romans could not live in peace and security. Therefore they employed all their strength and all their perseverance in the enterprise from which nothing succeeded in turning them aside.

This war was their Iliad; heroes and prodigies, the intervention of the gods, a resistance for ten years, great misfortunes after the victory, — nothing was lacking to ennoble the struggle which made Rome the preponderating power of Central Italy. From the first year the war was centred about Veii. Two Roman armies encamped under its walls, — the one to reduce it to starvation, the other to prevent all succors. But Veii was abandoned: the Etruscans assembled at the temple of Voltumna and declared the league dissolved; the Faliscans and the Capenates, being nearer to the danger, made some isolated efforts; they broke up one of the two camps, and opened communication for some time between the besieged and the country. The Tarquinians also invaded the Roman territory, but were repulsed with loss.

The capture of Anxur had been a terrible blow to the power of the Volsci. Rome now had a fortress from which to attack in the rear this people whom the Latins faced and the Hernicans threatened in flank. In 402 the Roman garrison had been surprised; two years later the Romans re-entered the place; and in 397 the Volscians laid siege to the town whilst the Aequians were attacking Bola. It was the critical time of the siege of Veii; Rome was unable to spare a soldier. Fortunately the Latins and Hernicans succored the places threatened; and on the news that the great Etruscan city was giving way, the two hostile nations begged for a truce. In order to insure their position at Anxur, the Senate sent a colony to the neighboring

Circei; a second, established at Vitellia, in the chain of high hills which separates the Valley of the Anio from that of the Trerus, closed finally against the Aequians the issue from their mountains.

For the first time the Romans had continued hostilities during the winter. But their success did not equal their perseverance. The divided command among the military tribunes caused defeat or chilled the ardor of the troops. In 400 B. C., the people, suspecting some treason, at last chose four plebeians to the consular tribunate. Fortune did not change; two tribunes, one of whom died on the field of battle, were again overcome, and the Senate thought all Etruria would rise; it appointed as dictator a patrician who had held with distinction the highest offices, — M. Furius Camillus (396). Camillus called out all the citizens able to bear arms, summoned contingents from the Latins and Hernicans, and led them against the victorious enemy. After a bloody struggle the Capenates and Faliscans withdrew to their cities, and the Romans were able to press on actively the siege of Veii.

Tradition preserves the story of a mine carried beneath the walls, through which the Romans penetrated to the midst of the city. But it records many other marvels, — the overflow of the Alban Lake in the middle of a scorching summer, and the thousand canals dug to prevent the water reaching the sea;[1] the fatal imprudence of the Tuscan haruspex who betrayed his people's secrets; and the menacing prophecy of an Etruscan chief respecting the Gallic invasion. At the taking of the city the recorded prodigies continue. The mine led to the sanctuary of Juno, the guardian divinity of Veii. In the midst of the din of a general assault, Camillus penetrated by the tunnel right to the temple. The Veian King was consulting the gods. "The victor," cried the haruspex, "will be he who shall offer on the altar the

[1] The outlet of the Alban Lake, cut through the volcanic rock for a length of 2,730 yards, 5 feet wide, and high enough for a man to pass along it, is a very ancient work, probably anterior to Rome. There may have been made, at the time of the siege of Veii, some repairs shown to be necessary by the severe winter of 400, which accumulated deep snow on the mountains, and the scorching summer which followed. This canal is still in use, and the stream which escapes by it falls into the Tiber below Rome. Sir Wm. Gell's *Topography of Rome*, pp. 39 and 53.

entrails of the victim." At these words Camillus and the Romans burst into the sanctuary and finished the sacrifice. The plunder was immense; Camillus had called together the whole people to the pillage. The small number of inhabitants who escaped massacre were sold. Meanwhile, from the top of the citadel, Camillus was proudly contemplating the grandeur of the city thus become his conquest, and the richness of the spoils; but he remembered the frail nature of the most brilliant prosperity, and, veiling his head, he prayed the gods to turn from him and the Republic the ills in store for mortals of exceeding good fortune. In turning round, according to the ritual prescribed for solemn prayers, he struck his foot against a stone and fell. But he rose full of joy. "The gods are satisfied," said he; "this fall has expiated my victory."

Rome, in conquering cities, also conquered their gods.[1] Camillus had promised to the Veian Juno a temple on the Aventine, on condition that she consented to leave the hostile city to follow him to Rome. But no one dared to touch the sacred image. Some young knights, purified according to the rites, and clothed in their festal dress, came to the temple to ask the goddess if she consented to go to Rome. "I will do so," said a voice; and the statue appeared to follow of itself those who were to move it.

The credulous Plutarch does not know what to think of such prodigies. He says: "Others allege similar marvels, — that images have exuded drops of sweat; that they have been heard to sigh; that they have moved, or made signs with their eyes: but there is danger in believing too easily such things, as well as in not believing them, because of the frailty of human nature. Hence, to be cautious, and to go to neither extreme, as in everything else, is still the best."[2] In this matter Livy is not cautious, like the prudent Plutarch. He treats the miracle as a fable,[3] — which, however, does not prevent him from promising Juno Regina that her temple at Rome shall be an eternal abode, — *aeternam sedem suam.*

[1] Livy, v. 21; Verg., *Aen.* iii. 222; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 5, 9; Macrob., *Sat.* iii. 9. *Evocare deos. — Solere Romanos religiones urbium captarum partim privatim per familias spargere, partim publice consecrare.* (*Arnob.*, iii. 38.)

[2] *Cam.*, 6.

[3] *Inde fabulae . . .* (v. 22.)



VASES FOUND AT VEII (CAMPANA MUSEUM, ROOM OF BLACK VASES).

Of this eternity nothing now remains, save perhaps a few old marble columns which adorn a temple dedicated to another worship, — the church of Santa Sabina.

The territory of Veii was divided among the citizens, but the city remained a desolate waste for centuries. Propertius could still write, in the time of Augustus: "O Veii, thou wast a kingdom, and in thy forum stood a golden throne! To-day the pipe of the idle shepherd resounds within thy walls, and in thy fields the harvest covers the bones of thy citizens!" [1]



OLD GATE OF THE CITADEL OF FALERII

It recovered under the Empire, only to fall once more. In the time of its power its walls contained a hundred thousand souls; at present the space which is occupied by its citadel — so long the rival of the Roman Capitol — would be far too large for the eighty inhabitants of the Isola Farnese.[2]

The fall of Veii brought that of Capena (395); and Falerii was gained, it is said, by the generosity of Camillus, who had sent back to their fathers the children of the principal people of the city, whom the schoolmaster had given up to him (394).

[1] Carm. IV. x. 27.

[2] See p. 306, the plan of Veii.

Two or three years after, the capture of Nepete and Sutrium carried the Roman frontier, towards the north, up to the dark Ciminian forest, which was thought at Rome to be impassable. The legions ventured, however, to cross it to attack the Salpinates and Vulsinians, who obtained a truce of twenty years, by the indemnity of a year's pay to the Roman army (391).

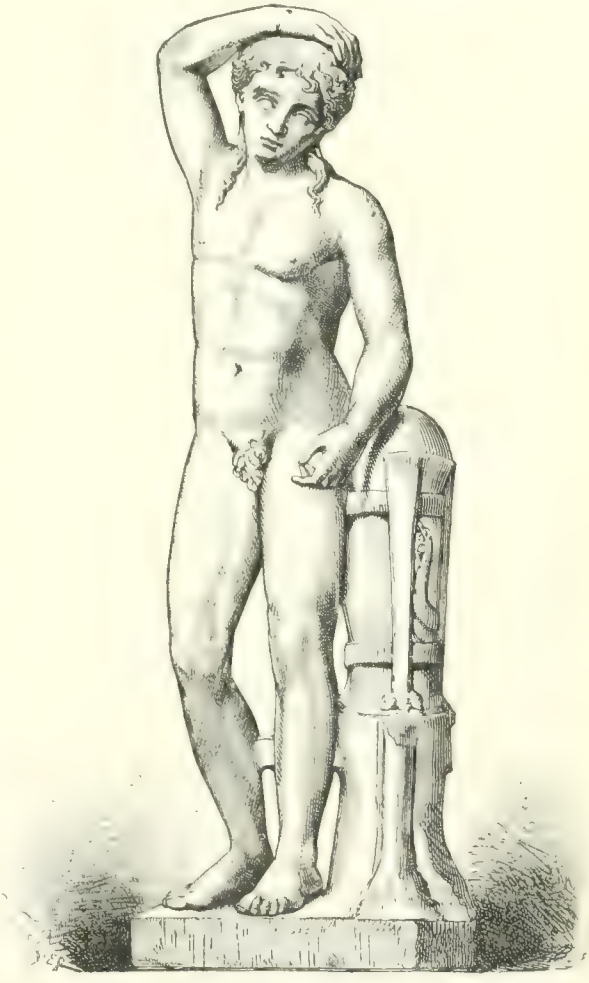
So from 450 to 390 B. C. the Romans have resumed the offensive. They are established in the midst of the Volscians by means of colonies or the garrisons of Circei and Anxur; by those of Bola and Labicum they have guarded their territory against the Aequians. But the latter continue still in possession of Algidus, and have destroyed Vitellia, which might have barred their way to it. If the result is not yet settled between Rome and its two indefatigable enemies, the position is at least the reverse of what it was at the commencement of this period. Fear and caution are transferred to the Volscian side. Besides, Rome has exercised an increasing ascendency over what remains of the thirty Latin tribes. Accustomed to be defended by her, they have learned the habit of obedience. The ancient equality is forgotten, and Rome has united to her own territory that of the Latin cities which she recovered from the enemy. To the north of the Tiber she can boast of a brilliant triumph, and the conquest of the Veian country has doubled her own territory. But in this direction her victories produced a great danger, since they brought her face to face with the Gauls; and she had just lost her best general, — Camillus was an exile.

What was the cause of this exile? The proud magnificence of his triumph, when he went up to the Capitol in a car drawn by four white horses, the equipage given to the Sun-god, his pride, and the vow that he had secretly made to consecrate to the Pythian Apollo the tithe of the booty of Veii, and finally, his opposition to the project of the tribunes to transfer to that city a part of the Senate and people,[1] had, it is said, excited against him the people's hatred. The last proposition was very dangerous, since it would thus have set up again the antagonism which had only been destroyed by desperate efforts.[2] It is

[1] Livy, v. 24.

[2] See p. 369.

hard to see how they could have dared to do it, and the whole matter may be more easily explained. A part of the Veian lands was certainly divided among the plebeians, who thought that the Senate intended to recompense them for their long efforts by the concession of the absolute freehold. Camillus may have proposed to charge this property with a rent for the revenue, as was the case with all the *ager publicus;* hence the popular resentment, and the accusation brought against him under the pretext of embezzlement.[1] His own clients refused to vote in his favor; "We cannot acquit you," said they, "but we will pay the penalty for you." He did not desire an act of devotion which saved his fortune at the expense of his honor, and he went into exile without awaiting the trial. It is related that, after having passed the Ardeatine gate, he turned towards the city and prayed the gods of the Capitol, if he were innocent, to make his fellow-citizens soon repent his exile, — hard and egoistic words, which recall by contrast the touching prayer



PYTHIAN APOLLO.[2]

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 3.

[2] Statuette from the Louvre, No. 73 in the Frohner Catalogue.

of Aristides, but which the Greeks have invented to bring out the true grandeur of their Athenian hero, and to presage the terrible drama of the Gallic invasion.

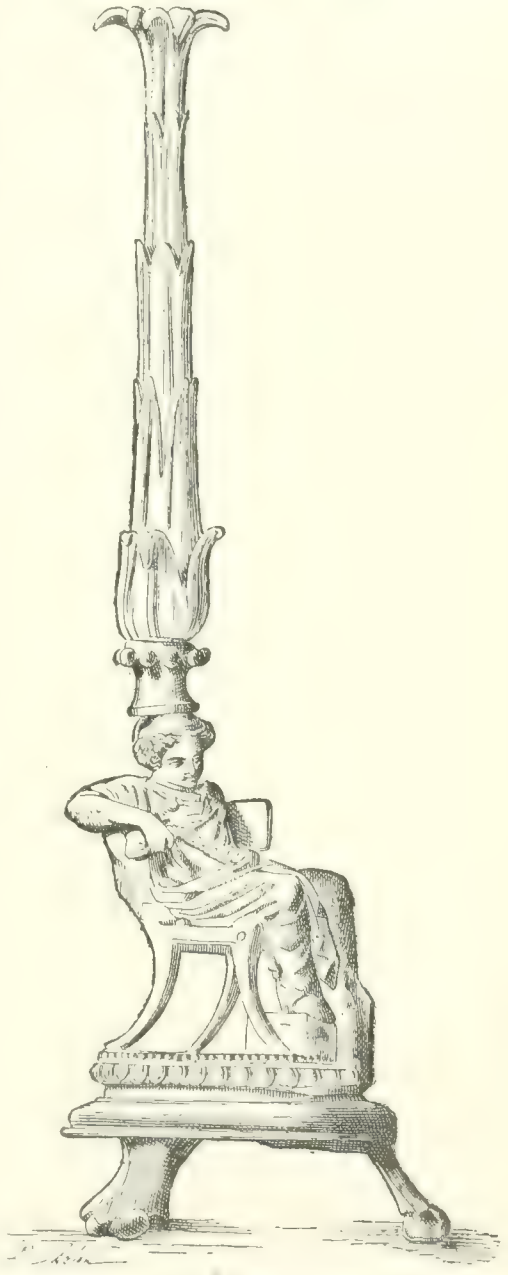
For the same year the Gauls entered Rome.

III. Capture of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B. C.

Nearly two centuries had elapsed since the Gauls had made a descent into Italy, and they had not dared again to entangle themselves in the Apennines; but the most venturous of their bands, by keeping close to the Adriatic shore, went to gain, in the service of the cities of Magna Græcia, large military pay, or to pillage on their own account this beautiful country. Yet we can hardly believe that the Senones — who had since the time of Tarquinius Superbus reached the banks of Aesis — continued more than a century without coveting Etruria, to which they were so near, and with whose opulence they were well acquainted. Here are still the two principal routes which lead from Tuscany into the Romagna. To the east of Perusia the Apennines sink, and over several ridges offer easy passages; the Gauls learned early to cross by them; and this circumstance explains why the Etruscans of the north and east, being menaced by these turbulent neighbors, abandoned those of the south when attacked by Rome. The siege of Clusium was only the most important and best known of these expeditions.

Clusium, built on a height above the Clanis (la Chiana), an affluent of the Tiber, had been in Porsenna's time the most powerful of the Etruscan lucumonies. It was still flourishing, and rich with a thousand objects of art, — vases, candelabra, bronzes of all sorts, some of which have been recovered, and which excited the covetousness of the Gauls as much as did the fertility of the lands. Thirty thousand Senones demanded a share of its territory. The Clusians shut their gates, and begged succor from Rome. The latter sent three ambassadors, Fabii, to offer the mediation of the Romans. "When they had explained their message to the Gallic council," says Livy, "the latter replied that 'though they had never heard of the Romans before, they

must conclude them to be brave men, since the Clusians had begged their aid. Nor would the proposed peace be rejected, if the Clusians, who had too much land, would yield a part to the Gauls, who had too little; otherwise peace will not be granted. Let them answer us in the Romans' presence; if not, we will fight under their eyes, and they will be able to go and tell at Rome how much the Gauls surpass other men in bravery.' 'But by what right do you attack the Etruscans?' asked Q. Ambustus. 'This right,' replied the Senonian Brennus, 'we carry, as you Romans do, at the point of our swords: everything belongs to the brave.'" The Fabii were annoyed at the haughtiness of this barbarian, who dared to assert that their native city had made so little noise in the world, that its name had not yet reached the plains of the Po. Forgetting their character of ambassadors, they joined the besieged in a sortie; and Q. Ambustus slew, in sight of the two armies, a Gallic chief, whom he despoiled of his arms.



CANDELABRUM OF BRONZE FOUND AT CHIUSI.[1]

[1] Atlas of the Inst. archéol. of Rome for 1851. Chiusi has preserved none of the splendor

The barbarians immediately ceased hostilities against Clusium, and demanded reparation at Rome. The whole college of fetiales insisted, in the name of religion, that justice should be done. But the credit of the *gens* Fabia prevailed; the guilty were absolved, and the people, as if struck with madness, gave them three out of the six appointments as military tribunes.

On hearing this, the Senones, reinforced by some bands from the banks of the Po, commenced their march on Rome, without attacking a single city, without pillaging a village. They descended along the Tiber, when, being then eleven miles from the Capitol, near the stream of the Allia,[1] they saw on the other bank the Roman army extended in line, their centre in the plain, their right on the heights, their left covered by the Tiber. The attack commenced from the side of the hills, where the left wing, composed of veterans, kept firm; but the centre, frightened by the shouts and savage aspect of these men, who seemed to them of gigantic proportions, and who advanced, striking their bucklers with their arms, broke their ranks, and threw themselves in disorder on the left wing. All who could not swim across the Tiber, and take refuge behind the strong walls of Veii, perished in the plain, on the banks, and in the bed of the river; the right wing, unbroken, beat a retreat to Rome, and without manning



GAULS.[2]

of Clusium, except a number of tombs with a quantity of sepulchral urns and bronzes decorated with figures in relief and monsters of an Oriental character. By the side of these objects, which have nothing in common with Greek art, have been found some painted vases of Hellenic production or imitation. (Cf. Dennis, *Etruria*, ii. pp. 325–384.) [The candelabrum in the cut shows a thoroughly Greek and well-designed chair adapted to an absurd purpose, — the support of a pillar on a sitting woman's head. — *Ed.*]

[1] According to M. Pietro Rossa, the Scannabecchi, which comes down from the Crustuminian Hills.

[2] Group taken from a bas-relief found at Rome, decorating the sarcophagus called that of Ammendola Villa.

the walls, without closing the gates, hastened to hold the citadel on the Capitoline hill (18th July, 390 B. C.). Happily the barbarians stayed to pillage, to cut off the heads of the dead, and to celebrate with orgies their easy victory. Rome had time to recover from its stupor, and to take measures which might save the Roman name. The Senate, magistrates, priests, and a thousand of the bravest of the patrician youth, shut themselves up in the Capitol. They carried thither all the gold of the temples, all the provisions of the city; as for the bulk of the people, they soon covered the roads, and dispersed among the neighboring cities. Caere (Cervetri) afforded an asylum to the Vestals and the sacred vessels.

On the evening of the second day which followed the battle the Gauls' advanced guard appeared in sight; but, astonished to see the walls bare of soldiers, and the gates open, they feared some snare, and the army put off its entrance till next day. The streets were silent, the houses deserted; in some the barbarians saw with astonishment old men seated on curule chairs, clad in long robes edged with purple, and resting, with calm air and fixed eye, on their long ivory staves. These were ex-consuls, who offered themselves as victims for the Republic, or who had not been willing to beg an asylum among their former subjects. The barbarians at first looked at them with a childlike wonder, quite disposed to take them for supernatural beings; but a Gaul softly passing his hand over the long beard of Papirius, the latter struck him with his staff, whereupon the irritated Gaul slew the old man. This was the signal for massacre; nothing living was spared. After the pillage the houses were set on fire.

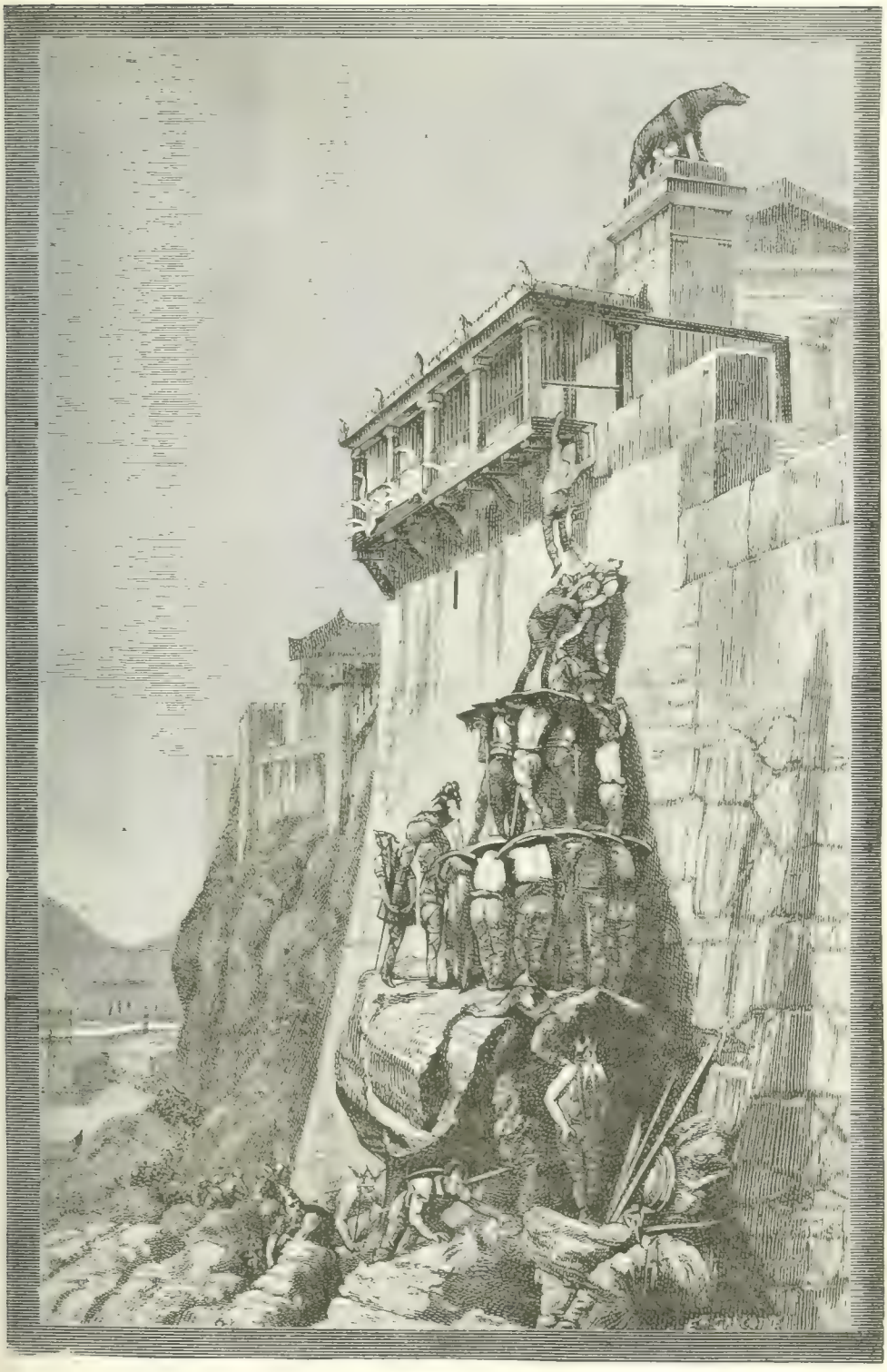
The barbarians saw soldiers and warlike preparations only on the Capitol, and desired to mount it; but on the narrow and steep acclivity which led up to it the Romans had little difficulty in repulsing them, and the siege had to be changed into a blockade. For seven months the Gauls encamped in the midst of the ruins of Rome. One day they saw a young Roman descend at a slow pace from the Capitol clothed in sacerdotal garments, and carrying in his hands some consecrated things: it was a member of the *gens* Fabia; without being disturbed by shouts or threats, he crossed the camp, ascended the Quirinal, and there

performed expiatory sacrifices. Then he returned calmly and slowly by the same way he had taken. Admiring his courage, or struck with superstitious fears, the Gauls had allowed him to pass.[1]

The gods were appeased; fortune was about to change. In their want of foresight, the barbarians had provided neither provisions nor shelter; a rainy autumn brought diseases which decimated them, and famine obliged them to scour the country in bands. The Latins and Etruscans, who at first rejoiced at the misfortunes of their too powerful neighbors, were in their turn affrighted. The best general of Rome was then an exile in Ardea; this city gave him some soldiers with which he surprised and massacred a Gallic detachment. This first success encouraged resistance; on all sides the peasants rose, and the Roman refugees at Veii proclaimed Camillus dictator. The sanction of the Senate and of the Curiae was needful to confirm the election and restore to Camillus the civic rights which he had lost by his exile. A young plebeian, Cominius, crossed the Tiber by night, swimming or floating on the bark of a cork-tree, escaped the enemy's sentinels, and by the aid of some briers and shrubs which clothed the escarped slopes, he reached the citadel. He returned with the same good fortune, and brought to Veii the appointment which put aside all the scruples of Camillus. But the Gauls had observed his footprints. On a dark night they climbed to the very foot of the rampart; they had already touched the battlements, when the cackling of some geese, sacred to Juno, awoke a patrician renowned for his strength and courage, Manlius, who hurled from the top of the wall the foremost assailants. The garrison soon manned the rampart, and but a small number of Gauls regained their camp. The Capitol was saved, thanks to Manlius; but the provisions were exhausted, and Camillus did not appear. The military tribune Sulpicius treated with Brennus, whom an attack of the Veneti summoned to his country,[2] and whose army the malaria

[1] The act of this Fabius was perhaps less wonderful than Livy would make out: the Quirinal was then joined to the Capitol by a ridge which later on was cut, and which Fabius followed. The enterprise was not less audacious, and might have ended badly, but for the religious astonishment of the Gauls at this act of courage and piety.

[2] Polyb., *Hist.* ii. 18.



GEESE OF THE CAPITOL.

was now destroying. It was agreed that the Gauls should receive as ransom 1,000 lbs. weight of gold (about 800 lbs. av.); that provisions and means of transport should be furnished them by the allies of Rome;[1] and that one of the city gates should always stand open.

When the gold was being weighed, the barbarians brought false weights. When Sulpicius protested, "*Vae victis!*" said the Brenn, — "Woe to the conquered!" and he threw into the scales his great sword and his baldric.

The barbarians went off; but Camillus annulled the treaty by his authority as dictator. He ordered the allied cities to close their gates, to attack stragglers and isolated bands. During the blockade, in which 70,000 Gauls were engaged, numerous detachments had quitted the siege to scour the country; they had reached as far as Apulia. When they returned, the mass of the army was gone, all Latium in arms, the Roman legions reorganized; thus very few of them escaped. The Caerites massacred a body of them which fell by night into an ambuscade; and another was crushed by Camillus near a city, the name of which is lost.

This narrative by Livy is plainly legendary, it is a poem in honor of Camillus. At the epoch we have reached, the basis of history is true, the ornaments with which it is decked are not so.[2] Diodorus knows nothing of the dictatorship of Camillus; Polybius relates that the Gauls regained Umbria with their booty; Suetonius, that Livius Drusus recovered a century later the ransom of Rome: others, in fine, that hard conditions were imposed by the conquerors. It is impossible to conceal the defeat of the Allia, the capture and burning of the city. The terror with which the mere name of the Gauls filled the minds of the Romans till Caesar's day, witnessed for more than two centuries that it was simply the heedlessness of the barbarians which had saved Rome from complete annihilation.

[1] Plut., *Cam.* 28; Livy, v. 48.

[2] Against the story of Livy, see Polyb., *Hist.* ii. 22; Suet., *Tib.* 3; Tac., *Ann.* xi. 24, and *Hist.* iii. 72; Polyaen., *Strat.* viii. 25, who mentions this gate, which the Romans were to keep always open, but says that they opened in an inaccessible place, on the Capitol itself, the gate Pandana; lastly, Frontinus, who speaks of the provisions and means of transport in Chap. II. vi. 1, where he shows that one should make for the enemy a golden bridge.

The annalists made amends for this painful admission, by making, out of some slight successes over stragglers, so complete a victory that not a barbarian escaped the avenging sword of Camillus.



PRISONER. FROM A GEM IN THE CABINET DE FRANCE, NO. 2,622 IN THE CHABOUILLET CATALOGUE.

CHAPTER XI.

MILITARY HISTORY FROM 389 TO 343.

I. Rebuilding of the City; The Roman Legion.

If the Capitol was safe, Rome was in ruins. Several tribunes brought forward again, it is said, the proposition of transferring a part of the plebeians to Veii, whose thick walls and houses were still standing. But to abandon places where so many records stirred patriotism, where dwelt the civic divinities and the household gods, where the empire had been founded, and whence domination was extended over the surrounding peoples; to quit the sovereign city for the conquered town, — would not *this* have been a shame, a crime towards the gods, and a great political blunder? Camillus said so, and so the Senate thought; a fortunate omen, the "Let us stay here!" of the centurion who was crossing the Forum, determined the still irresolute people to rebuild the city. A year sufficed, for the Senate gave the bricks, the wood and stones, taken, doubtless, from Veii, which was demolished to furnish materials. These means were cleverly chosen to prevent the people from ever conveying thither their Penates. Once more, the steadfastness of the Senate saved the destinies of Rome.[1]

In the midst of the ruins they had found the augural staff of Romulus, the Twelve Tables, some fragments of royal laws, and some treaties. This was all that seemed to remain of the old Roman society. Rebuilt at random, without plan, without direction, at the caprice of every one, Rome presented in its material aspect the confusion which soon appeared in its political state. In passing

[1] The project of transferring Rome to Veii is probably only an oratorical invention, in which was found a pretext for eloquent speeches, like the story that Julius Caesar thought of transferring it to Ilium. All religion, all rites, were totally opposed to it: what would Terminus and Jupiter Capitolinus have said?

over the soil, the Gallic invasion had levelled it; when the torrent had disappeared, a new city and almost a new people appeared.

The sword of the barbarians had made some great gaps in the population;[1] to fill them up and prevent a dangerous revolt of their subjects, the freedom of the city was granted to the inhabitants of the territory of Veii, Capena, and Falerii; and the first censors appointed after the retreat of the Gauls formed of them four new tribes.[2] It was a very serious step to call at once so many men to a share of the sovereignty, and to give former subjects four votes out of twenty-five; but it was impossible for Rome otherwise to escape from the perilous situation in which the Gauls had left it, and the Senate did not hesitate to make the necessary sacrifice. It was at once rewarded; for doubtless this concession greatly helped the success of the Romans, now left without allies by the defection of part of the Latins and Hernicans,[3] and attacked, before they were fairly out of their ruinous state, by almost all their neighbors.

In refusing to go to Veii, the Romans took upon themselves the work of reconstituting both their city and their empire; and, in spite of contrary appearances, the double work of reconstruction was not beyond their strength. Their neighbors and enemies had also suffered from the invasion, especially the Aequians, through whose country the Gauls had perhaps passed to reach Apulia, and who seemed to have lost their accustomed boldness. Besides, these wars were always merely partial or badly organized attacks. Whatever in certain cases might be the superiority in number, the Romans had that unity of feeling in the soldiers and of command in the chiefs which doubles the strength of armies.

Still, the circumstances were very critical. Rome had never passed through a more dangerous moment. Camillus, who appears constantly at the head of the legions, then gained, but with more justice than in the Gallic war, the title of second founder of Rome.[4] At home, he stimulated all parties to union by his patriotic counsels, or he sought, by his firmness, to impose on them peace.

[1] Τῶν πλείστων πολιτῶν ἀπολωλότων. (Diod., xiv. 116, 8.)

[2] Stellatina, Tromentina, Sabatina, and Arniensis (Livy, vi. 5) in 387.

[3] Livy, vi. 2 . . . *defectione Latinorum Hernicorumque*.

[4] Livy, vi. 35–42.

In the camp his skilful reforms prepared the victory which his talents assured on the field of battle. Before the impetuous attack of the Gauls the Roman legions had fled; he armed the soldiers with long spears, which stopped the impetuosity of the barbarians, and with bronze helmets, with bucklers edged with an iron plate, against which their badly-tempered swords were blunted. He did more: he entirely changed the Roman tactics.

We know not the name of the man who created this animated and living body known as the Roman legion, who knew how to combine in it so well different kinds of weapons, that it was prepared for conquering in all lands, and for triumphing over all forms of troops and tactics, — stanch and united before the swift riders of Mount Atlas or the disorderly bands of barbarians; divisible and light before the Macedonian phalanx or the scythed chariots and elephants of Antiochus: the name of the man who thus constituted the legion into a complete army is unknown. Daily experience, a guerilla warfare, and continual skirmishes, doubtless taught the advantages of the division into maniples over the old organization of the phalanx. But if any general contributed to this change, to whom, more than to Camillus, ought we to assign the honor? The records fail in enabling us to fix the date; it is only known that after the Gallic wars, at the battle of Vesuvius this division was definitively established. Camillus owed, perhaps, to it the numerous successes which saved Rome the second time.

He repeatedly beat the Volscians, the Aequians, and Tarquinians, who could not prevent the Romans from placing two colonies in Nepete and Sutrium, and he did not leave an enemy between the Tiber and the Ciminian forest.[1] But on the left bank, Antium, protected by its maritime position, Praeneste, a rich and populous city, strongly placed and almost impregnable, were in arms, and received numerous volunteers from Latium. A victory of the dictator Corn. Cossus seemed yet more to increase the defections. Velitrae, Circei, and Lanuvium revolted; Camillus, raised for the seventh time to the military tribunate, had difficulty

[1] Nepete was thirty miles from Rome, Sutrium thirty-two, and the *saltus Ciminius* is the wooded chain now called the Mountains of Viterbo. At Sutrium can be seen the very picturesque remains of an amphitheatre cut in the rock. It seems to belong to the imperial epoch; yet some antiquarians think it Etruscan.—Cf. Dennis, *Etruria*, i. pp. 94–97.

in warding off great disasters. In 379 the Praenestines penetrated to the Colline gate, and ravaged all the country between the Tiber and Anio. Overtaken and beaten on the banks of the Allia by the dictator T. Quinctius, they lost eight cities, and begged for peace. Three years after, a two days' battle ended the war against the Antiates, and the military tribune Servius Sulpicius relieved the faithful Tusculans, who had been attacked by the



AMPHITHEATRE OF SUTRIUM.

Latins. These were important successes; but Velitrae and Circei had not been punished for their defection; Praeneste, Antium, and the Volsci did not acknowledge their defeat: Rome was not at that time sure of the Latin plain.

To these wars belongs a legend which perhaps covers an historic fact which the Roman writers refrain from telling us. After the retreat of the Gauls, the Fidenates, in league with some other peoples, had penetrated to the edge of the Servian walls; and as the price of withdrawal, they demanded that the most noble

matrons should be delivered up to them. Shame and anxiety filled the city, when a female slave, whose devotion procured for her the name Tutela, offered to surrender herself to the enemy, together with the most beautiful of her companions, clothed as matrons. The Senators agreed, and the Fidenates, full of boasting at this humiliation of Rome, celebrated it by orgies which continued for some time. When drunkenness had closed their eyes, Tutela, having climbed to the top of a wild fig-tree,[1] called the Romans, who triumphed easily over their unarmed adversaries. This Latin Judith and those who had followed her were emancipated, and dowered at the public expense. Every year, on the nones (7th) of July, the women slaves, dressed in the matron's stola, and carrying branches of the fig-tree, celebrated, by a sacrifice in the temple of Juno Caprotina, the memory of those who had saved the honor of the Roman ladies.[2]

II. Return of the Gauls into Latium; Manlius; Valerius Corvus.

The Senones, who had returned to their own country with the plunder of Rome, had very soon recommenced their adventurous expeditions. In 376 they took the important town of Ariminum, and we have *ases* of that city representing a Gallic head, easily recognizable by the moustache and the necklace that it bears. Of their exploits on the Adriatic coast we know nothing; but they had not forgotten the route through the Latin district, which they had with impunity ravaged for seven months. Twenty-three years after the siege of the Capitol, they reappeared, and reached the



AS OF ARIMINUM.

[1] *Ex arbore caprifico.*

[2] Macr., *Sat.* I. xi. 35–40.

environs of the Alban Mount, where Camillus gained a great victory over them, thanks to the changes he had effected in the equipment of the soldiers (367). Polybius does not speak, it is true, of this last triumph of the octogenarian dictator; but he is quite ignorant of many others which Roman vanity gives in detail. In 361, say the annalists, the Gauls encamped on the *via Salaria*, near the Anio. A bridge separated them from the legions, and every day a warrior of gigantic stature came there to insult the Romans. The legionary tribune Manlius accepted the challenge, slew the Gaul, and snatching from him his gold necklace (*torques*, whence *Torquatus*), put it, all covered with blood, on his own neck. However, the barbarians, apparently invited or supported by Tibur, Praeneste, and the Hernicans, who were frightened by the increasing strength of Rome, ravaged all the country to the east of the city, and, passing between two consular armies, reached the Colline gate.[1] A dictator was appointed; the whole body of youth were armed; and the barbarians were thrown back in disorder upon the army of the consul Poetilius, who pursued them as far as the environs of Tibur, whose inhabitants, having gone to the help of the Gauls, were involved in their flight. The consul at his triumph obtained leave to mention among the names of the vanquished that of the Tiburtines. This brave population of one of the smallest cities in the neighborhood of Rome protested the following year, by insulting the walls of Rome, against this honor, decreed at its expense; and the Gauls, established in a strong position around Pedum,[2] behind an entrenchment formed by their war chariots, set out from there for incursions into Latium and Campania. So also, in the Middle Ages, the Northmen threw themselves audaciously into the midst of the enemy's country, and, making a camp of their ships moored on the shore of the rivers, went forth to pillage far and wide.

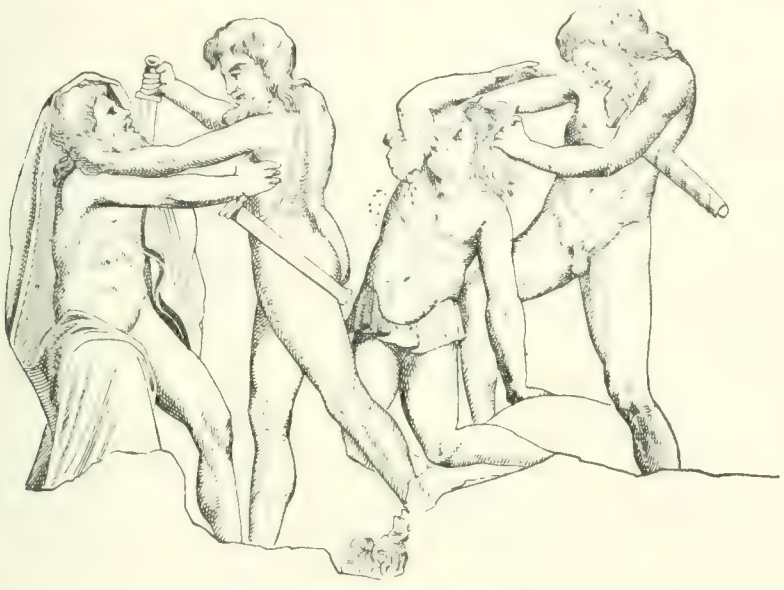
To this Latin and Gallic war was added another more terrible, called forth by religious fanaticism and political hate: the people of Tarquinii declared war (358 B. C.).

All was in a state of conflagration around Rome. For three years the Gauls were encamped in the midst of Latium, and Tibur,

[1] Livy, vii. 11.

[2] *Gallos . . . circa Pedum.* (Livy, vii. 12.) He says elsewhere of Tibur, *arx Gallici belli.*

Praeneste, Velitrae, Privernum seemed in league with them; the Hernicans remembered having recently slain the plebeian consul Genucius, and of having yielded the dictator Appius a victory very dearly bought. Then lastly, the Tarquinians had inherited the hate of Veii against their neighbors of the seven hills, and they forced Caere into alliance with them, in spite of the bond of public hospitality which it had formed with Rome during the



HUMAN SACRIFICES.[1]

Gallic war. Joined in addition by the Faliscans, the Tarquinians went to the fight, conducted by their priests, who brandished, like the Furies, burning torches and serpents. The army of Fabius gave way to a panic at sight of this formidable array, and three hundred and seven legionaries, being made prisoners, were sacrificed by the Tarquinians to their gloomy divinities.

In the midst of so much peril and terror, the renewal, with the Latin cities, of the ancient alliance broken up by the Gallic invasion, was a welcome occurrence (358).[2] Worn out as much as Rome by the prolonged stay of the barbarians, the Latins united

[1] Taken from a painting on an Etruscan tomb. (Atlas of Noël des Vergers.)

[2] *Inter multos terrores solatio fuit . . . magna eis militum ab iis accepta.* (Livy, vii. 12.) The principal cities which composed the new alliance were Aricia, Bovillae, Gabii, Lanuvium, Laurentum, Lavinium, Nomentum, and Tusculum.

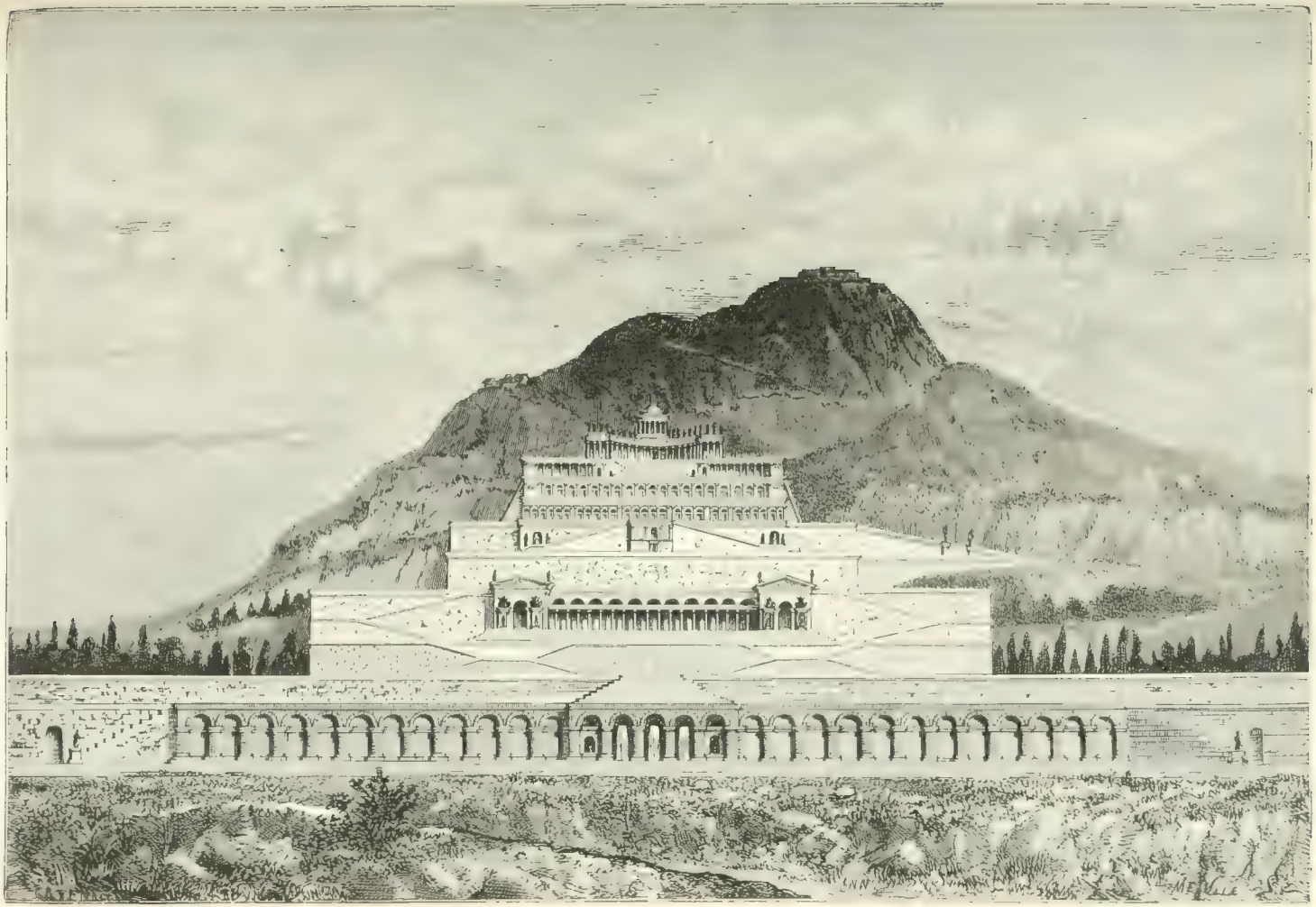
their forces to the legions, and the Gauls were crushed. In their joy the Romans regarded this victory as equal to that of Camillus. Fortune returned; the Hernicans were this same year beaten and subjected; the Volscians crushed so completely, that this brave people, who had for so long a time arrested the future of Rome, now disappears from history. In order to preserve these advantages, and to prepare new resources for the future, the Senate formed of all the inhabitants of the Pomptine country between Antium and Terracina, two new tribes. This policy, which had



WOUNDED GAUL.[1]

proved so useful in 386 B. C., had now the same success. The Privernates, whose city was situated on the Amasenus, which comes down to Terracina, were annoyed at seeing Roman colonies so near them; but their defeat assured the tranquillity of the ancient Volscian country. The inhabitants of Tibur and Praeneste, trusting to their rocks and walls, preserved a threatening attitude. In 354 they decided to treat for peace on the condition of keeping their independence, which the Senate thought it best to respect. From Rome to Terracina all was at peace.

[1] This beautiful statue from the Capitoline Museum was long called the *Dying Gladiator*. It is a Gaul, as is easily seen by the collar he wears.



TEMPLE OF FORTUNE AT PRAENESTE (RESTORATION BY CANINA).

Yet on the north of the Tiber the Etruscans had again ravaged the Roman territory as far as the salt-works of Ostia. In order to drive off these pillagers, Martius Rutilus was appointed dictator (356). He was a *novus homo*. The patricians would fain have avoided a plebeian triumph at any cost; but the people eagerly assembled under a general who had risen from the ranks. Martius repulsed the enemy, and, in spite of the Senate, by the votes of the tribes he re-entered Rome in triumph.

Some youths from Caere had taken part in the raids of the men of Tarquinii into Roman territory. The Senate, which never left desertion unpunished, declared war on these old allies. Caere did not close its gates, its ramparts were not furnished with engines, and none of its citizens took arms: deputies went to Rome, and before the assembled people in the Forum, invoked the memory of their ancient services; the pure and religious hospitality which they had afforded to the flamens and Vestals; and how their town had become in the time of the Gallic invasion the sanctuary of the Roman people, the asylum of its priests, a secure refuge for the holy things. The Roman people, usually so hard-hearted, were softened by their prayers and the confidence shown towards them: they granted the Caerites a truce of one hundred years, which kept up the memory both of the transgression and of its pardon.

In 353 the defeat of Fabius was avenged, and three hundred and fifty-eight Tarquinians of noble family were beheaded in the Forum.[1] Three years later that people asked and obtained a truce of forty years.

Men now looked for a period of repose; but the Gauls re-appeared (349). One of them, remarkable for his tall stature, challenged the Romans to single combat. The legionary tribune M. Valerius having obtained leave from the consul to accept the challenge, renewed the exploit of Manlius, to which the annalists added marvellous circumstances. A raven, said they, swooped down on his helmet during the combat, and troubled the Gaul by striking him on the face with its wings and beak; when the

[1] Livy, vii. 19. These little wars were very bloody. "Many were slain on the field of battle," says Livy, "and a great number were made prisoners. The nobles were beheaded at Rome, *vulgus aliud trucidatum*."

barbarian fell, the bird resumed its flight and disappeared towards the east. The soldiers bestowed the surname of *Corvus* upon the victor, and fell upon the enemy in full assurance of victory. This battle, gained by the son of Camillus, put an end to the Gallic invasions. The barbarian army, driven out of Latium, boldly threw itself into Campania, and pushing forward, without thinking of its return, penetrated as far as Apulia. Eight centuries later the Franks renewed these daring raids with the same careless confidence, and starting from the banks of the Meuse, went straight before them till they were stopped by the Straits of Messina.



ETRUSCAN WARRIOR.[1]

The hero of this last contest, Valerius Corvus, was chosen consul at the age of twenty-three (in 346), to suppress some movements among the Volscians. He burned Satricum, which the Antiates had rebuilt. In the following year the taking of Sora on the Liris,[2] at the extremity of the Volscian country, and a victory over the Aurunci, who inhabited a group of volcanic mountains on the left bank of the same river,[3] opened the road to Campania to the Romans.



ETRUSCAN ARCHER.[4]

These wars are as toilsome to read about as they were to fight; and even the art of Livy has not succeeded in making them interesting. But a great nation has a right to the same curiosity as is accorded to the obscure origin of a great man,

[1] Taken from Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*.

[2] Four miles below Sora, after its junction with the Fibrenus, the Liris forms, near the village of Isola, one of the most beautiful cascades in Italy. The river there falls from a total height of more than 100 feet. (Craven, *Abruzzi*, i. 93.) Cicero had a house near the spot, on the Isola San Paolo, which is surrounded by the Fibrenus. He was born there (*de Leg.* iv. 1), and it was about this villa that he uttered the beautiful words we have quoted on p. 210.

[3] On one of these mountains, now called Monte di Santa Croce, the highest peak of which rises to a height of nearly 3,300 feet above the sea, the Aurunci had built their first capital, *Aurunca*, which the Sidicini destroyed in 337.

[4] Taken from a painting on an Etruscan tomb at Caere.

and we must not show ourselves more indifferent than Carthage and Athens were to the phenomenon of such tenacious perseverance. Already the blows struck at the foot of the Apennines were heard afar. Greece grew interested in the defeats of the Romans as well as in their victories,[1] and Carthage had recently renewed the treaty which she had concluded with them a century and a half earlier. A hundred and sixty-five years of fighting were needful for them to regain the frontiers and alliances of which the abolition of royalty had deprived them. The power of this people had grown very slowly; but in the midst of these dangers and miseries its sturdy youth had been formed; and it is by slow growth that men become strong, and greatness durable.

[1] The capture of Rome by the Gauls was known in Greece shortly after the event. Aristotle, who mentions it, names one Lucius as the savior of the city. Niebuhr thinks that this Lucius was the son of the great Camillus and the victor of 349.



GALLIC TORQUIS, TAKEN FROM THE MUSEUM OF SAINT-GERMAIN.

CHAPTER XII.

ACCESSION OF THE PLEBEIANS TO CURULE OFFICES.

I. The Licinian Laws; Division of the Consulships.

WHILE Rome was making such persevering efforts to re-establish her power without, within the city the tribunes continued the struggle against the patriciate. As it had been a century earlier, so now debts were the cause of new dissensions. The land-tax being the principal revenue of the state, the misfortunes of war, especially when it drew near to Rome, had the double result of obliging the treasury to make greater demands on property, and of diminishing at the same time the value of the land and its produce. The tax became heavier, and the resources which served to pay it, smaller. Hence came debts, as numerous after the Gallic invasion as they had been after the royal wars, and the two revolutions which they occasioned, — the one giving rise to the tribuneship, the other which resulted in the sharing of the curule offices.

In 389 B. C. it became necessary to rebuild the burned town. Doubtless the house of a plebeian cost but little to reconstruct. But whence was a man who had lost everything, furniture and flocks, to draw the means of getting his little field under cultivation again, sheltering his family, buying a few cattle, and paying the war tax, the tax for the Capitol,[1] the tax for re-building the temples and walls, unless he drew it from his patron's purse? The allotment of lands made to the plebeians in the territory of Veii had been another cause of borrowing. As the state only gave the

[1] New constructions were erected there, to render it inaccessible from the Tiber, on which side it had been considered, until the Gallic invasion, that the river sufficiently defended the approaches.



FALL OF THE LIRIS, NEAR SORA.

land, it was often necessary for some rich man to advance the funds for the agricultural implements, flocks, and seeds necessary to stock the seven *jugera*. But the rate of interest was heavy, the creditor pitiless: the *ergastula* were again crowded: Camillus himself was distinguished for his cruelty.

Here we come upon an obscure story. Livy, the unconscious but constant echo of patrician hatred, relates that Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, jealous of the glory of Camillus, and irritated at being overlooked in the distribution of offices, constituted himself the patron of the poor, and delivered as many as four hundred debtors from prison. Every day the crowd increased around him and his house on the Capitol. "The great oppress and ruin you," he urged; "not satisfied with appropriating the state lands, they embezzle the public money. They are hiding the money recaptured from the Gauls, and while you are exhausting your last resources in restoring to the temples their treasures, they reserve for their pleasures the money which they receive for a sacred work." Against him as much as against the Volscians a dictator was appointed, Cornelius Cossus, who on his return from the campaign cast him into prison. A senatus-consultum having restored him to liberty, two tribunes, won over by the patricians, or themselves jealous of his popularity, accused him of high treason. In the comitia centuriata Manlius recalled his exploits: he displayed the arms of thirty enemies slain by him, eight civic crowns, thirty-two military rewards, the wounds which covered his breast, and the Capitol which he had saved! This sight, these words, excited the compassion of the people, and he would have been acquitted, when the assembly was broken up, and the judgment deferred till another day. In a meeting of the people held in a place whence the citadel of Rome could not be perceived, or according to others by the sentence of the Duumvirs,[1] he was condemned to death. By Dion's account, Manlius, having occupied the Capitol with his partisans, was precipitated from the Tarpeian rock[2] by a traitor whom he trusted. His house on the Capitol was razed to the ground, it was forbidden for any one ever to build on that hill, and the *gens*

[1] *Duumviri perduellionis.*

[2] See p. 335.

Manlia decided that none of its members should henceforth bear the praenomen of Marcus (384).[1]

Manlius, who shared the fate of Cassius and Maelius, must have been sacrificed like them to the hatred of the nobles;[2] but he was doubtless only a vulgar agitator: C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius were true reformers. They were rich and noble plebeians, to whom the equality of the two orders through the military tribuneship only appeared a political lie: from 400 to 367 B. C. there had been only fifteen plebeians elected to the military tribuneship. Livy, who like so many other historians is fond of assigning great events to small causes,[3] relates "that a senator, Fabius Ambustus, had married the elder of his two daughters to the patrician Serv. Sulpicius, and the second to a rich plebeian, Licinius Stolo. One day the two sisters were conversing in the house of Sulpicius, when he, at that time military tribune, returned from the Forum preceded by his lictor, who, according to custom, knocked at the door with his rod. At this noise the young Fabia grew disturbed; then she expressed astonishment at the numerous retinue which followed the tribune. The elder laughed at both her astonishment and ignorance, and her raillery showed the wide gulf placed between her and her sister by marriage, which had led the latter into a house wherein *honors* could never enter. Fabia was so hurt by this, that her father noticed her vexation, and promised her that she should one day see in her own home the dignities which she had seen at her sister's. From that time he began to concert plans with his son-in-law and another young man of strong energy, L. Sextius."

It is a pretty incident; Livy is never loth to scatter a few flowers through the severe history of the least romantic of nations; and we do the same, but without any belief in them. The young Fabia had often at her father's home or at the houses of family friends heard the lictor's knock, and had often seen the retinue which always followed magistrates and persons of importance. Nothing of all this could have surprised her, then, and she well

[1] Livy, vi. 14–20.

[2] . . . *Inimicorum oppressus factione.* (Serv., in *Aen.* viii. 652.)

[3] *Parva, ut plerumque solet, rem ingentem moliundi causa intervenit.* (Livy, vi. 34.)

knew, in marrying Licinius, in what condition that plebeian would place her. The revolution which was preparing no more arose from the jealousy of a woman, than the Trojan war was caused by the abduction of Helen; it was the last act of a struggle carried on for one hundred and twenty years, and which had never stayed its course for one single day.

Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, being appointed tribunes of the people in 376 B.C., formally demanded the division of the consulship; and in order to compel the plebeians to take an interest in this question, they presented the following resolutions: —

In future no more military tribunes shall be appointed, but two consuls, of whom one must always be a plebeian. No one shall possess more than 500 *jugera* (about 312 acres) of public land. Interest already paid shall be deducted from the principal, and the remainder shall be repaid in three years by equal instalments.[1]

The moment for the final struggle had then arrived. It was worthy of its earlier stages. There was no useless violence, but on both sides admirable perseverance. For ten successive years the tribunes obtained their re-election. In vain did the Senate gain over their colleagues, whose veto suspended their action, and in vain twice have recourse to the dictatorship. Camillus, threatened with a heavy fine, and perhaps with a second exile in his old age, abdicated; and Manlius, when proclaimed after him, chose a plebeian, Licinius Calvus, as Chief of the Cavalry. The sanctity of religion was employed as a means of opposition to the tribunes; there was not a plebeian in the priesthood.

In order to destroy this movement, and avert the intervention of the gods, which the senators would have claimed to read in the oracles of the Sibyl, they added this fourth clause, which the Senate accepted in order to invest its own side with an appearance of justice: "Instead of duumvirs for the Sibylline books, decemvirs shall in future be appointed, of whom five shall be plebeians."

The people, however, wearied with such prolonged debates.

[1] Livy, vi. 35; Colum., i. 3; Dionys., viii. 73.

were on the point of betraying their own cause: they no longer demanded more than the two laws concerning debts and land, which the patricians were disposed to yield. But the tribunes declared the three propositions inseparable: they must be adopted or rejected together. The comitia of tribes voted for them, the Senate accepted them, and the centuries proclaimed Lucius Sextius, one of the two tribunes, consul. In their Curiae the patricians refused the *imperium* to the plebeian consul, and the battle, which was on the point of ending, began again more fiercely than ever. The details of this last struggle are little known. There is vague mention of terrible threats, and of a new secession of the people. Camillus interposed. He had just won his last victory over the Gauls; five times dictator, seven times military tribune, full of glory and honors, he desired a repose worthy of his sixty years of service. Won over by his counsel and example, the Senators yielded, the election of Sextius was ratified, and Camillus, closing the age of revolutions for a century and a half, vowed a temple to Concord (366 B. C.).[1]

The gates of the political city, then, were at last forced; the plebeians now in turn take their seat on the curule chair. In token of the admission of these new-comers into the real Roman people, there was added to the three festal-days of the great games held in honor of the three ancient tribes, a fourth day for the plebeians.[2]

II. The Plebeians gain Admission to all Offices.

The adoption of the Licinian laws marks a new era in the history of the Republic. But were these laws faithfully observed? and what were the consequences to the great, to the populace, and to the fortune of Rome? These are the questions which

[1] The magnificent ruins which still remain of the Temple of Concord do not belong to the edifice erected by Camillus, which appears to have been built at the Capitol (Ovid, *Fast.* i. 637), and of which nothing is left, nor to that of Flavius, which, according to Pliny (xxxiii. 6, 3), was only a bronze chapel raised on the Vulcanal, above the Comitium; they formed part of a temple of Concord, of which mention is often made in the last days of the Republic, and which was situated at the foot of the *Tabularium*.

[2] Dionys., vii. 41.

we are about to examine; separating, for greater clearness, the political laws from social, or such as related to debts and property.

The patricians never frankly accepted popular victories. On the morrow of their defeat they began again disputing step by step the ground they had lost on the preceding day, multiplying obstacles in order to put off the evil day, when the equality which they looked upon as sacrilege must be finally achieved. This time they yielded the consulship itself, but the consulship dismembered. Two new patrician magistracies were, in fact, created at its expense,—the *praetorship*, for the administration of justice, the formulae of which were unknown to the plebeians, and the *curule aedileship*,[1] for the city police (366). Class interest was, for this once, in accord with public interest. The patricians gave their own order three new offices, but they gave the Republic three necessary magistracies.

The great pre-occupation of modern governments is, or ought to be, to protect the fortune and life of citizens, to develop instruction and commerce, to diminish misery and vice. The Romans of the early times had no such cares. They considered their task ended when they had provided for internal peace and the security of the frontiers; the rest concerned only individuals. The Romans of the time of which we speak were beginning to understand that it was for the interest of the treasury to establish a supervision over their public buildings, which were now rapidly increasing in number; also that their city, as it grew larger, required an organized protection in the streets against fires, in the markets against fraud, in the baths, taverns, and dangerous quarters, against brawls. Finally, in times of scarcity it was necessary to buy wheat abroad, and sell it to the people at a low price.[2] The plebeian aediles no longer sufficed for this work, and it was well to double their number. "The Senate having decreed," says Livy, "that in order to thank the gods for the re-establishment of concord between the plebs and the patriciate a fourth day should be added to the Roman games, the plebeian

[1] . . . *Quod pro consule uno plebeio tres patricios magistratus . . . nobilitas sibi sumpsisset.* (Livy, vii. 1.) The curule aedileship formed a college composed, like the plebeian aedileship, of two members; at first there was only one praetor.

[2] Cicero (*de Leg.* iii. 3) names the aediles: *Curatores urbis, annonae, ludorumque solemnium.*

aediles refused to sanction this expenditure, and in order to avoid the omission of this honor towards the immortal gods, some young nobles offered to take the expense upon themselves, on condition that they should be appointed aediles.[1] Here again we find anecdote taking the place of history. We have just seen the serious reasons which led to this creation. Moreover, the new magistracy became almost immediately common to the two orders.

The praetorship was in like manner a necessary duplicate of the consulship. As the state became greater, more frequent and more distant wars left the first magistrates of the Republic but little time to occupy themselves with civil justice, and the recent agrarian law of Licinius Stolo was sure to multiply law-suits to an extraordinary degree. Although the division of power was not a very Roman idea, men saw the utility of insuring the regular course of justice by always having at Rome a magistrate charged with its administration, to supplement the absent consul. In order to mark the subordinate character of the praetor, only six lictors were allowed him.[2] But he was elected, like the consul, in the comitia centuriata and with the same auspices; he presided, in the consul's absence, at the meetings of the people and the Senate; and the *imperium*, which he possessed from the outset, allowed him in later times to assume the functions of leader of the army and of provincial governor. His judicial competence was summed up in three words: *Do*, I give the judge and the mode of procedure; *Dico*, I declare the right; *Addico*, I adjudge the object of the suit. On his entry into office, the praetor gradually fell into the habit of publishing an edict, in which he indicated the rules of jurisprudence which he intended to follow; we shall see that this *edictum praetorium* by degrees transformed all the Roman legislation.

So much good resulted from this institution, that twenty years later there was appointed a second praetor for disputes between citizens and foreigners, — the *praetor peregrinus*. He must,

[1] Livy, vi. 42; vii. 1. . . . *postea promiscuum fuit.*

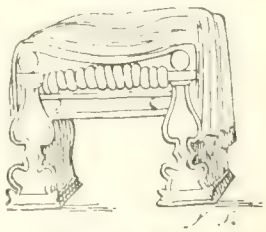
[2] There were two praetors in 342 B. C., four in 227, six in 197, eight under Sylla. We shall see later the reasons for these different augmentations.



TEMPLE OF CONCORD (RESTORATION BY CANINA).

by reason of his office, be versed in foreign customs, *jus gentium*, as well as national usages, *jus civile*, and his edicts prepared the way for the fusion of these rights. Rome possessed, then, from this time forth, the two workmen who were slowly collecting the numberless materials wherewith the jurisconsults were to construct the magnificent monument of the *Pandects*.

The consuls retained the command of the armies, the presidency of the Senate, and the raising of troops. These were still too high prerogatives for the patricians not to seek to recover them. The dictatorship was left them; they made use of it either to preside over the comitia and influence the election of consuls, or to snatch from a plebeian general the honors of a successful war. Between 363 and 344, a period of only twenty years, there were fourteen dictators.



SEAT FOR A LECTISTERNIUM.[1]

The one who stood at the head of this long list was Manlius Imperiosus. The plague was raging with murderous intensity, and had carried off Camillus; the Tiber overflowed its banks; an earthquake had opened in the midst of the Forum an abyss into which Curtius is said to have leaped fully armed. In order to appease the angry gods, new games, drawn from Etruria, had been celebrated, mingled with songs and dances to the sound of the flute; then the statues of the great gods had been laid on beds and invited, as a pledge of reconciliation, to a sacred banquet (*lectisternium*). Manlius having been appointed dictator in order to drive the sacred nail into the temple of Jupiter, refused, when the ceremony was ended, to resign his powers; he retained his twenty-four lictors, and announced a levy against the Hernicans. This prolonged suspension of the consular power coincided too well with the views of the Senate, which was ready to respect the dictatorial power under such circumstances. But the tribune Pomponius accused the dictator. Among other grievances he reproached him with his conduct towards his own son, banished from the domestic Penates, exiled to the fields, and condemned to servile labors. "This son of a dictator

[1] Marble seat, preserved in the Glyptothek at Munich, on which was placed the statue of a god in the ceremony of the *lectisternium*.

learned, by a daily punishment, that he was born of a father worthy of his surname (*Imperiosus*). And what was his crime? He had a difficulty in expressing himself. Instead of correcting this natural defect by education, Manlius aggravates the evil; he retards still further this dull spirit; and whatever vivacity and intelligence remain to his son will be extinguished by the rustic habits which he imposes on him." A singular reproach in the mouth of a tribune! But every kind of weapon was employed. Moreover the Romans, like the English of our own day, were proud of their nobility, and were unwilling that any young patrician should be brought up in a manner unworthy of his birth.

While all the people were indignant with Manlius, the victim, grieved at being a subject of prosecution to his father, conceived a project which set an example, to be commended, indeed, but not without danger in a free city. Unknown to any one, with a dagger hidden under his robe, he came to the house of Pomponius one morning, gave his name, and insisted on being admitted. Every one retired, in order to leave him alone with the tribune. Then he drew his dagger, and threatened to stab Pomponius, who was still in bed, unless he swore, in terms which he dictated to him, "never to convoke an assembly of the people to accuse the dictator." The tribune, finding himself at the mercy of an armed man, young and powerful, grew frightened, and repeated the oath imposed on him. The people were dissatisfied to see their victim escape, but they willingly rewarded the young man's filial piety by appointing him legionary tribune."[1] The chiefs of the plebs, who knew how to profit not only by their hatred, but by their affections, seized this opportunity to claim for the comitia the nomination of six of those officers (362 B. C.).

Four times more, in the four following years, the Senate had recourse to the dictatorship. But this supreme office was itself invaded. In 356[2] the danger of the war against the Etruscans caused the

[1] Livy, vii. 4, 5.

[2] The preceding year was marked by the establishment of a tax of 5 per cent on enfranchisements. This tax was established in connection with Privernian prisoners, released on ransom by the soldiers of the consul Marcius. His colleague, Manlius, had caused it to be voted by the army encamped near Sutrium. The tribunes accepted the law, but instituted the punishment of death for any one who should renew this dangerous precedent of calling on his army to discuss public affairs. (Livy, vii. 16.) Let us notice that this tax must be paid in gold, and

proclamation of Marcius Rutilus, one of the most illustrious plebeians, as dictator, who four years later also became the first censor of his order.

The plebeian consulship was the door, as it were, which gave access to the sanctuary. The patricians tried to close it; from 355 to 341 they managed to have the two consuls taken from their ranks on seven occasions. Three years earlier, the Poetelian law had forbidden canvassing (*ambitus*), in order to diminish the chances of success of new men, who, being little known among the rural tribes, travelled through the country soliciting votes (358). Yet the plebeian consulship had not been the reward of the seditious or of demagogues. Licinius and Sextius were only once honored with this office, and for a long time after them no tribune succeeded in obtaining it; for in order to restrict the number of consular plebeians, the patricians combined in favor of the same candidates, preferring to see the same men consul four times rather than the consulship be given to four new men.[1] In twenty-seven years they had permitted only eight plebeians to arrive at the consulship. Even this was much. What did the ability of Marcius and Popilius matter? Could their services efface the stain of their birth? This imprudent attempt on the part of the patricians completed their defeat. The rich plebeian families grew angry at being deprived of what the perseverance of Licinius had gained for them. As for the poor, ruined then, as always, by usury, they were then, as always, disposed to insurrection.

After the first Samnite war the Romans had placed a garrison at Capua. In that lovely country the legionaries remembered the creditors who awaited them at Rome, and also the means employed by the Samnites twenty-four years before to obtain possession of the town, when, having been received by the Campanians as friends, they had one feast-day fallen upon them unarmed and butchered them all. The plot was discovered. To avert the execution of it, the consul Marcius Rutilus sent the soldiers away

all lodged in the treasury, where it constituted a reserve fund, which it was forbidden to touch, save in cases of extreme necessity.

[1] Marcius and Popilius were four times consuls; Plautius and Genucius three times, etc. It seems, too, that a single magistrate had united several offices. (See next page.)

by cohorts. But they re-assembled at the defiles of Lautulae, *passo di Portella*, a narrow pass between the sea and the mountains, which it was necessary to traverse in going from Fundi to Terracina, that is to say, from Campania into Latium.[1] When their bands reached the proportions of an army, they marched upon Rome to the number of twenty thousand, calling on all who were enslaved for debt to join them. Near Bovillae they fortified a camp, ravaged the neighboring lands; and having found a patrician, T. Quinctius, in his villa near Tusculum, they compelled him to put himself at their head. A revolt of the plebeians responded to that of the soldiers. They marched out of Rome and camped four miles from its walls. A popular dictator, Valerius Corvus, was appointed; but his soldiers, instead of fighting, sided with their comrades; and all together demanded and obtained:[2] —

1. A general amnesty and complete forgiveness of the past.

2. A military regulation providing that the legionary serving under the standard should not, without his own consent, be erased from the registers, — that is to say, be deprived of the advantages attached to military service,[3] — and that one who had served as tribune should not be enrolled as centurion.

3. A reduction in the pay of the knights.

The plebeians on their part, having returned into the city, voted, on the proposal of the tribune Genucius, the following laws, which had the double object of relieving the poor and preventing offices becoming the hereditary patrimony of a few families (342 B. C.): —

4. No one should be re-eligible for the same office till after an interval of ten years, and no one should be invested with two magistracies at the same time.

5. Both the consuls might be plebeians.

6. Loans on interest and debts to be abolished, the *nexi* to be released.[4]

In these grave circumstances the Senate had shown a spirit of

[1] The passage is so narrow, that a tower and a gate are enough to close it. It was, not long since, the boundary between the States of the Church and the Neapolitan Kingdom.

[2] Livy, vii. 38, 42: *Lex sacrata militaris.*

[3] The legionary serving under the standard could not be pursued by his creditors; and if the campaign was successful, he found himself able, with his share of the booty, to pay or diminish his debts.

[4] Tac., *Ann.* vi. 16.

conciliation, of which it again made proof two years later, when it allowed the plebeian dictator, Publilius Philo, to strike the last blow at the old *régime* by the suppression of the legislative veto of the Senate (339 B. C.). The following laws were also passed: —

1. The plebiscita should be binding on all.[1]

2. Every law presented for the acceptance of the comitia centuriata should be approved beforehand by the Senate.[2]

3. One of the censors must be always chosen from the plebeians; both consuls might belong to that order.

The last of these laws was the application to the censorship of the Licinian law on the consulship. By means of the other two, Publilius Philo wished to concentrate the legislative power in the centuries and tribes, in order to avert the possibility of a conflict between the two sovereign assemblies and the Senate. The latter no longer retained any sign of its ancient power, save the *preliminary approbation* of the plebiscita and laws of the centuries; and this obligatory approbation appeared to be a mere formality. But the Senate made arrangements with the consuls for drawing up the list of consular and praetorian candidates presented to the centuries, and for approving beforehand the projected laws to be carried before them. On a future day, when the tribunes made common cause with the nobles, the Senate pursued the same course in respect to the plebiscita, and in this way again became for a time master of the Republic.[3]

Let us note, at the moment when the reciprocal rights of the assemblies and the Senate are being determined, that while the Curia discussed a subject before voting upon it, the Comitia voted without discussing it. For popular assemblies the Romans had wisely separated discussion and decision, — certainly a very useful precaution against the sudden and violent excitement

[1] The law of Horatius and Valerius had given the force of law to the resolutions of the tribes, by submitting them to the sanction of the Senate, *patrum auctoritas*. Publilius freed them from the sanction *post eventum*, by submitting them, like the laws of the centuries, to the *preliminary approbation* of the Senate. As an electoral power, the comitia by tribes appointed the aediles, quaestors, and tribunes.

[2] . . . *Ut legum quae comitiis centuriatis ferrentur, ante initum suffragium patres auctores fierent.* (Livy, viii. 12.)

[3] This new development will be explained in vol. ii. of this work.

that a glowing speech might produce just before the ballot.[1] Yet the resolutions of the centuries and tribes were not taken till the citizens had been enlightened by a controversial debate at a *contio*, — a free assembly presided over by a magistrate, and which a magistrate of superior rank might forbid.[2] It was there that the measures to be proposed to the comitia were discussed. In our [French] assemblies there is always a right of replying to a minister; in the *contio* the magistrate spoke last.[3] This means that with us more liberty is allowed for an attack on the Government; whereas at Rome it was rather sought to defend it. This single fact shows the difference between the two states.

The consequences which followed the revolt of the Campanian legions prove that the rebels had no intention of committing the lawless violence which some have supposed; but that they were carrying out a plan formed by the popular leaders to complete the revolution to which Licinius Stolo had given an irresistible impulse. In 339, indeed, ends the political strife, which the secession of the people to the Sacred Mount had commenced a century and a half earlier. If the plebeians are still excluded from some offices, they gain access to them gradually — without commotions, without struggles — by the sole force of the new constitution — whose spirit is equality, as that of the old was privilege. Thus Publilius Philo obtained the praetorship in 337, and in 326 the proconsulship, — which office was consequently open to plebeians from its foundation. At an uncertain date, after 366, but before 312, the Ovinian plebiscitum threw the Senate open to plebeians;[4] and in the year 300 the Lex Ogulnia decreed that

[1] Cic., *pro Flacco*, 7: *O morem praeclarum disciplinamque, quam a majoribus accepimus . . . Nullam illi . . . vim contionis esse voluerunt, etc.;* and he compares all the precautions taken by the ancient Romans with the tumultuous assemblies of the Greeks, where men voted by show of hands as soon as the orator had finished speaking.

[2] Aulus Gellius, xiii. 15. I need not add that it often happened, in the last centuries of the Republic, that the deliberative assembly immediately preceded that in which the votes were taken, — which much diminished the value of the precautions taken in olden times.

[3] Dion., xxxix. 35: . . . τοῖς ἰδιώταις πρὸ τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων ὁ λόγος ἐδίδοτο.

[4] This law transferred from the consuls to the censors the right of drawing up the list of Senators, but obliged them to choose the new members, *ex omni ordine optimum quemque*, from among the old curule magistrates, quaestors, plebeian aediles, and tribunes. Thus, in the space of a lustrum, there were 50 tribunes and 10 aediles, so that the plebeians were not long in finding

thenceforth four pontiffs and five augurs should be taken from the second order.[1] This was the division of the priesthood, and the abolition of the patrician veto of the augurs. Four years later the son of a freedman, Flavius, clerk to the censor Appius, by the publication of the calendar[2] and the formulae connected with lawsuits, deprived the patricians of the only advantage left them, — the knowledge of civil and sacred law.

The consuls had always appointed the legionary tribunes. In the year 362 the people took upon themselves the right to choose six of them; fifty years later they appropriated a larger share of the appointments, and decided, by the Atilian plebiscitum, that they would name sixteen. As each of the four legions raised annually had six tribunes, democratic jealousy had thus deprived the generals of the choice of two thirds of them. Fortunately, among this military nation, where every citizen must have served in at least ten campaigns, it was difficult for the popular vote to appoint to any command men incapable of exercising it.

To this work of popular levelling belongs the Maenian law,[3] established towards the end of the Samnite war, which suppressed the right, hitherto left to the Curiae, of refusing the *imperium* to magistrates chosen by the centuries. Deprived of all influence over elections and the making of laws, this ancient assembly of the Roman people fell into disuse. There was no longer patrician caste, nor comitia curiata. But this nation, whose life was a perpetual revolution, was more tenacious than any other of the worship of the past. Like the citizens who proudly displayed the images of their ancestors, it religiously preserved the memory and semblance of things which time or man had destroyed. Even the

themselves a majority in the Senate. Cf. Livy, xxii. 49: . . . *senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent unde in senatum legi deberent.*

[1] The salii, the fratres Arvales, the fetiales, and the *rex sacrorum*, who played no political *rôle*, were always taken from the patricians.

[2] The calendar showed the days and hours in which it was legal to plead. As these days varied each year, it was necessary, before the time of Flavius, to consult the pontiff, or those patricians who were initiated into these mysteries of these calculations . . . *a paucis principum quotidie petebat.* (Pliny, xxxiii. 6.) The Tables of Flavius, in which were revealed the *legis actiones*, the *actus legitimi*, the *dies fasti*, *nefasti*, and *intercisi*, formed the *jus Flavianum*. The patricians having devised new formulae, Sextus Aelius Catus again disclosed them in 202. To his work the name of *jus Aelianum* was given.

[3] Cic., *Brut.* 14.

Empire did not completely sweep them away. Three centuries after Augustus there was a Senate, which at times resumed its political character in earnest, and Justinian still appointed consuls. Thus the Curiae still continued, preserved, like the statues of the kings, by the respect in which men and things of ancient times were held by all, but reduced to insignificant civil and religious prerogatives, and represented by thirty lictors, under the presidency of the high pontiff.

By this downfall of the Curiae, all the aristocratic strength of the government was concentrated in the Senate, into which a greater number of plebeians entered daily through the medium of office.

From 302 to 286 came renewed confirmation of the fundamental laws, which were the Magna Charta, as it were, of plebeian liberties.

In 302 there was a confirmation of the Valerian law, which, by the right of appeal, gave the accused his peers as judges.

In 299 there was a confirmation of the Licinian law, for the division of the consulship, and consequently of every office.

In 286 the laws of the plebeian dictator, Hortensius, which ratified all former victories, confirmed the Publilian law relative to the obligatory character of plebiscita, and freed them from the preliminary authorization of the Senate.[1]

Grave circumstances had led to this last dictatorship: the people, having again risen in revolt on the subject of debts,[2] had withdrawn to the Janiculum. They only demanded the re-enforcement of the laws against creditors; but their chiefs desired more. Interested as they always are in causing political revolutions by which they profit, they turned the attention of the multitude from their misery to their offended dignity. The Hortensian laws had thus quite a different bearing from what the first leaders of the crowd had intended. Debts were abolished or diminished, it is true, but the plebeian rights were also confirmed again; and in order to efface the last distinction which still separated the two orders, the *nundinae* were declared not to be holy days. It was on the *nundinae*, or market days, that the tribes assembled, because

[1] . . . *Itaque eo modo legibus plebiscita exaequata sunt.* (Gaius, *Inst.* i. 3.)

[2] See pages 403–405.

on those days the country people came to Rome. The patricians, unwilling in their pride to have anything in common with the plebeians, and in order that the latter might not be able to count their small number in the Curiae, or await the decisions of the Senate, or in a menacing crowd attend the judgments of their tribunals, had consecrated the *nundinae* to Jupiter, and had forbidden themselves during them all deliberation and all business.[1]

Another arrangement is, however, attributed to the dictator Hortensius, which would show a sincere desire to prevent excesses among the democracy by strengthening the aristocratic element in the constitution: senatus-consulta were to be raised to the rank of general laws, and, like the plebiscita, to be binding on all orders.[2] The thing is not certain; but henceforth the legislative power of the Senate is seen to extend more and more.

There is a creation of this period which has no political character, but which ought to be placed at its proper date. About the year 292 B. C. there was instituted a magistracy of secondary rank, the *triumviri capitales*,[3] who replaced the *quaestores parricidii*. Appointed in an assembly of the people presided over by the praetor, they were charged with the investigation of crimes, the receiving of evidence against the guilty, and, after the trial, the supervision of the carrying out of the sentence. They assisted the aediles in the maintenance of public order, and in obtaining the payment of the fines which the latter had inflicted, and they could have slaves and common people beaten for any offence. Plautus in his time knew of them: "If the triumvirs met me at this hour of the night," he makes Sosia say,[4] "they would clap me into prison, and to-morrow I should be dragged out of their cage, and they would give me the stirrup-leathers without listening to my reasons. Eight strong fellows would beat the anvil on my back." We know that they had Naevius put into fetters to punish the boldness of his verses.[5]

By the aggregate of laws promulgated since the year 367 B. C.,

[1] *Nundinas Jovi sacras esse*. (Macr., *Sat.* i. 16.)

[2] Theophilus, one of the lawyers of Justinian, in Bk. i. tit. 2, § 5, of his very useful Greek paraphrase of the Institutes, speaks of Hortensius as a true friend of his country, who put an end to the century-long quarrels of the two orders.

[3] Livy, *Epit.* xi., and Dig. I. ii. 2 and 30: *Triumviri capitales qui carceris custodiam haberent ut, cum animadverti oporteret, interventu eorum fieret.*

[4] *Amphitr.* I. i. 3–6.

[5] Aulus Gellius, iii. 3. He lampooned the Metelli, who were powerful patricians.

not only had political equality been won, but the advantage was now on the side of the plebeians. Eligible for all magistracies, with the right of occupying at once both the posts of consul and censor, they kept exclusively plebeian the offices of tribune and plebeian aedile. The tribunes could, by their veto, arrest the decrees of the Senate, the acts of the consuls, and legislative proposals; by their right of accusation they placed unpopular magistrates under the threat of an inevitable condemnation. The assemblies of Curiae were annulled, and the comitia of tribes bound all the orders by their plebiscita. Yet even the aristocracy itself, and, above all, the fortune of Rome, were to gain by this equality so unwillingly yielded. The aristocracy was indeed thrown open to all; but it was in order to attract and to absorb into its bosom, to the profit of its power, all talents — all ambitions. Separated from the people, it would soon have fallen into weakness; henceforth the best plebeian blood rose to the summit; like a branch grafted on a vigorous trunk, it was nourished by a fertilizing sap, and the tree, whose roots reached deep into the soil, was strong enough to spread its branches afar.

An obscure fact shows that, if the law had decreed equality by allowing a man of talent and courage to aspire to anything, which is one great advantage to a state, society preserved its family traditions, which are another. In the year 295 the Senate, in order to avert the effect of evil omens, had prescribed two days of public prayers. On this occasion a dispute arose among the Roman ladies in the little temple of patrician *Chastity*. A patrician woman, named Virginia, had married a plebeian, the consul L. Volumnius. In order to punish her for this mésalliance, the matrons forbade her to join in their sacred ceremonies. She, angry at this affront, built a temple to plebeian Chastity, established the same rites, and assembled all the matrons of her order there, saying to them: "Let there be henceforth no less emulation among the women in chastity, than there is among the men in courage; and let this altar be honored more devoutly than the other." "The right to sacrifice here," adds Livy, "was only granted to women of acknowledged chastity, and who had been only once married." [1]

[1] Livy, x. 23.



TEMPLE OF CHASTITY (RESTORATION BY DUBUT).

The story is edifying, and the virtue of the matrons is conspicuous; but there are also jealous rivalries disclosed, which the women at least never forgot, and that respect for blood and race which always prevented Roman society from falling a prey to demagogues. Moreover, the leaders of the plebs, having no longer anything to appropriate or destroy, now became conservatives, in accordance with the logic of the passions and of history.

From the laws concerning the state, let us pass to those which relate to private fortunes.

[1] The coin below represents an altar, on which is the statue of Chastity standing on a curule chair. Reverse of a denarius of Plotina, wife of Trajan. The legend bears these words: "Caesar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, father of his country, for the sixth time consul;" which fixes the coining of the piece between 112 and 117 A. D.



ALTAR OF CHASTITY.[1]

CHAPTER XIII.

THE AGRARIAN LAW AND THE ABOLITION OF DEBT.

I. Agrarian Law of Licinius Stolo.

CIVIL equality gives, even to the poorest, new and noble sentiments;[1] but wealth is not one of the good things which it assures. Those whom the law declared equal in the Forum, remained classed in ordinary life according to their fortune; the rich above, near to the honors, the poor below, in misery. Accordingly the tribunes had always had in view a double object: to attain, by a share in offices, political equality, and by grants of land to mitigate the distresses of the poor.

As the workman now demands work and remunerative wages, so the poor man formerly demanded land. The agrarian laws which so long troubled the Roman Republic are thus the ancient form of the social questions which agitate modern society.[2] Since the problem is the same, — to diminish misery, and consequently to diminish the evil passions which misery too often sows in the minds of the poor against the rich, — we are led by more than mere curiosity to study closely this history of the old Roman proletariat.

[1] "Everywhere where civil inequality exists, whatever greatness it may develop among a few by the aid of privilege, it entails a corruption peculiar to itself, which disfigures the most admirable societies, and spoils the best and most generous natures." — De Rémusat, *Essais de Philosophie*. [The distinction of freemen and slaves introduced this inequality into all ancient states, however completely the freemen may have equalized the privileges among themselves. Thus the purest ancient democracy was really an aristocracy ruling a population greater than itself, which had no civil rights. — *Ed.*]

[2] [This form, however, still exists in Ireland, and will presently reappear in Southern Italy, where great estates have monopolized the means of living in a country without manufactures, or else where manufactures have been suppressed. — *Ed.*]

In a country overspread with small republics, as Italy was, the strength of the state was augmented by increasing the number of citizens. This principle, which was recognized and put into practice by the kings, and after them by the Senate, made the fortune of Rome. But for the sake of safety the state dared not arm those who might possibly be tempted to employ arms against herself. Accordingly, the Roman law had provided that the proletariat should never be called to the standards. Shut out of the Forum and the army, these proletaries must become dangerous as they increased; and this was continually the case. The stranger deprived of his land, and who had come to Rome to seek the means of subsistence, the craftsman, the ruined farmer, the insolvent debtor, the citizen degraded by the censors, the freedman whose fortune could not make men forget his birth, —all who were miserable and hostile to a government to which they attributed their miseries or their civic degradation, fell into this abyss, which, gaping wider day by day, threatened to engulf the city.[1] In this there lay, as was proved in the last days of the Republic, a great danger to liberty: it was true foresight, and the act of a good citizen, to strive to diminish this danger by diminishing the number of the proletariat, and by providing the state and the legions with useful citizens. From this patriotic idea, with which there were naturally mingled some selfish motives, among the leaders of the people, sprang almost all the agrarian laws.

From the time of Cassius to the decemvirs, that is to say, so long as the misfortunes of the times left only the lands bordering on the wall of Servius to be distributed, the patricians energetically repelled all agrarian laws. When the frontier receded, they consented to give up to the poor a few acres of land round the conquered towns, in order to free Rome from a certain number of poor, and to favor the increase of the population available for bearing arms,[2] but more especially with the object

[1] It is necessary to distinguish between the *proletarius*, or *capite census*, who had not the *census* necessary to enter a class, and the *aerarius*, whose fortune was sometimes considerable (cf. § iii. p. 406), but who, on account of his origin, was deprived of certain rights. Practically, the proletariat suffered under the same civil disabilities, and might consequently be disposed to make common cause with the *aerarii*. But it was only for the proletaries that the tribunes spoke.

[2] After the taking of Veii the gratuity was more liberal: *septena jugera . . . ut vellent in eam spem liberos tollere.* (Livy, v. 30.)

of occupying in the interests of their empire strong military positions. But this exile amid conquered races and the dangers which the colonist ran of being driven out or massacred by the ancient inhabitants,[1] rendered these gratuities far from popular. "They preferred," says Livy, "asking for lands at Rome, to possessing them at Antium." Deprived of a portion of his rights as citizen, the colonist would have left the city with regret even though he might find on the two or four *jugera*,[2] assigned to him so far away, ease and safety.

Accordingly, although colonies multiplied with fresh conquests, the tribunes well understood that something more was needed to uproot the evil of pauperism, and Licinius Stolo proposed to distribute among the poor a portion of the state land which had been usurped by the nobles.

His proposed law appears to have been thus conceived: —

No citizen shall possess more than 500 *jugera* (330 acres) of state land;[3]

None shall keep on the public pastures more than 100 head of neat and 500 head of small cattle;

Of the lands restored to the state, there shall be taken sufficient to distribute to every poor citizen seven *jugera* (about four and a half acres);

Those who remain in possession of public land shall pay to the public treasury a tithe of the fruits of the earth, a fifth of the produce of the olives and vines, and the rent due for each head of cattle. At each lustrum these taxes shall be farmed out to the highest bidder by the censors, who shall apply the proceeds to the pay of the troops.

Each proprietor shall be obliged to employ on his land a certain number of free laborers, in proportion to the extent of the estate.

It has been shown (p. 289) that the agrarian laws among the Romans, since they only applied to public lands,[4] were as

[1] As at Sora (Livy, ix. 23); at Fidenae (iv. 17); at Antium (iii. 4); and at Velitrae (viii. 3).

[2] As at Labicum 2 ($1\frac{1}{3}$ acre); at Anxur, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ($2\frac{2}{3}$ acres). (Livy, viii. 21.) The *jugerum* = 28,800 square feet.

[3] We give this reconstruction of the Licinian law according to Niebuhr, but believe he has introduced into it too many traces of the law of the Gracchi.

[4] All the agrarian laws denote by the word *possessio* the portion of the *ager publicus*

just as they were necessary; but their execution almost always injured rights consecrated by time. How was a public estate to be recognized when the landmarks had been displaced, and the tithe was no longer paid? How was a state property to be discovered amid lands that had been handed down as private property for more than a century, or sold, bequeathed, given as dower, left by will, twenty times over? The rich knew well what insuperable difficulties would be found in applying the Licinian law, when after ten years they at last accepted it. They knew, too, how to evade it, by emancipating their sons before they came of age, so as to assign them the 500 *jugera* allowed, or by retaining under an assumed name what they should have returned to the state. The example of Licinius, who was himself condemned in 357 B. C. to pay a fine of ten thousand ases for having in his possession 1,000 *jugera* (660 acres) of public land, 500 of which he held in the name of his emancipated son, proves how numerous the evasions were, since the author of the law, a man of consular rank, could elude it without feeling any shame. The domain continued, then, to be encroached upon by the nobles, who, by appropriating Italy to themselves, laid the foundations of those colossal fortunes, which can only be understood now by comparison with the English aristocracy. Even in 291 B. C. two thousand workmen were needed by one consul to clear his woods.

The provision of the Licinian law relative to tithes appears to have been better observed, since from this time forth we hear no more of those complaints against the taxes which were formerly so rife; and henceforth Rome is able to bear the expenses of the longest wars. But it was not so with that which limited the quantity of cattle to be sent to the public pastures. These pastures grew daily larger, for from the end of the fifth century of Rome there comes a fatal change in agriculture, — namely, the substitution of

occupied by any individual, and the Digest establishes the difference between *possessio* and *proprietas*. *Quicquid apprehendimus cujus proprietas ad nos non pertinet, aut nec potest pertinere, hoc possessionem appellamus.* (Digest, L. 16, 115.) At Rome (Livy, iv. 48), as almost all lands were those which had been conquered, the *heritages* were only small fields. Accordingly, those who did not wish to encroach on the public domain have only 4 to 7 *jugera*, like Cincinnatus, Fabricius, Coruncanius, Aemilius Papus, M. Curius, Regulus, Fabius Cunctator, etc. (Cf. Val. Max., iv. 4 and 8.) It was certainly only at the expense of the public land that the greater part of the *possessiones* of 500 *jugera* and more could have been formed.

grazing for arable land.[1] How, indeed, was it possible to sow, plant, or build far from Rome, and beyond the protection of the legions or fortresses during that Samnite war which seemed as though it would never end? Where were hands to be found to bring all the conquered land under cultivation? Slaves were scarce, and military service retained the free laborers under the standards. There was nothing to be done, then, but leave these lands for pasture, since it was impossible to prepare them for seed, or to wait a year for the harvest. If the enemy appeared, the flocks dispersed among the mountains, and instead of crops and farms, nothing was left to burn or pillage but the poor hovels of the shepherds. To have grazing lands, or to have flocks feeding on the public ground, was a clear and sure source of revenue, which dreaded neither the enemy nor bad seasons, and which all wished to enjoy. Accordingly, the Licinian law was soon forgotten,[2] notwithstanding the fines inflicted by the aediles. But large flocks drive out small ones. Moreover, the poor man's cow could not go 30 or 40 miles from Rome every day to pasture; even without any violence, the state grazing lands were only of use to those who could afford to pay shepherds, and build on the heights castles or strong houses which served as a refuge in case of hostile invasion.[3]

The new aristocracy, however, while it appropriated the best lands for itself, did not forget that the surest means of preventing trouble about its usurpations was to do something for the welfare of the people. During the Samnite war numerous colonies were founded; into the three towns of Sora, Alba, and Carseoli alone there were sent as many as fourteen thousand plebeian families;[4] and Curius Dentatus twice, in his first consulship and at the end

[1] Cato (*de Re rust.* i.), placing the lands in order of their value, puts the corn-bearing lands only in the sixth rank; Varro (iii. 3) puts meadows in the first.

[2] In the year 298 there was pronounced a condemnation against those who *plus quam quod lege finitum erat agri possiderent.* (Livy, x. 13; cf. x. 23, 47.) New fines were imposed, in 296 and 293, on *pecuarii.* These fines were so numerous and so heavy, that they served to build temples, celebrate games, and make precious offerings: paterae of gold to Jupiter, brazen gates for the Capitol, the wolf of Romulus, the temple of Concord of Flavius, the paving of the Appian Way, etc. Those quotations would be far more numerous, had we not lost the second decade of Livy.

[3] Livy, v. 44. [The same change has taken place, from economical causes, in Scotland, and is taking place in Ireland. — *Ed.*]

[4] The older colonies were far smaller, usually 300 families. (Dionys., ii. 35, 52.)

of the war against Pyrrhus, distributed five acres of land per head among the people.[1] The laws of the dictator Hortensius perhaps contained a similar provision.

Other laws relieved debtors.

II. Laws on Debt.

The rate of interest, which was at first arbitrary, had been fixed by the decemvirs at the twelfth of the capital ($8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent per annum). Licinius had deducted from the capital the interest already paid, and allowed three years for the repayment of the rest. But, mindful only of the present ill, he had not lowered the legal rate of interest for the future. In 356 B. C. the ravages of the Gauls and the dread which they left behind having rendered money scarce and loans burdensome to the borrower, two tribunes again put into force the provisions of the Twelve Tables. The evil continued. The price of land fell under the continual threat of invasions, and the debtor who owned a field could only sell it at an enormous sacrifice.

The Senate grew frightened at the increasing number of slaves for debt. In the year 352, in the consulship of Valerius and Marcus Rutilius, five commissioners established in the name of the government a bank, which lent money at very low interest. At the same time they fixed the prices at which lands and flocks might be given in repayment of the loans. This measure caused the paying off of many debts. Five years later the rate of interest was reduced to one twenty-fourth of the capital ($4\frac{1}{6}$ per cent). Finally, the revolt of the garrison of Capua (342) led to an abolition of debts, — which was a general bankruptcy, — and the suppression of loans on interest,[2] — a measure more humane than efficacious, since the law cannot control in transactions for the most part beyond its cognizance.

There remained the cruel provisions of the Twelve Tables

[1] There were also great distributions at the end of the First Punic War.

[2] Tac., *Ann.* vi. 16: *unciario fenore*, *uncia*, *semuncia*, etc., signify not only an ounce, etc., but also $\frac{1}{12}$, $\frac{2}{12}$, etc., of any sum. Thus *haeres ex uncia* was heir to $\frac{1}{12}$ of the whole. The *unciarium fenus* brought in $\frac{1}{12}$ of the capital. At Athens, the usual interest was 12 per cent.

against insolvent debtors. In 326 B. C. the violence of Papirius towards the young Publilius excited such indignation, that in order to appease it the Senate were obliged to revive the old law, attributed to Servius, that the goods, and not the body, of the debtor should answer for his debt. This was a real benefit. "From that day," says Livy, "there commenced for the people a new liberty."[1]

But in purely agricultural states, whatever precaution the law may take, small properties are always devoured by usury. Taxes take the little money the husbandman possesses; and should there come a bad season, should a harvest be lost, he must necessarily, since he has no reserve fund, have recourse to the usurer.[2] At the close of the Samnite war, after sixty campaigns, there were very many poor at Rome, — prisoners whose all had been swallowed up by the payment of their ransoms; the sick, the wounded, who were unfit for work; and lastly, those who had squandered their share of the plunder while their fields remained untilled.

Misery reached even some of the great families. One Venturius, the son of a man of consular rank, not having been able to pay for his father's funeral ceremonies, was kept in the *ergastulum* by C. Plautius, his creditor. One day he managed to escape from prison, and ran to the Forum, all covered with blood, like the centurion in the year 493, where he implored the protection of the tribunes.

This period is little known to us; it seems, however, that the tribunes proposed an abolition of debts,[3] that the rich resisted, and that there were long disturbances; but the people marched out of Rome and encamped on the Janiculum (286). For the last time this means succeeded; for the frontier was still so near the town that the nobles dared not risk a civil war, of which the enemy would not have failed to take advantage. At this moment, too, Etruria began to bestir itself: a dictator was appointed, a plebeian

[1] . . . *Quod necti desierunt.* (Livy, viii. 28.) Yet the insolvent debtor, if he remained free, was none the less *infamis*, expelled from his tribe, and deprived of all political rights. (Cf. Cic., *pro Quinctio*, 15.)

[2] This is still the state of the farmers of Rome, who have been often known to sell the harvest before seed-time. The population became too numerous for large farms, and when reduced to small plots, were subject to all the distresses of the small farmers round Ancient Rome.

[3] Val. Max., VI. i. 9; Zonaras, viii. 2; Livy, *Epit.* xi.: *post longas et graves seditiones.*

named Hortensius. We know his political laws:[1] the following provisions are also attributed to him: —

Abolition or diminution of debts;

Distribution of seven acres to each citizen;

A renewed confirmation of the Lex Papiria Poetelia, which had (in 326) forbidden slavery for debt.

Debtors were thus protected against their creditors, since the usurer, who was counted the most dangerous of robbers, was condemned, says Cato, to pay a fine of fourfold, whereas the robber only paid double of what he took. Thus usury must die out, — at least the law has said it; but the law declares that all citizens of Rome are equal, which is a legal fiction. The poor citizens are no more guaranteed against usury than they are all made consuls and senators. The usurer, driven from the public place, and punished by the laws, hides himself, and becomes more exacting than ever;[2] for he must now be paid, beyond the price of his money, the risks that he runs, and the dishonor which falls on him.

But these are evils which human wisdom cannot cure. Inequality is too marked in nature for society to avoid its impress. At Sparta, where equality was pursued with savage energy, even at the expense of morality and liberty, the most glaring inequality resulted from the laws of Lycurgus.[3] Let us not, therefore, accuse these upstart nobles of having forgotten, in their curule chairs, the people from whom they sprang. By giving land to the poor, by proscribing usury and especially the detention of the person, they had done all that the law and political wisdom could do to ameliorate the lot of the plebeians. The latter bore it in mind for more than a century, and that century was the golden age of the Republic.

[1] See p. 394.

[2] Even the law fell into disuse. The ancient usages reappeared: *veteri jam more foenus receptum erat.* (Appian, *de Bello civ.* i. 54; cf. Tac., *Ann.* vi. 16, 17.) Moreover the Latins, the allies, served as nominal debtors. (Livy, xxxv. 7.) Brutus lent at 48 per cent with compound interest. (Cic., *ad Att.* v. 21.) The praetor Sempronius, being desirous of putting the laws into force again, was slain by his creditors. (App. *ibid.*) The abolition of debts and of loans on interest was a revolutionary measure which could not last. It failed at Rome; it will fail everywhere, because it is against the nature of things.

[3] [That Lycurgus established equality of property is more than doubtful. — *Ed.*]

III. The Aerarii; Censorship of Appius (312).

The two orders, however, had not yet terminated their ancient quarrel, when there appeared on the scene those who were to overthrow the patriciate, the plebeian nobility, and liberty. Beneath the plebeians who had become Quirites, outside the pale of the centuries and tribes, lived the freedmen, who were already multiplying, the craftsmen, the merchants, the inhabitants of municipalities *sine suffragio*, who had settled at Rome, and lastly the *aerarii*,[1] all of them citizens, but living under political disabilities, excluded from the legions, disqualified for holding office, and never allowed to vote. Organized into corporations,[2] having assemblies, and doubtless having leaders too, counting among them wealthy, active, and intelligent men, they formed a class so much the more dangerous as they represented more truly than the real plebeians — by the diversity of their origin and the stain of their birth or professions — the revolutionary principle which was to throw Rome open to all nations. In 312 B.C. they nearly obtained possession of power.

Appius was then censor. He was one of the most distinguished men of his time, a great orator, a great lawyer and poet; but he was also the proudest of the haughty race of the Claudii, who counted among them five dictatorships, thirty-two consulships, seven censorships, seven triumphs, and two ovations, and who ended with four emperors. Contrary to custom, Appius had canvassed for the censorship before the consulship. This irresponsible office, which gave into a man's power the moneys

[1] *Aera pro capite præbebant.* They were only armed in cases of extreme peril, and they were subject to an arbitrary tax, heavier in proportion than that of the citizens. (Cf. Dionys., iv. 18; ix. 25; and Livy, iv. 24; viii. 20; ix. 46; xlii. 27, 31.) The inhabitants of towns which had the right of citizenship *sine suffragio*, the Italians who had settled at Rome, after having received the *jus commercii* and even the *jus connubii*, were in the same category.

[2] We have spoken of the corporations of Numa, which we again found in the centuries of workmen of Servius (see p. 244, *seq.*). Fortunes are now estimated according to the sum total of property movable or immovable. At Rome all that was recognized by the censors in their estimates was quiritarian property, that is to say, all the *res mancipi* (coined bronze, houses, fields, slaves, beasts of burden). Many merchants, usurers, creditors, shipowners, artisans, indirect holders of the domain (for the *aerarius* had no direct share in the conquered lands, since he did not serve) might be very rich, and yet find themselves counted among the *aerarii*.

of the Republic and the honor of the citizens, was the true royalty at Rome. When he had obtained it he kept it, it is said, five years, in spite of the laws, the Senate, and the tribunes. He overruled his colleague, who finally abdicated, and he did not allow any successor to be appointed. His ambition was great. In an age of military glory he preferred that which civil works confer. During his consulship he left the other consul to make war against the Samnites, while he remained at Rome to finish his aqueduct, 7 miles long, and the Appian Way, *viarum regina*. The pride of his answer to Pyrrhus is well known; before the Samnites were yet conquered, he declared that Italy was the domain of the Republic.

Traditional history makes Appius one of those ambitious patricians who ask power from the mob. It was hateful to him, it is said, to see plebeians in office; and in detestation of that burgher class which the patricians no longer dared resist, he flattered the populace, which, in spite of its demagogic instincts, often yields to the ascendency of great names and great fortunes. In drawing up the list of the Senate, Appius put into it the sons of some freedmen. There was a general indignation among the plebeian nobility.[1] The consuls and tribunes refused to accept the senate of Appius. To this refusal he replied by a far more dangerous innovation: he distributed through the tribes the *aerarii*, the *libertini*, — in short, the masses of the lowly (*humiles*), as Livy says.[2] This was simply placing the votes in their hands, to shake the constitution; and Appius thought it would be easy to lead this populace and gain its voice.

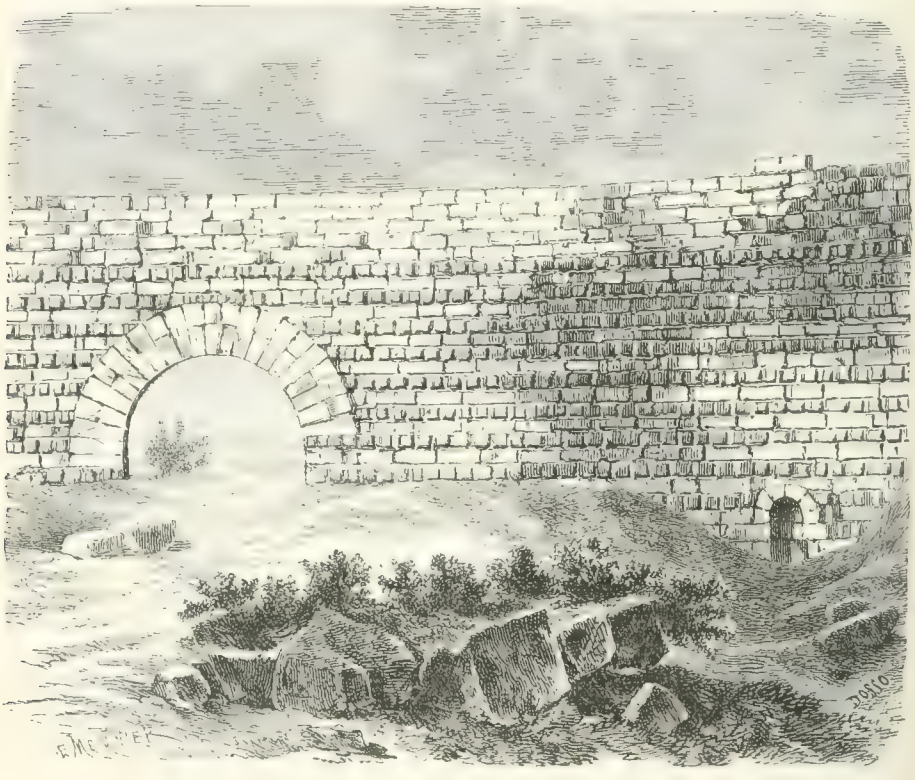
A simpler explanation offers itself, and is justified by his character, and by the two consulships which he gained after his censorship,[3] which the nobles could easily have hindered him from obtaining. The Samnite war, commenced twenty years before, had just broken out again with murderous violence, and the plague had raged fiercely in the preceding year. In order to fill up the gap made in the population, Appius inscribed on the register of

[1] They accused Appius of overturning religion, as well as the constitution, by allowing the Potitii and Pinarii to leave to slaves the care of the sacrifices which they owed to Hercules. The god punished him by striking him blind. (Livy, ix. 29.)

[2] *Humillibus per omnes tribus divisis.* (Id. ix. 46.)

[3] In 307 and 296 B.C.

the census the *aerarii* who were exempt from military service. This policy was hateful to those who, through their fathers or themselves, had striven against all novelties; but it caused the greatness of Rome, by proclaiming the spirit of assimilation with foreign races instead of a narrow and jealous patriotism. As for



CAUSEWAY IN THE VALLEY OF ARICIA FOR THE PASSAGE OF THE APPIAN WAY.[1]

the sons of freedmen called to the Senate by Appius, they must have been very few, for there is nothing said about their expulsion by the succeeding censors, — though, of course, this may have taken place without any noise.

The law allowed the censors, who were appointed every five years, to retain office for only eighteen months; and Appius is accused of not having abdicated till the end of five years. He could only have committed this breach of law by the support of a powerful party in the Senate and among the people; but it is

[1] *Atlas* of the *Bull. archéol.* vol. ii. pl. 39.

more than probable that in order to allow him to complete his immense works, he was furnished with a commission which was looked upon as the continuation of his censorship. Whatever may be the truth about these accusations and our hypotheses, posterity owes honor to the man who, after having taught the Romans the importance to empire and commerce of rapid means of communication, built the first of those aqueducts which led the water of neighboring hills to Rome "on triumphal arches." His was subterranean, but most of the other thirteen, which were built later, were not so; and their colossal ruins give to the desert of the Roman Campagna that solemn and grave aspect which reminds us that a great people has lived there.

With Appius and his reforms is associated the clerk Flavius, himself the son of a freedman, and made a senator by Appius. The publication of the calendar of the pontiffs and of the secret formulae of legal proceedings (*jus Flavianum*), which he had managed to discover by attending law-suits, had gained him the gratitude of business men, who forced him into the tribuneship, had him twice appointed triumvir,[1] and promised him their voices for the curule aedileship. The whole nobility, those who were already called "the better classes," were moved at this strange novelty, and the president of the elective comitia tried to refuse votes given for him (304). When his election was known, the senators, in grief and shame, took off their golden rings, the knights the ornaments of their war-horses, and the first time he entered his colleague's house,[2] no one rose to yield him a place. But he had his curule chair brought in, and those who scorned the upstart were obliged to bend before the magistrate.

These bravados might stir up passions; but Flavius displayed the temper of a statesman, and not that of an ambitious upstart. He spoke of peace, of concord, and, like Camillus, vowed a temple to the reconciliation of all the orders. As the Senate would not give him the money necessary for the building of the temple, he employed upon it the proceeds of fines, and the people forced

[1] *Triumvir nocturnus* and *triumvir coloniae deducendae.* (Livy, xi. 46.)

[2] Livy, ibid.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii. 6; Cic., *de Orat.* i. 41; *Ep. ad Att.* vi. 1. His colleague, Q. Anicius of Praeneste, had only been a Roman citizen for a few years. Their competitors were two plebeians of consular family, Poetelius and Domitius. (Pliny, ib. xxxiii. 6.)

the chief pontiff, who had at first refused, to consecrate the building.

The measure taken by Appius in respect to the *aerarii* was a just and good one; but the manner in which it had been carried out rendered it dangerous. If spread through the thirty-five tribes, the populace would have become masters of all the votes. When, in 304, Fabius, the most illustrious of the patricians, and Decius, the chief of the plebeian nobility, had been appointed censors, they allowed the *aerarii* to retain the rights which Appius had given them; but they enrolled them in the four city tribes, where, notwithstanding their number, they had only four votes against thirty-one. This measure gained for Fabius among the patricians the surname of Maximus, which his victories had not conferred on him, and the city tribes were thenceforth held to be debased; it became a punishment to be enrolled in them by the censors. Appius was right in doing away with the civic degradation of a numerous class, and Fabius in taking precautions lest the "new social stratum" should stifle the old.

In order to increase the external splendor of the nobility, the same censors instituted an annual review of knights. On the 15th of July they proceeded on horseback from the Temple of Mars to the Capitol, clad in white robes striped with purple, wearing olive crowns on their heads, and bearing the military rewards accorded to their valor. Thus every year this brilliant array of youth passed, proud and glorious, before the eyes of the people, inspiring them with respect and awe. This was the festival of the Roman nobility.[1]

We did not wish, by the narration of the complicated wars of this period, to draw off attention from the development of the Roman constitution from the time of the tribune Licinius to that of the dictator Hortensius (367–286).[2] Now that we know the

[1] [It was probably a direct imitation of the Panathenaic festival at Athens, which we see in the frieze of the Parthenon. — *Ed.*]

[2] There have been reckoned for the fifth century nearly two hundred patricians who had borne office; for the fourth not more than half this number are found, and more than forty plebeians obtained magistracies. In 295 the former still have a majority in the Senate (Livy x. 24), but their number continually diminishes, whereas that of the plebeians, after the Ovinian law, increases unceasingly. (See p. 348.) In 179, out of 304 senators, M. Willems, in his remarkable essay on the "Sénat de la République Romaine," p. 366, finds eighty-eight patricians and two hundred and sixteen plebeians.

state of this society, so happily blended of aristocracy, represented by the Senate, which retained the daily government of the Republic, and of democracy, represented by the people, who had the last word in all grave affairs; now that we have seen how out of so many diverse elements there grew this city, in which the nobility, whether of ancient or recent origin, is devoted to the interests of the state, in which small landowners fill the legions and the Forum, conquer provinces by their discipline, and protect liberty by their wisdom, — we may revert to the tedious history of the long-continued struggle of the Italians against Rome.

[1] Roman knight holding his horse by the bridle. Reverse of a silver coin of the Licinian family.



P. CRASSUS M. F.[1]

THIRD PERIOD.

WAR OF ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE, OR CONQUEST OF ITALY (343–265).

CHAPTER XIV.

WARS WITH THE SAMNITES AND LATINS (343-312).

I. First Samnite War; Acquisition of Capua (343–341).

SINCE the Licinian laws had re-established concord in the city, Rome displayed a formidable energy abroad. In the space of twenty-three years she had freed herself from the Gauls for the next half century; the only Etruscan towns which had dared to attack her had learned fatal evidence of their weakness; and the whole plain of Latium was occupied by Roman citizens and allies. If there still remained in the mountains any independent and secretly hostile Latin or Volscian cities, the Senate kept them surrounded by the garrisons established at Terracina on the sea, and at Sora in the Valley of the Liris. Within the city the patricians had failed in their counter-revolutionary attempts, and the laws of Genucius and Publilius were about to complete the plebeian revolution.[1] Nothing, however, foretold, except perhaps the strong organization of this little nation, that its fortunes would ever extend beyond these narrow limits. It was the battles against the Samnites that decided the future of Rome. Hitherto, from the time of the kings, she had with difficulty defended herself. The new struggle, in which her very existence is at stake, and at the end of which she finds herself mistress of Italy,

[1] See chap. xiii.

must needs make her a conquering state. The fight on Mount Gaurus is the first battle of a war which ends on the summits of Atlas and the banks of the Rhine, the Danube, and Euphrates.

We have seen[1] what the country of the Samnites was: snowy peaks, wild valleys, where life was hard and manners warlike, and the need of putting under contribution the plains at the foot of the Apennines ever pressing. They loved war, and in order to succeed in it, they had reached a pitch of military organization scarcely inferior to that of the Romans. But, being scattered among the mountains, they had neither any great town to serve as a citadel, nor a political organization which might unite the inhabitants of the territory in close bonds. Sometimes a temporary league united their forces, and for any enterprise once determined they chose a chief to lead their warriors; but of any executive power like that of the consuls, or permanent council like the Senate, or any sovereign assembly like the comitia of Rome, — that is to say, of one of the most vigorous political constitutions of antiquity, — they knew nothing.

While Rome advanced towards Latium, Southern Etruria, and the Sabine country, securing every step by the occupation of all strategic positions, and leaving as little as possible to chance, the Samnites went in search of adventures. Now they conquered Campania; again Magna Graecia; but no tie attached these new settlements to the mother country, and their colonies soon forgot the people whence they had sprung; so that, though Samnite bands made rich captures and took possession of fertile lands, the Samnite state increased neither in size nor strength. Strictly speaking, it did not exist. And yet these turbulent mountaineers had great ambition. When they saw the Romans established at Sora, a few steps from their territory, they wished to take up a position between Campania and Latium, by seizing the country of the Sidicini. Teanum, the capital of this people, was situated on a group of mountains shut in between the Liris and the semicircular course of the Vulturnus; from its walls might be seen Capua, beyond the Vulturnus, and Minturnae, at the mouth of the Liris. These two places and the road between Latium and Campania would

[1] Page 88 *seq.*

have been at the mercy of the Samnites, if they had made the conquest of the country of the Sidicini. Accordingly, the Capuans promised aid to Teanum. But their enervated troops could not withstand the active mountaineers; they were twice beaten, and driven back into Capua, which the Samnites, encamped on Mount Tifata, a mile from its walls, held as it were besieged.[1] In this extremity the Campanians sent an embassy to Rome (343). Eleven years before, a common hatred of the Volscians and the fear of the Gallic bands had drawn the Romans and Samnites together; a treaty had been concluded. This was the pretext which the Senate used to reject the first demands of the Campanians, and making them buy aid at a high price. "Well!" said the deputies, "will you refuse to defend what belongs to you? Capua gives herself to you with her lands, her temples, everything, sacred and profane." The Senate accepted; but when its envoys came to bid the Samnite generals desist from attacking a town which had become Roman property, the latter replied by ordering the ravaging of the Campanian lands; and a war of sixty-eight years began.

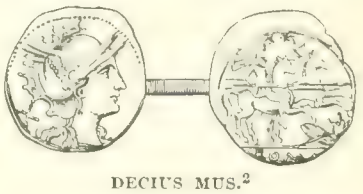
State reasons were doubtless invoked to break off the treaty so recently concluded with the Samnites. It was impossible to allow the enfeebled nations of the Volscians and Auruncians, of the Sidicini and Campanians, to be replaced at the very gates of Latium by a brave and enterprising people; if this torrent were not confined to the mountains, soon no dam would be able to restrain it. The Latins believed this. Accordingly, the war was for them a national one, and they entered into it with more ardor than the Romans had desired. Three armies were set afoot. One, under the command of Valerius Corvus, went to relieve Capua; another, led by Cornelius, penetrated into Samnium; while the Latin allies crossed the Apennines in order to attack the Samnites in the rear, through the country of the Peligni.

The historians of Rome have, of course, preserved no record of the operations of the Latin army. Regarding the Roman legions, on the other hand, details are given in abundance.[2] Let

[1] Livy, vii. 29, *seq.* . . . *imminentis Capuae colles*, now called *Monte di Maddaloni*. Hannibal established his camp there in 215.

[2] Livy, vii. 32, *seq.*

us not complain of this, for they offer us examples of devotion, which are always good to contemplate, and they show us the Roman in that camp-life in which he learned the secret of conquering the world. Cornelius, entangled among steep mountains, had allowed himself to be shut up in a narrow gorge; when he became aware of it, it was already too late to force a passage. A military tribune, Decius Mus, then approached the consul, and showed him a hill which commanded the hostile camp, and which the Samnites had neglected to occupy, and said to him: "Seest thou yonder rock? It will be our safety if we can manage to gain possession of it immediately. Give me the *principes* and *hastati* of a single legion;[1] as soon as I have climbed the summit with them, march immediately; the enemy will not dare to follow thee. As for us, the fortune of the Roman people and our courage will carry us through." The consul accepted the offer; Decius set out; and it was only as they gained the summit that the Samnites perceived them. The danger was now transferred to their side. Whilst their attention was drawn to this quarter, and they were turning their standards against Decius, the consul escaped. Decius, meanwhile, disguised in the cloak of a legionary, took advantage of the last rays of daylight to reconnoitre the position. When night had fallen, he called the centurions, and ordered them to assemble their soldiers in silence at the second watch. They had already traversed half the enemy's camp, when a Roman, in stepping over a sleeping Samnite, made his shield clash. At this noise the Samnites were alarmed. Decius then ordered his men to shout, and to slay all whom they met. The uncertainty, the darkness, the shouts of the Romans, the groans of the wounded, caused confusion among the enemy; and Decius brought back his detachment safe and sound to the consular army. This success was not enough for him; he advised the consul to take advantage



DECIUS MUS.[2]

[1] On the composition of a Roman legion, see below, at the end of chap. xxvii.

[2] Head of Pallas, with X, the mark of a denarius: on the reverse, ROMA, and the Dioscuri on horseback: under their feet a Gallic shield and trumpet. Silver coin of the Decii, as is proved by a coin restored by Trajan, of which a unique specimen is found in the Museum of Denmark, and on which the same symbols exist accompanied by the legend: Decius Mus.

of the disarray of the enemy. The Samnites, attacked before they had recovered from their surprise, were defeated, their camp was taken, and the Romans inflicted a fearful slaughter on them.

On the morrow the consul commended Decius in the presence of the whole army. Besides the customary military presents, he gave him a golden crown, a hundred oxen, and a white bull with gilded horns; and to each of his soldiers an ox, two tunics, and a double ration of wheat for his whole life. After the consul, the legions which Decius had saved from death or dishonor, and the detachments which he had drawn out of a dangerous position, were also anxious to reward their deliverer and amid universal acclamations the *obsidional* crown was placed upon his head. It was only made of grass or wild herbs, but it was the greatest military honor that a citizen could obtain, and the army alone had the right to bestow it. Decorated with these insignia, Decius sacrificed the bull with the gilded horns before a rustic altar of Mars, and presented the hundred oxen to the *principes* and *hastati* who had followed him. To each of these same soldiers the other legionaries gave a pound of meal and a measure of wine. What wonderful men they were, to whom gratitude was as natural as devotion! It is easily understood how the memory of that glorious day colored the whole life of Decius, and inspired him with the idea of his crowning sacrifice.

All the honor of this campaign was reserved for the other consul, Valerius Corvus. He, with Manlius, of whom we shall see more presently, was the hero of the Gallic wars. Beloved by the people, as were all of his house, he still retained amid the camp and under the consular robe his popular manners, affable with the soldiers, sharing their privations and fatigues, and setting all an example of courage. Six times he obtained the curule aedileship, the praetorship and consulship, twice the dictatorship and a triumph.[1] He had seen Camillus die, and the Romans trembling before a few Gallic bands; he saw the close of the Samnite war, which gave Rome the rule of all Italy, and he almost saw the commencement of the Punic wars, which left in her hands the empire of the world. And during the course of this century-

[1] Pliny. *Nat. Hist.* vii. 48.

long life he never failed the Republic one day, in action or in council. In 343 he was in his third consulship. Being charged to drive the Samnites out of Campania, he went to seek them near Mount Gaurus, and inspired his troops with such ardor, that after the fight the prisoners confessed, says Livy,[1] that they had been terror-struck when they saw the legionaries' eyes flash like fire beneath their helmets. All Capua came out to meet the conqueror. At Rome a triumph awaited him, gained by a second victory near Suessula. These successes resounded far and wide; the Faliscans asked to change the truce into an alliance; and the Carthaginians, friendly towards a power which was rising between their rivals, the Greeks and Etruscans, sent an embassy to congratulate the Senate, and to place a crown of gold in the Capitol.

When winter came on, the Romans, at the request of the inhabitants, placed garrisons in the Campanian towns. We have related the revolt of these legionaries and its consequences.[2] When the sedition was pacified, the Senate, who felt that the state was shaken, and that the Latins threatened trouble, renounced the Samnite war, only requiring a year's pay and three months' provisions for the army of the consul Aemilius (341). For this price they abandoned Teanum and Capua to the Samnites. The Latins continued hostilities on their own account, in league with the Volscians, Aurunci, Sidicini, and Campanians; and when the Samnites came to Rome to complain, the senators were obliged to answer that they had not the right to prevent their allies from making war on whomsoever they chose.[3]

II. The Latin War (340–338).

Since the first Gallic invasion, Rome had always found enemies in Latium. Though common dangers had drawn several cities closer to her in 357, these did not accept her supremacy with the same resignation as in the days when the legions yearly

[1] Livy, vii. 33, 38.

[2] See p. 332.

[3] . . . *In foedere Latino nihil esse, quo bellare cum quibus ipsi velint prohibeantur.* (Livy, viii. 2.)

came to defend them against the Aequi and the Volsci. The enfeeblement of those two nations and the departure of the Gauls having removed the fears of the Latins, their jealousy awoke; an alliance with the Sidicini and Campanians, whom Rome had abandoned, increased their confidence, and the successful issue of the revolt of the cohorts in Campania led them to believe that their own defection would also be successful. Soon there arrived at Rome two Latin praetors, Annius of Setia and Numicius of Circeii. They demanded what the plebeians had just obtained, equality of political rights, — that is, that one of the two consuls and half the senators should be taken from among the Latins. On these conditions Rome would remain the capital of Latium. The national pride revolted. "Hear these blasphemies, O Jupiter!" cried Manlius; and he swore to stab the first Latin who should come to take his seat in the Senate.

Annius replied with insulting words against Rome and her Jupiter Capitolinus. But the lightning flashed, says tradition; peals of thunder shook the Curia; and as Annius quitted the Capitol to descend the flight of a hundred steps, he missed his footing and rolled to the bottom, where he lay lifeless. The god had avenged himself.[1]

War was declared (340). Rome was now, by the defection of the Latin towns, obliged to fight with men accustomed to her discipline, her arms, and her tactics.[2] The danger was immense; but men's courage rose with the danger. The consuls at that time were Manlius, whose severity gained him the surname of Imperiosus, and Decius Mus, of that noble plebeian family, in which devotion to their country became hereditary. While the consuls raised the best levies, strengthened discipline, and made all preparations with the activity and resources which a centralized power afford, the Senate kept up its alliance with Ostia, Laurentum, Ardea, the Hernicans, and perhaps Lanuvium, and secured the neutrality of Fundi and Formiae, and the favorable regards of the Campanian aristocracy. But the most important aid reached it from Samnium, the treaty of peace between the

[1] Livy (viii. 6), who wishes to bring this legend into historic possibility, only speaks of a fall followed by a swoon.

[2] Livy, viii. 12, 13.

two nations being changed into a treaty of offensive alliance. In the first days of spring the Roman army quietly crossed the country of the Marsians, Pelignians, and Samnites, reinforced on the way from the forces of their new allies, eager with the hope of plunder in the rich valleys of the Campanians. While the consular army was arriving secretly by this bold march in the neighborhood of Capua, another, under the praetor, Pap. Crassus, protected the city, and held in check the Latins who had not joined on their way through Campania the forces destined to invade Samnium.

The battle took place at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, near a brook called Veseris. All the nations of Central Italy met there, the Romans with the Hernicans and Sabellian tribes; the Latins with the Oscan nations who dwelt between the Numicius and the Silarus. It might have been called a struggle between the two ancient Italian races. Before the battle a Tusculan, named Geminus Metius, challenged to a single combat the consul's son, whom he had recognized at the head of a troop of knights. "Wilt thou," he cried, after the exchange of some boasts on either side, "wilt thou measure thyself with me? It will then be seen how much the Latin horseman excels the Roman."



PRIEST OF BELLONA.[1]

Manlius accepted, and conquered. He returned, surrounded with soldiers rejoicing in this happy omen, to offer the spoils of the vanquished to his father. But he had fought without orders; and for this war, in which the combatants had so much in common — arms, tactics, and language — in which so many soldiers had ties of family and military comradeship with both sides, an edict of the consuls had strictly forbidden any one to leave the ranks, even in the hope of striking a lucky blow. Discipline had been violated. Like Brutus, the consul overcame the father, and the young Manlius was beheaded. The army bent beneath this iron hand.

On the day of battle, the left wing, commanded by Decius,

[1] From a funeral stela, with the cage and bird which served to take the auspices.

began to give way. The consul called the high pontiff to him, and with veiled head and a javelin under his foot he invoked Janus, Mars, and Bellona,[1] and pronounced the sacred formulae which, for the safety of the legions, dedicated himself and the hostile army to the gods of the lower world. Then, mounted on his war-horse, and clad in all his armor, with his toga girt about him,[2] he rushed into the midst of the enemy's ranks, where he soon fell, pierced with many blows. This religious preparation, this heroic devotion, witnessed by both armies, the belief that the blood of this voluntary victim had redeemed that of the Roman army, inspired the consular legions with the certainty of victory, and the Latins with as great a certainty of defeat. Three quarters of the Latin army were left upon the field of battle, and Campania was reconquered at a blow. A skilful manœuvre on the part of Manlius, who brought up his reserves after the Latins, deceived by a stratagem, had engaged all their forces, had decided the victory. The remnant of the beaten army rallied at Vescia among the Aurunci. Numicius led thither some levies hastily raised. But a second victory, which threw open Latium, broke up the league; several towns tendered their submission; and on the 18th of May Manlius entered Rome in triumph (340).

The war was not yet finished; the Senate hastened, however, to award the punishments and rewards. Capua lost the Falernian country, so noted for its wine; but sixteen hundred Campanian knights, who had remained faithful to the cause of Rome, received the rights of citizenship, with an annual pay of 450 denarii each, levied on the rest of the inhabitants. This was about £20,000 of English money, paid annually by the Campanian people for the treason of its aristocracy. The Latin cities which had just submitted were also deprived of a portion of their land. This was distributed among the citizens, giving 2 *jugera* a head in Latium, and 3 in the Falernian country.[3]

Meanwhile Manlius, having fallen sick, appointed Crassus

[1] *Janus, Jupiter, Mars Pater, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, divi Novensiles, di Indigetes, divi, quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque, Diique Manes.* The gods named by Decius are the old Italian divinities, with Janus at their head: the *divi Novensiles* are the new gods. Cf. Cincius, *ap.* Arnob., iii. 38.

[2] *Ipse incinctus cinctu Gabino.* (Livy, viii. 9.)

[3] Livy, viii. 11.

dictator to complete the reduction of Latium. An expedition against Antium, which led to no results, was an encouragement for the towns which had remained in arms. A victory gained by Publilius Philo did not efface a check sustained by his colleague at the siege of Pedum. The Republic, it is true, was at this period disturbed by troubles which led to the dictatorship and



TEMPLE OF THE GIANTS AT CUMAE.[1]

laws of Publilius; but it was the last act of this long drama. Revolution, successful at home, was successful, too, abroad; and the first event of the new era was the total submission of Latium.

Antium, on the coast, and Pedum, situated in front of Mount Algidus, were the last two bulwarks of the league. The consuls of the year 338 divided between them the attack on these two places. Manlius marched against the first, and beat the Latins in the plain near Asturia; Furius took the second, in spite of all the

[1] Taken from the *Bibliothèque nationale*. It should rather be called the temple of the Giant, for these ruins belong to a small edifice from which was taken a colossal statue of Jupiter seated, which is now in the museum at Naples.

efforts of the Latins of the mountains. From this time resistance ceased, and all the towns one after another opened their gates.

It was necessary to decide on the fate of the vanquished. This was the first time the Senate came to settle matters of such grave interest. They did it with such prudence, that the measures taken on this occasion insured the fidelity of the Latins for ever, and were invariably repeated for three centuries in all countries conquered by the Republic. In the first place, the inhabitants were forbidden general assemblies, leagues, to make war, contract marriage, or acquire landed property outside their territory.[1] The Latin confederation was thus dissolved, and Rome had now before her nothing but small towns condemned to isolation; the Senate, moreover, awakened, by an unequal distribution of offices and privileges, those rivalries and municipal jealousies always so rife in Italian cities. The towns nearest Rome were attached to her fortunes by the concession of the rights of citizenship and of voting. Tusculum got the first of these rights, not the second. Lanuvium, Aricia, Pedum, Nomentum, and doubtless Gabii, had both, and in the year 332 two new tribes, *Maecia* and *Scaptia*, were formed of their inhabitants. With Lanuvium the consuls stipulated that they should have free access to the temple of Juno Sospita, in which the consuls came yearly to offer solemn sacrifices. In this sanctuary was nourished a serpent, which is often represented on the coins.



SERPENT OF JUNO SOSPITA.[2]



THE ROSTRA.[4]

Beyond this first line of towns, which had become Roman, and which protected the capital from the sea to the mountains of the Sabine country, Tibur and Praeneste[3] retained their independence, but lost a part of their territory, Privernum lost three quarters. Velitrae and Antium the whole. Antium delivered up her

[1] *Caeteris Latinis populis connubia commerciaque et concilia inter se ademerunt.* (Livy, viii. 14.)

[2] Girl approaching the serpent of Juno Sospita; below, FABATI. Reverse of a silver coin of the Roscian family. For the worship of Juno Sospita, see p. 200.

[3] Roman citizens condemned to exile could retire into these two towns.

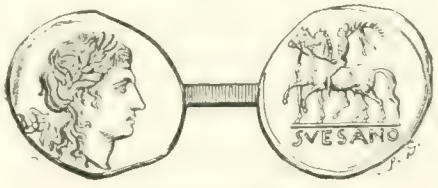
[4] The coin which represents them is a denarius of M. Lollius Palicanus, who, being tribune in the year 71, restored to the tribuneship the powers of which Sulla had deprived it. The *gens Lollia* consecrated this memory by a coin bearing on one side a head of Liberty, and on the other the platform for speeches, the *rostra*, restored to importance by Palicanus.

war-ships, the beaks[1] of which went to ornament the platform of the Forum, and was forbidden to arm others in future. At Velitrae the walls were razed and their senate removed beyond the Tiber. The important position of Sora had been for some time occupied by a Roman garrison; Antium, Velitrae, Privernum, and a few years later Anxur or Terracina and Fregellae, which commanded the two roads from Latium into Campania, received colonies. Thus old Latium was guarded by towns henceforth well disposed, and the country of the Volscians by numerous colonists. Among the Aurunci, Fundi, and Formiae, in Campania Capua, whose knights guaranteed its fidelity, the great city of Cumae, Suessula, Atella, and Acerrae obtained, as an inducement to remain in alliance with Rome, the rights of citizenship without the suffrage, or, as it was then called, the *rights of the Caerites* (338 B. C.).[2]



COIN OF CALES.[3]

In the following year the Sidicini of Teanum and Cales attacked the Aurunci, who inhabited a volcanic mountain, the Cortinella, the highest peak of which rises 3,200 feet above the plain of Campania. Fearing, no doubt, starvation there, the Aurunci quitted their eyrie and took refuge at Suessa, which still exists (Sessa), half way up the hill, above a fertile plain, the last undulations of which reach to the sea. The Senate, which never abandoned an ally, as they never forgot an enemy, hastened to send to their succor the two consular armies and their best general,



COIN OF SUESSA.[4]

[1] The *rostra*, or brazen beaks of galleys, filled the place of the rams of our ironclads.

[2] Livy, viii. 10, 14.

[3] Head of Minerva; on the reverse, CALENO; Victory in a two-horsed chariot, galloping. Didrachma, or double denarius in silver.

[4] Silver didrachma, bearing on the obverse a laurel-crowned head of Apollo, behind, the *triquetra*, which seems to show Sicilian manufacture; on the reverse, the word SVESANO, and a horseman victorious in a race that perhaps took place in Sicily, which would explain both the fineness of the coin and the presence of the *triquetra*, the symbol of the island with three promontories.

Valerius Corvus. Cales was taken,[1] and guarded by a colony of 2,500 men; Teanum doubtless asked for peace, — at least, after this period there is no more mention of the Sidicini. The Ausones also disappear: the Volscians have not been mentioned since the disaster of Antium; the Rutuli no longer give any signs of life; most of the Latins are citizens of Rome; the Aequi, Sabines, and Hernici reappear once more, some to relapse immediately, vanquished and broken, into the obscurity of municipal independence, others to lose themselves in the great city. Thus the state of Central Italy was simplified: to a variety of nations there succeeds Roman unity. From the Ciminian forest to the banks of the Vulturnus, a single nation holds sway. But the *malaria* follows the legions. The busy cities of the Latin and Campanian coast lose their activity with their independence. The struggle against this invading nature relaxes, the harbors become blocked, the canals are choked up, the rivers spread abroad into unreclaimed swamps, which, beneath a fiery sky, continually produce and destroy innumerable organisms, filling the air in their decomposition with the seeds of death. In these depopulated countries fertile fields become deadly solitudes.

Rome herself suffered by it. In the year 331 a pestilence desolated the city. Numbers of the Senate had already succumbed, when a slave came to the aediles and declared that the victims had died by poison. An inquiry was held; and in their terror people found some one on whom to lay the guilt, as in our own days the mob do, even in Paris, when cholera decimates them. A hundred and ninety matrons were condemned. After this holocaust had been offered to terror and folly, it was thought that so many domestic crimes must arise from the anger of the gods; and in order to appease them, a dictator was appointed, who, with all religious pomp, went solemnly to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of Jupiter.[2]

A few years previously (337) Rome had again afforded one of those sad spectacles which we have already described.[3] The Vestal Minucia, who had awakened suspicion by an over-attention to her

[1] Livy, viii. 16; in 335.

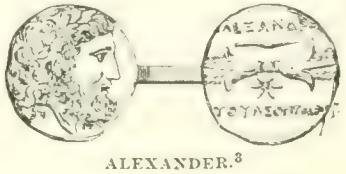
[2] Livy, viii. 18.

[3] See pp. 228, 229.

dress, was accused of having violated her vows. She received an order from the pontiffs to cease the discharge of her duties, and not to enfranchise any of her slaves, in order that they might be examined by torture. The evidence confirming the charges, as it always did in these cases, the unhappy girl was buried alive near the Colline Gate.[1] These priests, who were such vigilant guardians of the purity of the worship of Vesta, were as pitiless as their fierce goddess.

III. Second Samnite War (326–312).

While the results of the Latin war gave the Republic a territory 140 miles in extent, from north-east to south-west, and 58 miles from east to west,[2] a king of Epirus, Alexander the Molossian, uncle to Alexander the Great, was attempting to do in the West what the son of Philip accomplished in the East. Having been invited to aid the Tarentines, he beat the Lucanians and Samnites near Paestum, and consequently at the very door of Campania, made them deliver up to him three hundred hostages whom he sent into Epirus, and deprived the Bruttians of Terina and Sipontum. After he had conquered, he wished to organize; and endeavored to constitute at Thurium an assembly of the nations of Southern Italy, in the hope of governing it as the kings of Macedonia swayed the synod at Corinth.[4] In the Latin war the alliance of the Samnites had saved Rome; but since there was no longer a hostile nation between the allies, their jealousy re-awakened. Accordingly, the success of Alexander was hailed with joy at Rome; and as that prince had complained of the piracies of the Antiates, who, in spite of the severe chastisement they had



ALEXANDER.[3]

[1] Livy, viii. 15.

[2] From Sora to Antium.

[3] Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter; on the reverse, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ. Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, and brother of Olympias. Thunderbolt and lance-head. Silver coin of Alexander I., king of Epirus.

[4] Livy, viii. 17.

recently received, continued to sweep the seas, the opportunity was seized for making a treaty with him (332).[1] Some years later Alexander was treacherously killed by a Lucanian (326); the dominion that he had established fell with him; and Rome gained no profit by the alliance, save in indicating to the Greeks of that region whither they must look for help against the barbarians who surrounded them. About the same date Athens, seized with a sudden return of desire for conquest, settled somewhere on the shores of the Adriatic, at a spot which cannot be determined, a military and trading colony for the protection of her commerce against the pirates of the Etruscan towns of Atria and Spina. The decree of foundation, of which a fragment has been discovered, was worthy of that city, still great in her decay. "We desire," it says, "that all who sail in this sea, whether Greeks or barbarians, may find safety there under the protection of Athens."[3] Italy and Greece, who divided the ancient world between them, were entangling their interests more and more. In a few years a Spartan comes to seek his fortune on the shores of the Adriatic, and Pyrrhus renews the attempt of Alexander the Molossian upon the Italian peninsula.



COIN OF PAESTUM.[2]


MERCHANT VESSEL UNDER SAIL.[4]

Shortly after the treaty concluded with the King of Epirus, the Senate had secured the alliance of the Gauls. This league of the Romans with the barbarians on the north of Italy, and with a prince who was the representative, as it were, of all the Greeks settled in the south of the peninsula, was a threat to all the Sabellian tribes. The two peoples at first kept up an undeclared war, which envenomed their hatred without deciding anything. In 331 the Samnites crossed the Liris and destroyed Fregellae. The Senate would not consider it a *casus belli*; but a Roman colony

[1] Polyb., *Hist.* ii. 18.

[2] PAISTANO. Head of Ceres crowned with wheat; on the reverse, two horsemen racing. Silver didrachma.

[3] Decree of 329; see *Bull. de l'Inst. archéol.*, 1836, p. 132, *seq.*

[4] Engraved gem from the Berlin Collection.



RUINS OF ANTIUM.

went and quietly rebuilt the walls. The Sammites threatened Fabrateria; the Senate declared the town to be under Roman protection. In 333 they had secretly stirred up the Sidicini; Rome subdued this nation, and colonized Cales. In 329 they aroused the Privernates; Vitruvius Vaccus, a noble of Fundi, doubtless at their instigation, drew Fundi and Formiae into the movement. These two towns carried on the war without vigor, and soon dropped it. Privernum, left alone, held out against the two consular armies for many months. Vaccus, who had taken refuge there, was led in the triumph of the consuls, and then beheaded, and the senators of the town were deported across the Tiber. As for the remainder of the inhabitants, their fate was discussed in the Senate. "Will you be faithful?" asked the consul of their deputies. "Yes," they replied, "if your conditions are good; otherwise the peace will not last long." The Senate were desirous of gaining over these men, so proud in defeat; Privernum was allowed the rights of the city without the suffrage, but its walls were destroyed.[1]

Thus the Sammites had failed at Fregellae, Fabrateria, Cales, and Privernum. As far as the Vulturnus all was now Roman; they turned to Campania to find enemies to the Republic.

On the false report that the plague was desolating the city, and that war had been declared against the Sammites, the Greeks of Palaeopolis[2] had attacked the Romans scattered through Campania. When the heralds came to demand justice, they only met with challenge and insult, and four thousand Sammites entered into the place. To the complaints of the Romans about this violation of treaties, the Sammites replied by a demand for the evacuation of Fregellae; the deputies offered to submit the affair to the decision of an arbitrator. "Let the sword decide it," said the chiefs; "we appoint a meeting with you in Campania."[3]

An imposing religious ceremony preceded the hostilities. The gods were taken from the inmost sanctuaries where their statues were set up, were laid on couches covered with sumptuous

[1] The Privernates were comprised in the Ufentine tribe, formed in 318, at the same time as the Falerian tribe. Fest., s. v. *Ufentina;* Livy, ix. 20; Diod., xix. 10; Val. Max., VI. ii. 1.

[2] Palaeopolis, or the Old Town, a colony of Cumae, in the neighborhood of *Neapolis* (Naples), the New Town.

[3] Livy, viii. 23.

tapestry, and invited to a feast served by the priests, the *lectisternium*. The temples were thrown open, the roads were blocked with the faithful, who came to behold with devotion the god whom they confounded with his image. As no unlucky omen stopped the accomplishment of these rites, the divine guests of Rome seemed to have accepted her offering and promised their aid.

The war dallied, however, in the first year (326), although the Senate had secured the support of the Lucanians and Apulians, who were to take the Samnites in the rear. The Lucanians, being persuaded by the Tarentines, already jealous of the Roman power, changed sides almost immediately; but the industrious and commercial population of Apulia had too much to fear from the neighborhood of the Samnites not to remain in alliance with Rome, at least so long as fortune favored her. The defection of the Lucanians was, moreover, compensated by the capture of Palaeopolis and the alliance with Naples, — that is to say, with all the Campanian Greeks.

The blockade of Palaeopolis had been the occasion of an important innovation. In order to continue the operations against that town, Publilius Philo had been continued in his command under the title of *pro-consul*.[1] By paying the same soldiers, the Senate were able to retain them under the standards so long as public necessity required it; by the pro-consulship, it could leave at their head the leaders who had gained its confidence and theirs. The annual election of the magistrates guaranteed liberty, but endangered empire. The institution of the pro-consulship, without affecting this great principle of Roman government, destroyed the danger of it. The Genucian law was thus happily evaded.[2] It is almost always pro-consuls who finish the wars, more especially outside Italy, in countries whose resources and dispositions must be leisurely studied by the generals, where negotiations and fighting must be carried on at the same time. Fabius Rullianus, Scipio, Flamininus, Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey, and Caesar had only this title when they gained their most brilliant victories.

The treaty with the Campanian Greeks had driven the Samnites out of Campania; and a mountain warfare, that is,

[1] [The Latin form is not *pro-consul*, but *proconsule*, according to the best MSS. — *Ed.*]

[2] See p. 390.

sudden attacks, obscure but bloody fights, and heroic efforts productive of no results, replaced the great warfare of the plains. The Romans there brought their tactics, arms, and discipline to perfection. They issued from this struggle the best soldiers in the world. Roman vanity is accused of having multiplied the victories of the legions; in one campaign Livy reckons fifty-three thousand killed, and thirty-one thousand prisoners! There is an evident exaggeration in these figures; but it is in the nature of this kind of war to be interminable. Though the Samnites had but a small number of walled towns, every rock was a stronghold for them. On the other hand, it was scarcely possible that their bands, formed of brave but ill-disciplined volunteers, should not be beaten in almost every encounter by troops whose organization was superior to anything the ancient world had yet known. The two armies resembled the two peoples: the one a fragile confederation, a precarious union of tribes unaccustomed to counsel and action in common; the other, a mass of two hundred and fifty thousand fighting men, animated with the same spirit, obeying the same influence: the latter, an immense force concentrated in a single hand, in the service of a single interest; the former, an indomitable, but divided, courage, pursuing different aims.

Several obscure towns captured from the Samnites on the banks of the Vulturnus, the pillaging of a few valleys, the rising and defeat of the Vestinians, — these are the only events known in the first years of the war. But the dryness of the annals is suddenly broken, in 324, by the brilliant story of the quarrel of the dictator, Papirius, with Fabius Rullianus his chief of cavalry. The dictator, not having obtained sufficient auguries at the camp, had gone to Rome to seek more favorable ones. He had forbidden Fabius to fight during his absence, since the sacred chickens did not promise victory. But a good opportunity having occurred, Fabius took advantage of it, and conquered the Samnites. At the news of this infraction of discipline and defiance of the gods, Papirius left Rome, hastened to the camp, and called the chief of cavalry before his tribunal. "I would fain know of thee, Q. Fabius, since the dictatorship is the supreme power which both the consuls, who are endued with royal authority, and the praetors, who are created under the same auspices as the

consuls, obey, — I would fain know of thee if thou thinkest it right or not that a chief of cavalry should submit to its orders? I ask thee, moreover, if, convinced as I was of the uncertainty of the auspices, I ought to have left to chance the safety of the state in despite of our holy ceremonies, or renewed the auspices, in order to do nothing without a clear knowledge that the gods were on our side? I ask thee, finally, if, when a religious scruple hinders the dictator from acting, the chief of cavalry could have any excuse for doing so? Answer; but answer only this, and not a word beyond." Fabius would have spoken of his victory. Papirius interrupted him, and called the lictor: "Prepare the rods and the axe!" said he. At these words murmurs were heard, and a sedition was on the point of breaking out among the legions. Happily night came on, and the execution was, according to custom, deferred to the morrow. In the interval Fabius escaped from the camp, and arrived at Rome, where, by virtue of his office, he called together the Senate. His father, who had been dictator and thrice consul, began to inveigh against the violence and injustice of Papirius, when the noise of the lictors was heard as they drove aside the crowd, and the dictator appeared. In vain the senators tried to appease his wrath; he ordered the culprit to be seized. The elder Fabius then descended to the comitium, whither the people had flocked, and appealed to the tribunes. "Rods and axes," he cried, "for a victor! What punishment would he then have reserved for my son if the army had perished? Is it possible that he through whom the town is now full of joy, for whom the temples are now open and thanksgivings are being returned to the gods, — is it possible that this man should be stripped of his raiment and lacerated by the rods under the eyes of the Roman people, in view of the Capitol, of its gods, whom in two combats he invoked, and not in vain?" The senators, the tribunes, the people themselves were for the glorious culprit; Papirius remained inflexible. He called to mind the sanctity of the auspices and the majesty of the imperium, which must be respected; he showed the consequences of an act of disobedience left unpunished. "The discipline of the family, the city, and the camp are all closely connected," said he; "will you, tribunes of the people, be responsible to posterity for the evils

which will follow any infringement of the rules of our ancestors? Then devote yourselves to lasting reproach to redeem the fault of Fabius." The tribunes, troubled and uneasy, kept silence; but the whole people betook themselves to supplication; the aged Fabius and his son fell at the dictator's feet. "It is well," said Papirius; "military discipline and the majesty of command, which to-day seemed so near perishing, have triumphed. Fabius is not absolved from his fault; he owes his pardon to the Roman people, to the tribunitian power which has asked for mercy and not justice." The pardon was not, however, complete. Papirius appointed another chief of cavalry, and forbade Fabius, whom he could not depose, to exercise any magisterial act.[1]

A fine story and a splendid scene! Papirius, contending alone, in the name of the law, against the Senate, the tribunes, and the people itself, well represents that Roman firmness which yielded neither to nature, nor fortune, nor the efforts of men. Such a rock was necessary to bear the empire of the world. But to gain that empire there was needed, too, the respect for social discipline and the profound sense of responsibility, which is incumbent in public life upon one and all. This is why the old story is always good to read.

On his return to the camp Papirius beat the Samnites, who sued for peace (323). Only a truce was concluded, which was as necessary to the Romans as to their enemies. Disquieting symptoms seemed to announce that a renewal of the Latin war was approaching. Tusculum, one of the oldest allies of Rome, wavered in its fidelity; Velitrae and Privernum claimed the recovery of their independence. The wisdom of the Senate averted the storm. Instead of employing force, they disarmed the rebel cities by conceding them the full rights of citizenship. And the man who in 323 was dictator of Tusculum, is seen, a few months later, seated in the Senate as consul of the Roman people.

In this same year Alexander died at Babylon. Several Italian nations had sent ambassadors to him there.

The truce had not expired before the Samnites took up arms again, encouraged by the defection of a part of the Apulians. Fabius broke up this coalition by a victory, and by the recapture

[1] Livy, viii. 30–35.

of Luceria raised Roman influence in Apulia. The Samnites were thus driven back both east and west into their mountains, and not a single ally, even in the Marsic confederation, declared for them. Once more they asked for peace; as they could not deliver up Brutius Papius, the author of the last outbreak, alive — since he had killed himself — they sent his body to Rome. A refusal re-awakened their energy. They put at their head C. Pontius of Telesia, the son of the sage Herennius, whom Cicero considered



VALLEY OF THE CAUDINE FORKS, NEAR CASERTA [1]

to have been the friend of Archytas and Plato. The two consular armies were in Campania. Pontius had conveyed to them the false intelligence that Luceria, hard pressed by the whole Samnite army, was about to open its gates if succor were not promptly sent

[1] Taken from the *Bibliothèque nationale*. But there is much uncertainty as to the true position of the *Furculae Caudinae*. The most reliable opinion places the valley between Santa Agata and Moirano, on the road to Beneventum; a little river, the Isclero, runs through it. (Craven, *Tour through the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples*, pp. 12–20.) As to the lost town of Caudium, it was situated, according to the Roman itineraries, on the Appian Way, 21 miles from Capua, and 11 from Beneventum.

to it. In their zeal the consuls forgot prudence, and taking the shortest way, entered the narrow valley of Caudium. Suddenly the enemy appeared, closing the outlets, and from the high rocks which commanded the narrow pass, threatened the four legions with inevitable destruction. A desperate struggle ensued; it doubtless lasted several days, at the end of which, as provisions failed, the Romans were forced to yield.[1] "Kill them all," said Herennius, the aged father of the Samnite general, "if you desire war; or send them back free, with their arms, if you prefer a glorious peace." Pontius wished to enjoy his triumph. He sent them back free, but dishonored, with shame on their foreheads and an implacable hatred in their hearts. All who remained of forty thousand Romans had passed under the yoke, at their head the two consuls, Postumius and Veturius, four legates, two quaestors, and twelve legionary tribunes. Six hundred knights, who were delivered up as hostages, answered for the peace sworn by the leaders of the army (321).

For the national pride this humiliation was worse than the disaster. There was universal mourning in the city. Twice a dictator was appointed, and twice did sinister omens compel the annulling of the election. At length Valerius Corvus, as interrex, raised to the consulship two of the greatest citizens of the Republic, — Papirius and the plebeian Publilius Philo. When the treaty was discussed in the Senate, Postumius rose and said: "The Roman people cannot be bound by a treaty concluded without its approbation; but, in order to free the public faith, it is necessary to give up to the Samnites those who swore peace." As state interest silenced all scruples, the Senate seemed to think that the blood of these voluntary victims would redeem the perjury, even with the gods; and the consuls, quaestors, and tribunes, chained like slaves, were led by the heralds to the Samnite army.[2] When they stood in the presence of Pontius, "I am a Samnite now," said Postumius; then, striking the knee of the herald, he cried: "I violate the sacred

[1] Livy (ix. 2–6) does not mention any battle, but Cicero (*de Sen.* 12, and *de Offic.* iii. 30) knew of it; and it was perhaps after the battle that the Roman army allowed itself to be entrapped in the Caudine Forks.

[2] Livy (ix. 8–9) and Cicero (*de Offic.* iii. 20) justify the rupture of the treaty which had been concluded, *injussu populi senatusque*; and they are right. A general who, by his own fault, has brought himself into danger, must make his escape at his own risk; he may stipulate by a *capitulation* for his army, but not by a *treaty* for his Government.

character of an ambassador; let the Romans avenge this insult; they have now a just motive for war." "Is it permitted thus to mock the gods?" cried the Samnite general in indignation; "take your consuls back again, and let the Senate keep the sworn peace, or let them send their legions back to the Caudine Forks."

Fortune rewarded injustice. The Samnites, it is true, surprised Fregellae and massacred its defenders, in spite of their capitulation, and they roused Luceria; but the Senate, boldly resuming the offensive, sent the two consuls into Apulia, which they did not again leave till they had given these faithless allies a bloody lesson. Publilius, at the head of the legions of Caudium, beat an army in Samnium, and set out for Apulia to rejoin Papirius, who had haughtily repulsed the intervention of the Tarentines, dispersed the enemy by an impetuous attack, and recaptured Luceria.[1] He had there found the six hundred hostages, the arms and standards lost at Caudium, and had passed under the yoke seven thousand Samnite prisoners, with their chief, the noble, but imprudent Pontius Herennius (320).

The successes of this campaign are a too brilliant reparation of the disasters of the preceding year not to lead us to suspect the fidelity of the annals. As forty years later the Romans pretend to have wiped out the disgrace of the Allia, so they would fain have wiped out, in 320, that of the Caudine Forks; and, in order that this revenge might not be disputed, they showed how Apulia immediately entered into alliance with them again, and how the Samnites were obliged, in the year 318, to ask for a truce of two years. These hasty successes are doubtful; and this doubt is authorized by the events which followed.

The Senate had just sent a prefect to Capua to dispense justice there, — in reality to supervise and restrain those restless spirits. This was to deprive the Campanians of a right allowed to the most obscure of the vanquished, and provoke a discontent of which the Samnites took advantage.[2] In rapid succession Rome heard of the capture and destruction of Plistia, that Fregellae itself had been occupied, the colonists of Sora massacred, and Saticula, situated a few leagues from Capua, swept into the revolt.

[1] Diodorus (xx. 72) says that Luceria was reconquered in 314.

[2] Nuceria, on the Sarnus, to the southeast of Capua, had just revolted. (Diod., xix. 65.)

A dictator was at once sent against Saticula, which was strictly invested and taken, after a vain attempt on the part of the new allies to break through the Roman lines. But the Samnites, calling to arms every man of an age to fight, forced the dictator to retire upon the defiles of Lautulae, between Terracina and Fundi. Whilst they followed Fabius in this direction, they left Apulia open to the consuls, who hastened thither to recapture Luceria. Two roads led from Rome into Campania, the upper one by the Valley of the Trerus, a tributary of the Liris; the lower one, which was afterward the Appian Way, across the Pontine Marshes. Fregellae, which the enemy held, closed the former; by the second, Fabius received a numerous body of men from Rome, who, coming up suddenly in the middle of the action against the Samnites, secured the victory for the Romans (315).

Each of the Italian cities, great or small, had two factions, as Rome used to have, but as, fortunately for her, she had no longer, — the party of the nobles, and that of the people. The Roman Senate, which held the direction of its external policy, was naturally led to seek the alliance of the aristocratic party. The popular party inclined to the opposite side; so that when war broke out between the two most powerful nations in the peninsula, each town had a Roman and a Samnite faction. Hence the continual defections which are seen in favor of one adversary or the other, according to the party which ruled for the moment in the city.

At Capua, for instance, the Romans had granted to the rich, privileges which must necessarily have caused great irritation among the rest of the population. Accordingly, a conspiracy was formed there for calling in the Samnites. The movement spread to the towns of the lower Liris, in the country of the Aurunci;[1] but in Latium no disturbance occurred. The Senate had time to assemble its forces and to manage intrigues which opened to its legionaries the gates of Ausona, Minturnae, and Vescia, the inhabitants of which were massacred. After this war the name of the Aurunci disappears from history.[2] Ovius and Novius, the

[1] Diod., xix. 76. Livy is much less explicit.

[2] Livy, ix. 25: *Nullus modus caedibus fuit, deletaque Ausonum gens.*

leaders of the revolt of Capua, killed themselves. Sora and Fregellae fell into the hands of Rome again, and those of their inhabitants who had betrayed the Roman colonists were taken to Rome and there beheaded. It was a holocaust offered to the people; for by this terrible execution the Senate declared to all men that the citizen sent to a colony might count on watchful protection while he lived, and an inexorable vengeance if he were slain; and the ancients loved vengeance.

According to Livy, the army, after having recovered Campania, went in search of the Samnites not far from Caudium, and killed thirty thousand of them, — a great slaughter, placed too near the Caudine Forks for us not to suspect the historian, or the chroniclers copied by him, of having invented a double expiation of the insult there done to Roman military honor (314). The legions, however, acting on a plan wisely combined and perseveringly followed out, succeeded in once more driving the Samnites into the Apennines, and there enclosing them, east and west, with a line of fortresses. Suessa Aurunca, Interamna on the Liris, Casinum, and Luceria in Apulia, received Roman colonies. In order to keep watch over the Tarentine corsairs, who swept the Tyrrhenian Sea, the Senate also sent one to the Island of Pontia. This measure was connected with the recent creation of a navy and the nomination of two maritime prefects.[1]



FLUTE-PLAYER.[2]

In the midst of these accounts of war Livy places a grotesque incident, "little worthy of recital," says he, "if it did not refer to religion." It is, in fact, a detail which is not devoid of interest in the history of the manners of so grave and yet so frivolous a nation. Religious festivals, sacrifices, and even the observation of heavenly signs and funeral ceremonies, required the presence of flute-players, who had

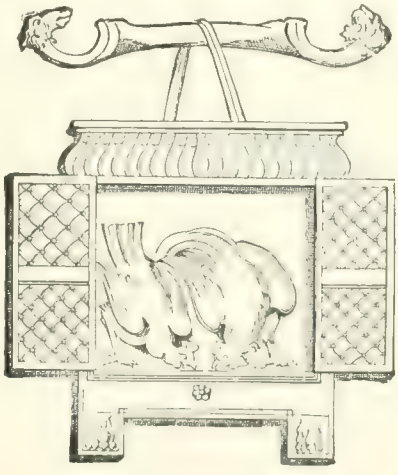
[1] *Duumviri navales.* (Livy, ix. 30.)

[2] Bronze figurine from the National Collection of France, No. 3,064 of Chabouillet's catalogue.

originally been brought from Etruria, and who formed a semi-religious corporation. The censors having forbidden them the sacred banquets of the temple of Jupiter, to which they had been hitherto admitted, they all retired in anger to Tibur. The Senate, much alarmed at the interruption of a necessary rite, ordered them to return; but they refused to re-enter Rome; and in order to make them return to their religious duties, it was necessary to adopt a stratagem. One feast-day, under pretence of giving, by the aid of music, more solemnity to the festivities, the wealthy of Tibur invited them, and made them drink until they became very drunken. They were then placed on chariots and carried back to Rome, where they were left in the middle of the Forum. When they awoke in the morning all the people were gathered round them. The privilege they had enjoyed was restored; and to seal the reconciliation, a feast of three days was instituted, — a kind of masquerade, of which they were the heroes, and which was celebrated with songs, dances, and mad gayety.[1]

[1] Livy, ix. 30; Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 651, *seq.*

[2] In the camp it was usual to consult omens taken from the appetite of birds, generally chickens. The *templum*, or enclosed space for observing the signs, was traced on the ground; the *pullarius* brought thither the cage and opened it, and then gave the fowls food. When they flew eagerly upon the grain, especially when they let some of it fall from their beaks, the omen was fortunate. This could be easily managed by making the fowls fast, or by giving them a friable paste. And yet, though they thus tricked Providence, the Romans, and even Papirius Cursor, as we have just seen on p. 429, believed none the less in the omen obtained.



THE SACRED CHICKENS.[2]

CHAPTER XV.

COALITION OF THE SAMNITES, ETRUSCANS, AND SENONES (311-280).

I. Third Samnite War (311–303).

FOR sixteen years the Samnites fought alone; but at last the other nations began to stir. The forty years' truce with the Tarquinians was drawing to an end, and the Etruscan cities, which no longer heard the Gallic bands thundering on the other side of the Apennines, saw with dread the fortune of Rome increasing with every campaign. Samnite emissaries excited them, and the ancient league of the lucumonies was again formed. While the legions were detained in Samnium at the siege of Bovianum, fifty or sixty thousand Etruscans came and surrounded Sutrium, the fortress which protected the approaches to Rome from the north. If this place were carried, it was but a few hours' march to the foot of the Janiculum. Since the battle of the Allia the Senate always kept two legions in the city. This reserve attempted to raise the blockade of Sutrium; an indecisive battle kept the enemy in check until the arrival of reinforcements led by Fabius, the hero of this war. The capture of Bovianum rendered the other consular army available, and the Senate was desirous of sending that also to the besieged town. But the Samnites broke into Apulia; it was necessary to follow them. Fabius was thus left alone. The Etruscan lines were too strong to be carried, and they declined to be drawn from them. Fabius left them there, warned the Senate to protect Rome with a reserve army, and then, without awaiting the chance of an order that might upset his bold plan, he crossed the Ciminian forest, which his brother had explored in the disguise of a Tuscan shepherd, penetrated the rich lands of Central Etruria, passing near Castel d'Asso and Norchia, — now cities of the dead,

but then flourishing towns — and slew sixty thousand Umbrians or Etruscans near Perugia. Three of the most powerful cities, Perugia, Cortona, and Arretium, asked a truce of thirty years. Sutrium was saved, the confederacy dissolved,[1] and the massacre of the *gens Fabia* on the banks of the Cremera, in 479 B. C., was at last avenged.

Meanwhile Marcus Rutilus, who had been sent against the Samnites, had almost fallen into another Caudine Forks: he had only escaped from the field of battle by a partial defeat; and Samnium was meditating an heroic effort. War was ardently advocated all through the mountains; the bravest were called upon to take the oath of the holy law. The Senate had recourse to the man who had repaired the disaster of Caudium, the aged Papirius.[2] Age had weighed down his body, bowed his lofty stature, and chilled his strength; he was no longer the Roman Achilles, but he was still one of the first generals in the Republic. The appointment of a dictator belonged to Fabius, and the consul had not forgotten the resentment of the former chief of cavalry. He hesitated a whole day; but patriotism at length prevailed, and at midnight, far from all profane eyes and ears, he named Papirius. Junius Bubulcus, the conqueror of Bovianum, Valerius Corvus, and a Decius were his lieutenants. The Samnite army was ready. Numbers of warriors had sworn before the altars, amid imposing ceremonies, the solemn oath to conquer or die; and wearing their most splendid armor, some, bright-colored cloaks and golden shields, others, white tunics and silver shields, all with their helmets crested with brilliant plumes, they marched to battle, adorned for the sacrifice as if for a triumph. They fell; and when Papirius went up to the Capitol, long trains of chariots passed along the triumphal way loaded with the arms of the Samnite *devoti*. The shops of the Forum were decorated with them, and the Campanian allies carried some of them back to their towns as glorious trophies (309).

[1] Diod., xx. 35. According to Livy, the battle took place near Sutrium, on the return of the legions from Etruria. He strangely exaggerates the terror inspired by the Ciminian forest, which was dreaded by merchants, as are all *marches*, like the Scottish border, but which an army had already traversed in a war against the Vulsinii, in 390. Tarquinii itself is situated north of the southwest portion of the *Ciminius saltus*, now Monte di Viterbo.

[2] The Romans had named him Cursor, like Achilles, and would have opposed him to Alexander, says Livy, had that prince turned his arms westward.

The fears of the Senate were not yet dissipated; Papirius retained the dictatorship all that year, and Fabius remained as proconsul at the head of the legions in Etruria; there were no consular elections.

Between the Tiber and the Ciminian forest was a lake, which Pliny the younger describes with childish satisfaction,[1]



ETRUSCAN WARRIOR (STANDARD-BEARER).[2]



SAMNITE WARRIOR.[3]

and which is now only a pool of sulphurous water, the *laghetto di Bassano*, formerly the *lacus Vadimonius*, famous for having twice seen the fortune of Etruria fail upon its shores. The reason is that the defile, scarce a mile wide, which extends from the lake to the spurs of the Cimino, is the easiest passage that lies open to an army desirous of going from Rome to the upper valley of the Tiber.[4] The Etruscans had hastened thither for a last effort.

[1] *Epist.* viii. 20; cf. Dennis, *Etruria*, i. 167.

[2] From a vase in the Campana Collection.

[3] *Atlas* of the *Bull. de l'Inst. archéol.*, vol. viii. pl. 21.

[4] The *Mons Ciminius*, which in ancient times was covered with a thick forest, is now quite bare, which changes the aspect of the place.

They had displayed every religious pomp, and declared the sacred law which devoted to the infernal gods all who fled; each soldier had chosen a companion in arms, at whose side he must fight, and conquer or fall. The shock was terrible. Two of the Roman lines were broken; the third, in which were the *triarii*, maintained the combat; and the horsemen, having dismounted, decided



SAMNITE WARRIOR.[1]



SAMNITE WARRIOR.[1]

the victory. "The strength of the nation," says Livy,[2] "was destroyed in this battle."

The Etruscans being defeated at Lake Vadimon and again conquered near Perugia, which had revolted, and this place being occupied by a Roman garrison, the other cities were compelled to sue for peace, and Etruria was finally subdued. Such were the services of Fabius in this year.[3] When Decius entered the country

[1] From a vase in the Campana Collection.

[2] ix. 39: *caesum in acie quod roboris fuit.*

[3] Diodorus does not mention all these victories of Fabius, which were family traditions embellished by imagination and vanity.

on the return of spring, he found nothing but people anxious to negotiate.

Fabius had gone to carry his fortune, that is, his renown and perseverance, into Samnium. The Marsic confederation had



SAMNITE HORSEMAN (AFTER A VASE IN THE CAMPANA COLLECTION).

furnished the Samnites with numerous volunteers, but it had not openly declared for them. As in the early days of Rome, her enemies were preparing victories for her by their want of union. When the Samnites were enfeebled and the Etruscans overwhelmed, the Marsians and Pelignians saw that their cause was that of all Italy. But it was too late. Fabius overcame them, subdued

Nuceria, which had revolted seven years before, and, learning that his colleague was retreating before a large body of Umbrians, he went to his aid, dispersed the Umbrian army, and received the submission of their towns (308). A fresh pro-consulship gave him an opportunity for fresh victories. He surrounded a Samnite army near Allifae, and obliged it to surrender before the eyes of the Tarentine ambassadors, who, deluded by their pride, wished to take upon themselves the office of mediators (308).

Among the prisoners were some Aequians and Hernicans.[1] An inquiry ordered by the Senate drove the latter to arms. Having met in the great circus of Anagni, they resolved to support their brothers of the mountains; but Marcius had time to beat the Hernicans in three encounters, and to oblige the nation to submit to the discretion of the Senate, who deprived its towns, with the exception of three which had remained faithful, of their independence and a portion of their territory.[2] Thence Marcius hastened to set free his colleague Cornelius, who was blockaded by the Samnites, and slew thirty thousand of them. For five months the legions overran Samnium, burning houses and farms, cutting down fruit-trees, killing even the animals.[3] On their return their general had a triumph, and an equestrian statue was erected to him (306 B. C).



ETRUSCAN MARS.[4]

The plebeians were desirous of glorifying by this honor a consul of their own order; and to the credit of the Senate it must be said, that when in later times the statues which encumbered the Forum were removed, that of Marcius was retained; Cicero saw it there.[5]

[1] Livy, ix. 42.

[2] Livy, ix. 43. They received the rights of citizenship without the suffrage, and with a prohibition of any intercourse between them. The towns excepted were Alatrium, Ferentinum, and Verulae. These preserved the *jus connubii et commercii* among themselves.

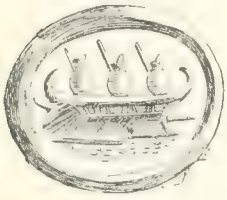
[3] Diod., xx. 90. It is, says Polybius, a custom of the Romans; they desire thereby to inspire a more profound terror.

[4] Or warrior with a helmet surmounted by a high-crested ridge; bronze figure from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,977 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

[5] *Philipp.* vi. 13.

The Samnites held out for one more campaign, in spite of the ravaging of their lands. It was only when they saw their strongholds in the hands of the legions that they decided to sue for the termination of a war which had lasted more than a generation. They retained their territory and all the outward signs of independence, but acknowledged the majesty of the Roman people. Circumstances were to define what the Senate meant by the Roman majesty (304).[1]

This peace left the Etruscans isolated, and exposed to the anger of Rome. For more than a century this restless nation had allowed themselves to be forgotten. Driven back by the Gallic invasions into the mountains to the west of Lake Fucinus, and restrained by Tibur and Praeneste, which barred the road into Latium against them, they had taken no part in the Latin war. But the Senate, remembering that some Aequians had fought in the Samnite ranks at Allifae, sent against them the legions which had just returned from Samnium. In fifty days forty-one places were taken and burned; then a part of their territory was confiscated, and they were allowed the citizenship without the suffrage, which placed them in the condition of subjects (304). Five years later, owing to the fear of a Gallo-Samnite coalition, they were raised to the rank of citizens, and formed into two new tribes, the Aniensis and Terentina. A short war with the Marsi, who had been roused by the establishment of a Roman colony at Carseoli, and a treaty concluded with the Vestini and Piceni, are the sole events of the following years. Rome thus placed a whole mass of friendly nations between the Etruscans, the Gauls, and the Samnites, whom she had conquered, but not disarmed.

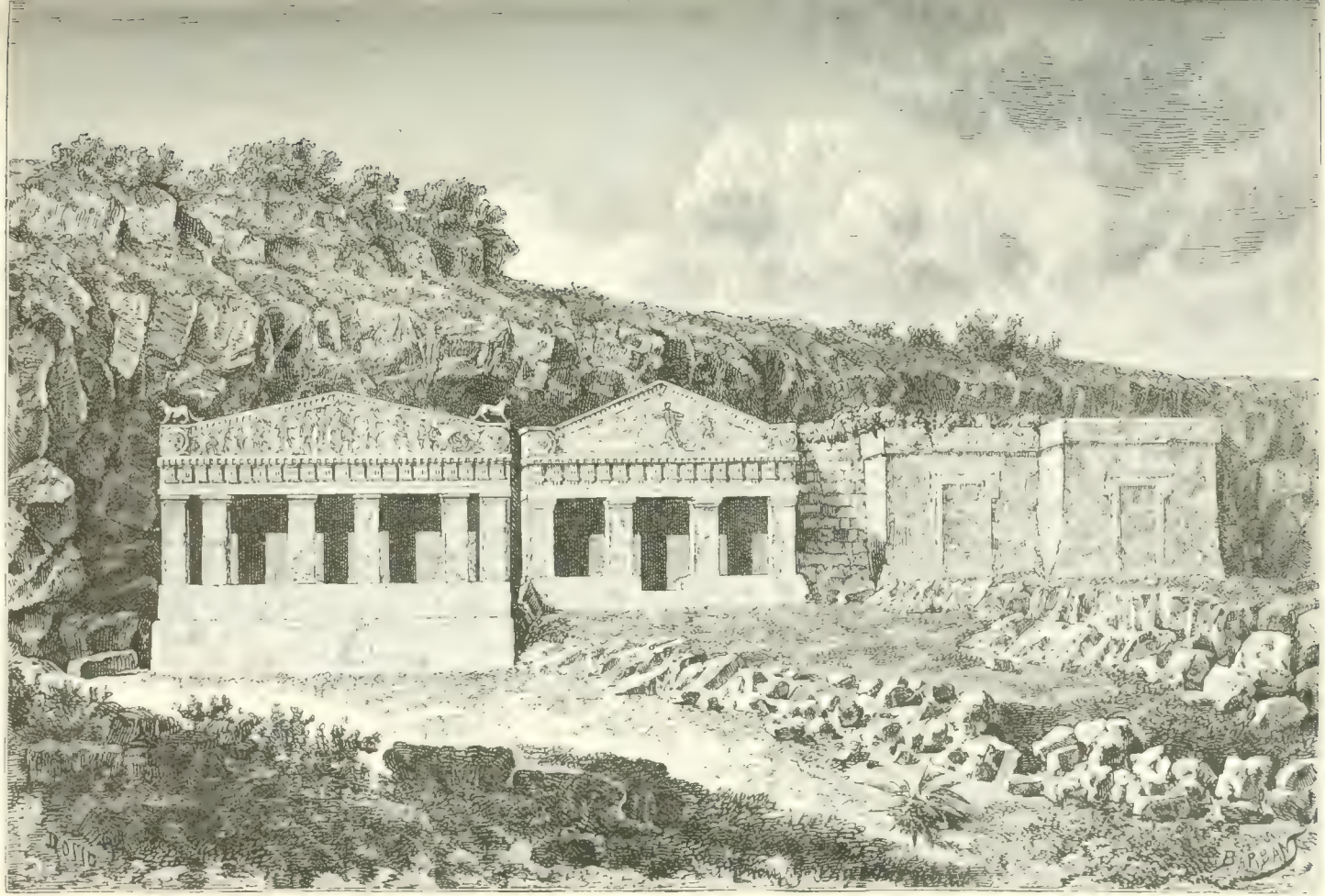


WAR VESSEL WITH BEAK (ROSTRUM.)[2]

An episode of this time makes us think of our own tragic story of the caves of Dahra. Rome did not disdain to watch over those agitations with which wars end, but with which they also recommence. Men whom Livy calls brigands, but who were doubtless patriots refusing to accept a foreign yoke, overran the Umbrian country in bands. Two thousand of them had taken

[1] Livy (ix. 45) says: *foedus antiquum redditum.*

[2] Engraved gem from the Berlin Museum.



VALLEY OF TOMBS, NEAR NORCHIA (RESTORATION BY CANINA).

refuge in a deep cavern. A consul tracked them thither; and as the soldiers who tried to penetrate into it were driven back with stones and arrows, wood was piled up at the two extremities and set alight, and the fire was kept burning till all had perished, stifled by the smoke or the heat.[1]

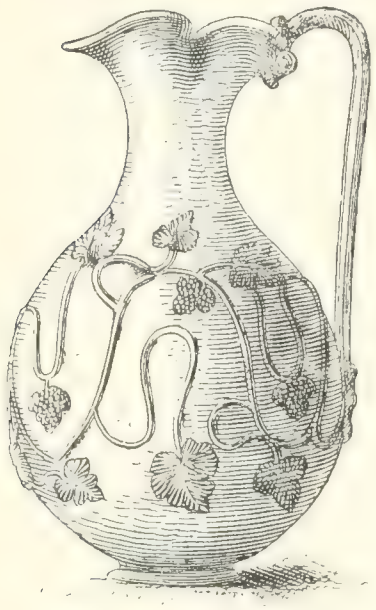
In the same year an adventure happened which the Paduan Livy tells with great satisfaction. Cleonymus, the grandson of a Spartan king, had come with a fleet to seek his fortune in the Adriatic. He seized vessels and pillaged the coasts. Finding those of the Sallentine country well guarded by the Roman legions, he pushed on as far as the head of the gulf, and penetrated by the lagoons of the Brenta to the Venetians, whose territory he ravaged. The protection of Rome did not yet extend so far; but the Paduans, accustomed, from the proximity of the Gauls, to the use of arms, fell on these marauders, killing some, and pursuing others to their ships, several of which were taken. Very proud of this success gained over the Lacedaemonians, Padua deposited the armed prows of their vessels in her temple of Juno, and instituted a feast, still celebrated in the time of Augustus, at which a naval combat on the Brenta recalled the victory over the pirates of Cleonymus.

II. Second Coalition of Samnites, Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls (300–290).

In the last forty years the Samnites had been often beaten. Nothing, however, had yet been decided, and the recently concluded peace was only a momentary repose before the final struggle. Betwixt Rome and Samnium it was no longer a rivalry of power, but a question of life or death; for Roman ambition increased with success, and Appius had just declared that the sway of the Republic should reach as far as Italy reached. War was smouldering everywhere; and the partial fires which broke out, — the war with the Aequians, the Marsi, and soon against Arretium and Narnia, — announced a fresh conflagration. At Arretium the powerful family of the Cilnii called in a Roman army, which

[1] Livy, x. 1.

helped to subdue the people of that town. The Cilnii and the people became reconciled, says Livy; but most probably this union, effected by the foreigner, took place to the profit of Rome; and here, as at Capua, as indeed everywhere, the Italian aristocracy sold the independence of the people to the Senate in order to save its own privileges and power.[1] At least it is impossible to explain the strange conduct of the Etruscans in this last period of the Samnite war, except by internal troubles, by a deplorable rivalry between the Roman and the national parties, one desirous of peace, the other war, whence came endless broken truces and ill-conducted campaigns.



EARTHENWARE OF ARRETIUM (AREZZO).[2]

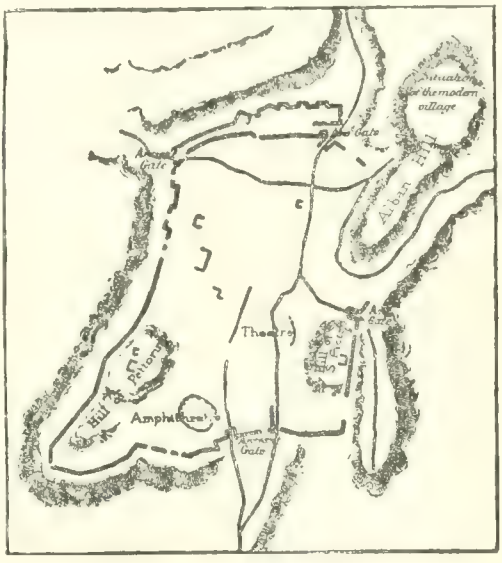
The Gauls at this time began again to make a stir in the world. Their warlike hordes were moving in the Danube Valley, whence they issued to ravage Greece and Asia Minor. Italy felt the reaction of these movements; a few bands again crossed the Alps, and the Senate, uneasy about the disposition of the Senones, made preparations for protecting themselves from a sudden invasion. In 300 B. C. we find the consuls besieging the Umbrian town of *Nequinum* (Narnia). Built on a rock above the Nar, this place commanded the passage from Umbria into the Valley of the Tiber; it was one of the most important military positions in the neighborhood of Rome. The Senate there established a strong garrison. With Carseoli and Alba Fucentia, which had been colonized a little earlier, this place completed the line of defence which surrounded the capital of Latium.[3]

[1] Livy (xlii. 30) says later on about another people and another nobility: . . . *plebs omnis, ut solet, deterioris erat . . . principum diversa studia . . . plures ex iis ita, si praecipuam operam navassent, potentes sese in civitatibus suis futuros rati . . .*

[2] Vase of red earthenware in relief, from the Campana Museum.

[3] Sutrium, Narnia, Carseoli, Alba Fucentia, and the colonies of the Liris Valley, Sora, Atina, Casinum, Interamna, etc.

At Narnia, some Samnites had been found among the defenders of the place; their chiefs were preparing a general rising, and sought allies everywhere. The Lucanians had promised them assistance; but at the moment of action the Roman party gained the upper hand, and caused hostages to be given. The Picentines, though earnestly solicited, also informed the Senate of the message calling them to arms; and the Marsic confederation, true to its old jealousy of the Samnites, once more betrayed the common cause. But other allies were found. The Sabines, who had been at peace with the Romans for a century and a half, would not abandon a sister people in its last hour. The Etruscans were quite decided. Some years previously they had paid the Gauls to march upon Rome. When the barbarians held the money, "That is only your ransom," they said; "to aid you against the Romans you must give us lands." The Umbrians had thrown in their fortune with the Etruscans. Thus, war was ready to break out from the Cisalpine to Bruttium. To this ill-cemented coalition Rome opposed all the strength of the Latin and Campanian nations from the Ciminian forest to the Silarus; and, what was worth more than an army, unity of counsel and control.



ALBA FUCENTIA.[1]

The war commenced at both extremities at once, in Etruria and in Lucania. Valerius Corvus, then consul for the sixth time, was intrusted with the Etruscan war. The enemy, frightened by

[1] Alba Fucentia was three miles from Lake Fucinus, at the foot of Monte Velino, but upon the summit of a hill. This made it a very strong position; and Rome sent thither, in 302, six thousand colonists (Livy, x. 1), and in later times used it as the state prison. Syphax, Perseus, and Bituitus were incarcerated there. A part of the walls still remains; they have a circuit of about three miles, and in the interior are seen the village of Alba, of a hundred and fifty inhabitants, and some ruins, those of the amphitheatre and a theatre. The plan conveys an idea of what the ancient cities of Central Italy were like. See Promis, *Antichità di Alba Fucense.*

the very name of such an adversary, allowed its country to be devastated without risking a battle (299). The Samnites had sent an army into Lucania, to aid their party. Rome summoned them to recall it; they would not listen even to the heralds. The consul Fabius immediately marched upon Bovianum (298), beat



TOMB OF SCIPIO BARBATUS.

the enemy, whom he several times deceived by his strategy, and took the town; while his colleague, Scipio Barbatus, gained a victory over the Etruscans (?) near Volaterrae. These successes were no doubt less than they are represented,[1] or else the people

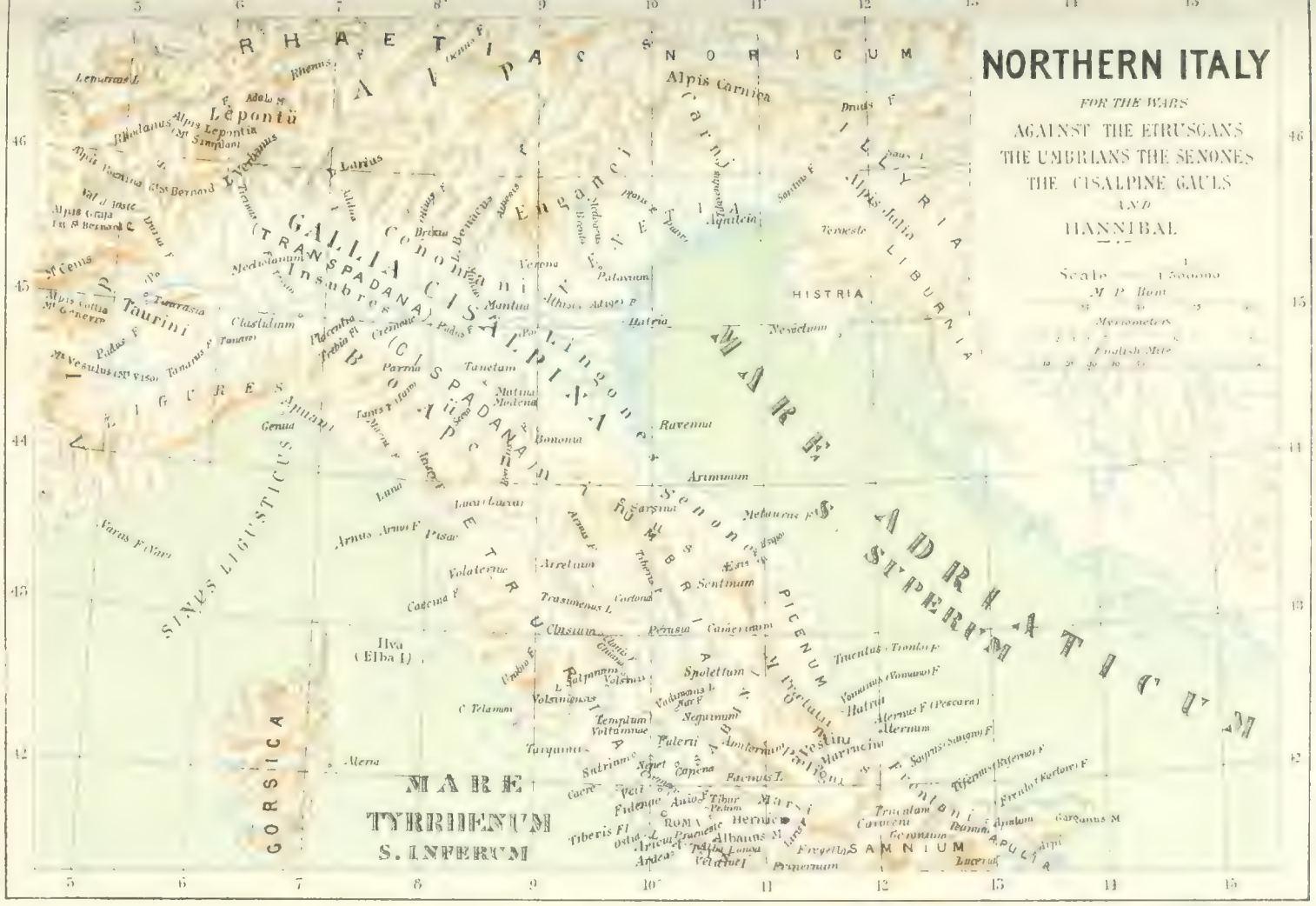
[1] We have the inscription from the tomb of this consul. It is the most ancient monument of the Latin language with a settled date that we possess [the ablative *Gnaivod* ending in *d* is peculiarly interesting. *Ed.*]:—

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus
Gnaivod patre prognatus, fortis vir sapiensque,
Quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit.
Consol, censor, aidilis quei fuit apud vos
Taurasia Cisauna Samnio cepit
Subigit omne Loucana opsidesque abdoucit.

That is:—

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus,
Son of Cneus; valiant and wise,
His beauty equalled his valor.
He was consul, censor, aedile,
Took Taurasia and Cisauna in Samnium,
Subdued all Lucania, and brought back hostages.

The omission of the victory over the Etruscans, related by Livy, proves that that his-


NORTHERN ITALY
FOR THE WARS
AGAINST THE ETRUSCANS
THE UMBRIANS THE SENONES
THE CISALPINE GAULS
AND
HANNIBAL
Scale 1:500000
M P Rom
Kilometers
English Miles
RHAETIA
NORICUM
Alpis Carnica
Lepontii
Lepontia
Alpes Poeninae Gtes Bernard
Alpes Cottiae
Mt Cenis
Taurini
Taurasia
Clastidium
Mediolanum
Insubres
GALLIA CISALPINA
(TRANSPADANA)
Cenomani
Eugenei
VENETI
Brixia
Verona
Patavium
Mantua
Adria
Hatria
Aquileia
Tergeste
Alpes Julia
ILLYRIA
LIBURNIA
HISTRIA
Nesactium
Ticinus F
Padus F
Placentia
Cremona
Parma
Tanetum
Mutina
Modena
Bononia
Ravenna
Arimnum
Ligures Apuani
Genua
Lucus Luna
Arnus F
Pisae
Volaterrae
Arretium
Clusium
Perusia
Camerinum
Sentinum
Metaurus F
Sena
Ager Gallicus
Trasumenus L
Cortona
Caecina F
Varus F (Var)
LIGURES
SINUS LIGUSTICUS
ETRURIA
UMBRIA
SENONES
PICENUM
ADRIATICUM
SUPERUM
Ilva
(Elba I)
CORSICA
Spoletium
Volsiniensis L
Volsinii
Tarquinii
Templum Voltumnae
Nequinum
Fulerii
Interamna
Asculum
Hatria
Aternum
Truentus
Tronto F
Matrinus F (Pescara)
Marrucini
Frentani
Sangro F
Tifernus F
Frento (Fortore) F
Caere
Veii
Fidenae
Tiber F
Ostia
Antium
Ardea
ROMA
Praeneste
Tibur
Hernici
Albanus M
Velitrae
Anagnia
Frusino
Aquinum
Arpinum
Fregellae
SAMNIUM
Venafrum
Teanum
Capua
Calenus F
Volturnus F
Liris F
Casinum
Cubulteria
Saticula
Aesernia
Bovianum
Terracina
Pomptinae Paludes
Circeii
Privernum
Velitrae
Lucania
Apulia
Garganus M
Aufidus F
Mare Tyrrhenum
S. Inferum

were desirous of striking a decisive blow early in the campaign; for in the following year they obliged Fabius Rullianus, who had just quitted his aedileship after having exercised his celebrated censorship, to accept the consulship. Fabius only consented on condition of having P. Decius for his colleague. In spite of all attempts, the Etruscans, who did not wish to engage seriously before the arrival of the Gauls, held themselves on the defensive, and the two consuls were able to march towards Samnium. Having each gained a victory, one at Tifernum, the other at Maleventum, they remained five months in that province, methodically devastating the country, halting their legions in the richest valleys, and leaving them only when they had destroyed everything. In this manner Decius made forty-five encampments in Samnium, and Fabius eighty-six, which were long afterward to be recognized by the ruin and solitude surrounding them.

This systematic devastation, continued by Fabius in the following year, inspired the Samnites with a desperate resolve. Quitting their country, which they could no longer defend, they threw themselves into Etruria under the leadership of Gellius Ignatius, raised to rebellion the towns which still hesitated, persuading the Umbrians to join them, and called in the Gauls.[1]

There was great terror in Rome, which unlucky omens served to increase. It was said that the statue of Victory had descended from its pedestal and had turned towards the Colline Gate, by which the Gauls had entered a century earlier. Did the goddess wish to flee from Rome, or to show her favorite people where the danger or the triumph lay? But this people, whose superstition was boundless, never lost courage, even when they doubted the assistance of their gods. At Rome the *justitium* was proclaimed; that is, the tribunals were closed, business was suspended. All available men were enrolled, even to the freedmen, and Volumnius was recalled from Samnium to help his colleague Appius, who extricated himself by a sanguinary engagement. But Campania was left defenceless, and the Samnites

torian here again attributed to the Romans a success which they never gained. We are drawing near the time of historic certainty, however: for this Scipio was the grandfather of the conqueror of Hannibal.

[1] Livy, ix. 21. Thus the people of La Vendée crossed the Loire to stir up Brittany, Maine, and Normandy.

fell upon it. Volumnius hastened back into his province, beat the enemy there, and delivered seven thousand four hundred prisoners. This victory diminished the terrors of the city, and was celebrated with public prayers.

Appius, however, was left in a dangerous position: in front of him the Samnite Egnatius, by his activity and hatred, animated the coalition of all the nations of the north of the peninsula, hushing rivalry, preaching union, and guiding the terrible Senones into the defiles of the Apennines. The year 295 B. C. was critical; accordingly, all votes raised Fabius and Decius to the consulship. Ninety thousand men at least, divided into five armies, were set afoot. One of these armies invaded Samnium, whilst, under the name of colonies, two garrisons occupied Minturnae and Sinuessa; another, encamped at the foot of the Janiculum, covered the city; the third, established near Falerii, protected the approaches to it; the fourth, commanded by Scipio Barbatus, took up a position in the territory of the Camertini, whence it watched the movements of the Gauls; and finally, the fifth, formed of the consular legions, kept the field.

When Fabius came to take the command, Appius was keeping this last army shut up in a camp, the defences of which he daily strengthened. The new general scorned these precautions, which frightened the soldiers, tore down the palisades, and took the offensive again. Meanwhile the Gauls attacked a legion posted by Scipio near Camerinum, killed them to the last man, and, having forced the passage of the Apennines, spread over the plain, carrying at their saddles and on their pikes the bleeding heads of the legionaries. If the conquerors should effect a junction with the Umbrians and Etruscans, it was clearly all over with the consular army; but Fabius by a diversion recalled the Etruscans to the defence of their homes, and then hastened in search of the Gallo-Samnite army in the plains of Sentinum. The shock was terrible; the war-chariots of the barbarians put the Roman cavalry to flight, and broke the first line of the legions. Seven thousand Romans on the left wing, commanded by Decius, had already perished, when the consul, following his father's example, devoted himself for the legions. "Before me," he cried, after having pronounced the sacred formulae, "may terror and

flight, blood and death, the rage of the gods of heaven and hell dash onwards! May the breath of destruction annihilate the hostile arms and standards!" and he hurled himself into the thickest of the fray. The sacrifice of the first Decius had troubled the Latin legions; but the Gauls were inaccessible to these religious terrors, and this fall of the consul served only to animate their courage. The whole left wing would have been crushed, had not Fabius, who had overcome the Samnites, hastened up. Surrounded on all sides, the barbarians retired without disorder, and, abandoning a cause in which they were only auxiliaries, they regained their own country. Twenty-five thousand Gallic and Samnite corpses covered the field of battle; eight thousand prisoners remained in the hands of the Romans; Egnatius had perished; only five thousand Samnites went back to their mountains. Fabius again beat an army that had issued from Perugia,[1] and then went to Rome to enjoy his triumph. Behind his car the soldiers sang the praises of Decius: this was the justice of the people (295 B. C.).

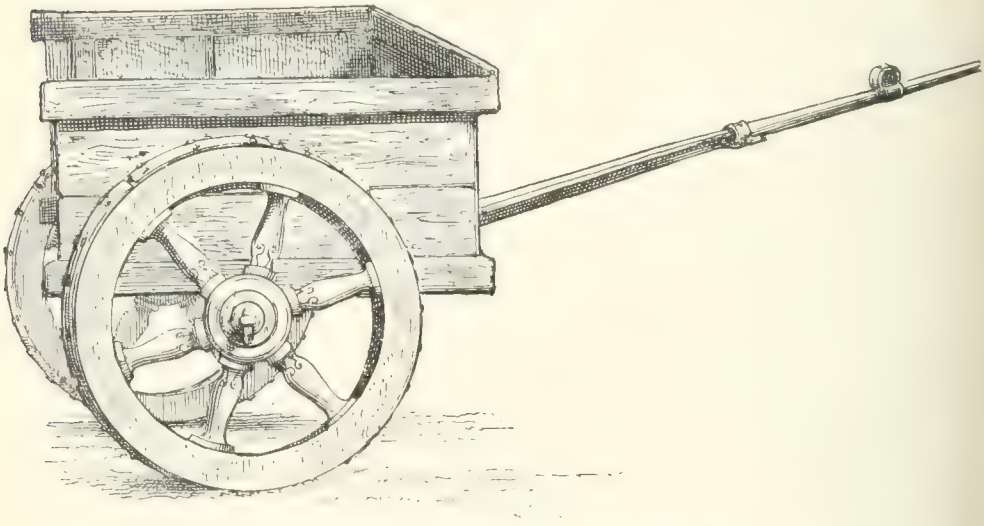
The coalition was dissolved. It remained to crush successively those who had taken part in it, whose names the Senate never forgot. But the Samnites, in spite of so many defeats, were yet formidable.[2] Like a lion stricken to death, this indomitable nation did not perish without inflicting cruel wounds. In the following year they beat a consul. In another encounter Atilius Regulus found himself so near a defeat, that he vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator; and as the winter approached, the Romans dared not remain in Samnium. A diversion of the Etruscans remained without any successful results. The colleague of Atilius had forced a truce of forty years upon them.

The war was now about to concentrate in the Apennines. The son of Papirius was sent thither with Sp. Carvilius. As they had done fifteen years before, so now the Samnite chiefs called religion to the aid of patriotism and union. The aged Ovius Paccius assembled forty thousand warriors near Aquilonia. In the centre of the camp was a tent of linen cloth; in the middle of the tent an altar; around the altar stood soldiers with naked swords.

[1] He slew of the Perugians, says Livy (x. 31), four thousand five hundred men, and captured one thousand seven hundred and forty, who paid each for his ransom 510 ases.

[2] *Dura illa pectora.* (Id., *ibid.*)

After mysterious sacrifices, the bravest were led thither, one by one, like so many victims;[1] and each warrior, repeating the dread imprecations of Paccius, devoted himself, his family, and all his race to the anger of the gods, if he revealed these mysteries or refused to follow his chiefs everywhere, if he fled from the fight or did not himself slay those who fled. Some refused, and were put to death. On their bodies, placed with those of the victims, the others swore. Then from among these the generals appointed ten, who in turn chose ten warriors, and so on up to sixteen thousand. This was the *Linen* legion, the soldiers of which, clad



GALLIC CART (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

in flashing armor, were all the bravest and noblest warriors of Samnium. They kept their word. Thirty thousand Samnites remained on the battle-field of Aquilonia, where Papirius had displayed his father's talents.

A defection of the Faliscans called Carvilius into Etruria. A few days sufficed to drive back the Etruscans, ever the enemies of Rome, and ever fearful of a decisive combat. The Faliscans gave a year's pay to the army, and paid a fine of 100,000 pounds weight of copper (293 B. C.).

At his triumph Papirius displayed 2,033,000 pounds weight of copper, resulting from the sale of the prisoners, and 1,330

[1] *Nobilissimum quemque genere factisque . . . magis ut victima*, etc. (Livy, x. 38.)

pounds weight of silver, taken from the towns and temples. Carvilius, on his side, placed 380,000 pounds of bronze in the treasury, distributed 200 ases to every soldier, and twice as much to the centurions and knights.[1] With the rest of his booty he built, on the left bank of the Tiber, the temple of *Fors Fortuna*, *Lucky Chance*, — a strange deity for a people who left so little to chance. The arms taken on the field of battle were distributed to the colonies and allies as trophies; and of the part which fell to himself he had a colossal statue of Jupiter made, which he placed on the top of the Capitoline Hill, whence it commanded the city and the whole Roman Campagna.[2]

From this immense quantity of booty for a single campaign, the slaughter on the battle-field, and the sale of slaves after the victory, we can understand the depopulation and misery which everywhere followed the legions. After half a century of such warfare, Samnium might well be exhausted; and of the men who had seen it begin, no doubt there were but very few left alive. There was one, however, who from the depths of the retirement, in which perhaps the reproaches of his fellow citizens held him, followed in despair the course of these repeated disasters. This was the hero of the Caudine Forks, the man who had believed in Roman faith. The Samnites called him to their head for their last effort, and Pontius Herennius reappeared victorious after a lapse of twenty-nine years, in the plains of Campania. Fabius Gurges, the son of the great Fabius, dared to attack him, and was beaten; but his father obtained leave from the Senate to go and serve under him as lieutenant. The conqueror of Perugia and Sentinum struck the last blow of this war. Twenty thousand Samnites perished, and their leader was taken. Fabius Gurges triumphed; his father followed him on horseback, and behind them marched Pontius in chains. When the triumphant general left the Sacred Way to ascend to the Capitol, the victors dragged Pontius to the

[1] Livy's figures have been accused of exaggeration by those who maintain that the mountaineers of Samnium were poor. That is true; but they forget that for centuries they had pillaged Campania, Apulia, and Magna Graecia, that ancient nations loved to treasure up valuables, and that warrior tribes delight in displaying their wealth in their arms.

[2] Here ends Livy's first decade; we do not meet him again till 220 B. C. This statue was to be seen, says Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 18), from the Alban Mount.

prison of Ancus.[1] They went their way; one to render thanks to the gods, the other to yield his head to the executioner.

Two centuries later, the Roman who knew most of justice, who had the tenderest soul, still spoke of punishments due to the vanquished.[2] Ancient warfare was certainly a merciless duel.

For one year more the legions pursued the remnants of the Samnite armies, till Curius at length extorted from this nation the acknowledgment of their defeat. A treaty, the clauses of which we do not know, classed them among the allies of Rome (290 B. C.). To keep them in restraint, Venusia, between Samnium and Tarentum, was occupied by a numerous colony.

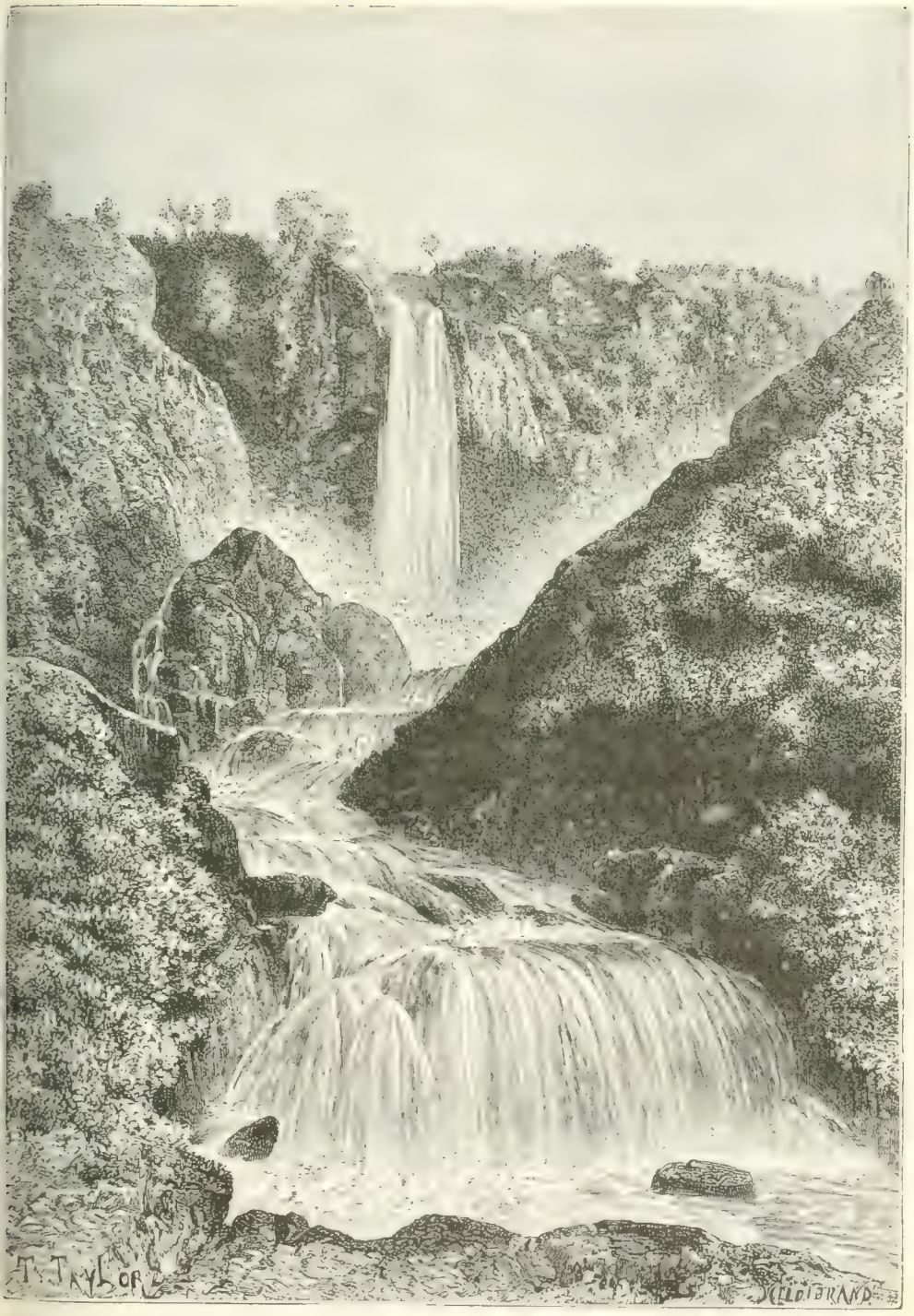
We know just as little of the operations of Curius in the Sabine country. It is only mentioned that the Sabines paid for the aid they had so tardily afforded the Samnites with a considerable portion of their lands. On his return, after having penetrated as far as the Adriatic, Curius uttered these words, which show how Rome conducted a war: "I have conquered so many countries, that those regions would be but a vast solitude, had I less prisoners to people them with. I have subdued so many men, that we should not know how to feed them, had I not conquered so many lands." Accordingly, he distributed seven *jugera* to every citizen. For himself he would accept no other recompense. The Sabines had the rights of citizenship without the suffrage; but Reate, Nursia, and perhaps Amiternum, remained simple praefectures.[3] Castrum and Hadria, on the Adriatic, were colonized. Curius triumphed twice in the same year. This honor, hitherto unprecedented, and the respect which attached to his name, proclaim great services. The true Samnite war was over.

For other reasons Curius well deserved to triumph twice, for he had conquered nature as well as the Samnites. He turned the Velinus aside into the Nera, and created the magnificent cascade

[1] The Tullianum. See in Sallust (*Cat.* 55) the description of the place where executions took place.

[2] Cic., *in Verrem*, II. v. 30: *Supplicia quae debentur hostibus victis.*

[3] Fest., s. v. *Praefectura;* Aur. Vict., viii. 33; Vell. Paterc., i. 14. The long peace which the Sabine country had enjoyed had increased the wealth of its inhabitants. It was after the conquests of Curius, says Strabo, that the Romans became opulent.



CASCADES OF TERNI.

of Terni. Victors and vanquished have been dust these twenty-three centuries; but the marvellous spectacle that this Roman created for himself lasts for ever.

Could this Samnite war, which caused such ruin, have been avoided? There is something of the bird of prey and the wild beast even in many civilized men; naturally these instincts of rapine and carnage were more strongly developed in times when humanity was nearer its origin. The men of the plains and those of the mountains, the husbandmen and the shepherds, were necessarily hostile to one another; and in all ages the one race had yielded to the temptation of reaping the lands sown by the other. Rome, who was herself mistress of the Latin plain, and, through Capua, also of the Campanian plain, was anxious to put a stop to this periodical pillaging, and to act as the police of the Apennines. With her usual tenacity, she succeeded in so doing. This constituted the whole Samnite war. It had lasted fifty-three years (343–290); and the intervals of peace had only served the two nations for repairing their arms, for a moment's breathing time, before they again closed in conflict.

Accordingly we have followed the incidents of this desperate struggle and the slow death-pangs of a brave nation with tedium, it is true, but also with admiration[1] and involuntary regrets. Boldness, heroism, love of country, — nothing was lacking to the Samnites, nothing but that union which alone makes nations strong. In order to rise to a glorious rank among the nations, it is at times needful to sacrifice precious but enervating liberties. In the very camp the Samnites did not forget the wild independence of their mountains. At Aquilonia, in order to secure their obedience for the last time, their chiefs had been obliged to call the most dreadful mysteries of religion to the aid of their authority. Therefore Samnium perished, and deserved to perish; for had she been victorious, she would never have drawn Italy and the world from the chaos out of which Rome drew them.

[1] *Quinam sit ille, quem pigeat longinquitatis bellorum scribendo legendoque, quae gerentes non fatigaverunt?* (Livy, x. 31.)

III. Coalition of the Etruscans and Senones; War against the Lucanians (283–281).

Latium, Campania, Apulia, and Samnium submitted to the rule or the alliance of Rome. But on the north a part of the Etruscans were hostile, and the Gauls had quickly forgotten their defeat at Sentinum. On the south, although the Samnite nation had laid down their arms, there remained some bands which, rejecting all peace with Rome, went to seek refuge among the rugged mountains of Calabria. There are to be found immense forests, where by degrees a new nation was formed, the Bruttii, whom the Greeks and Romans disdainfully called revolted slaves. Greeks and Lucanians saw with dread the Roman rule drawing nearer to them, — Tarentum especially, which showed a growing jealousy of the successes of the barbarous city on the banks of the Tiber. But how were so many tribes to be united for common action? Pyrrhus and Hannibal himself could not effect it. Rome alone worked this miracle, because she applied to the work two great forces, — wisdom and time.

There was only an instant of serious danger. Arretium, thanks to the Cilnii, had remained faithful to the alliance of Rome; some Etruscans, supported by an army of Senones, came and besieged it. The legions hastened to the succor of the place; but their leader, seven tribunes, and thirteen thousand soldiers, fell on the field of battle;[1] the rest were taken prisoners (283). This was one of the most bloody defeats that the Romans had ever suffered; it served to increase the alarm that the simple announcement of a Gallic war caused among them. When the Senate caused complaints to be brought before the council of the Senones, their chief, Britomar, whose father had been slain in the battle of Arretium, replied by killing the deputies as expiatory victims, whom he offered to the paternal manes. Indignation

[1] Polybius, ii. 19; Orosius, iii. 22.

doubled the strength of Rome, and two powerful armies were raised. With one of them one of the consuls restrained or overcame the Etruscans; with the other Dolabella, quietly crossing the Sabine country, entered the territory of the Senones by Picenum, burned their villages, slew the men, sold the women and children, and only quitted the country when he had made it a desert. He had borne thither the vengeance of Rome, which, when the sons of the conquerors of the Allia were exterminated, no longer blushed for the ransom carried off from the Capitol. In order to prevent the Cisalpine Gauls from replacing the Senones in this solitude, the Senate sent colonists to guard the country, settling them at Sena, on the north of Ancona, at Castrum, and at Hadria, in Picenum. As the sway of the Romans had crossed the Apennines on the south by the occupation of Venusia, so it crossed them on the north by settlements on the Adriatic, whence she could watch over the Valley of the Po.

The Boii, whose territory extended from Parma to Bologna, grew alarmed at this extermination of a Gallic tribe. With those of the Senones who had escaped the Roman sword, they entered the Valley of the Arno by the defiles which led from the Romagna to Florence, and passed through the whole of Etruria, summoning all those who were still enemies to Rome. But not far from Narnia, near a swampy marsh called Lake Vadimon, they were stopped by a defeat with fearful slaughter. Streams of blood ran as far as the Tiber, and reddened its waters.

In the following year the Boii made peace (282 B. C.). For two years longer the Senate was obliged to send armies into Etruria. The victory of Coruncanius over the Vulcientes put an end to this war, which had begun almost with the beginning of Rome. From the year 280 the name of Etruscans no longer appears in the triumphal records.

Since the day when Fabius passed the Ciminian forest, the Tuscan augurs could predict to their nation that the end of its life was drawing near, and that the tenth century — in which, according to ancient prophecies, its nationality was to perish — had arrived. Resignation was easy to them. Their gods had spoken, and the

Romans had fulfilled the oracle. Why should they resist destiny, especially when Rome demanded so little, when life was so sweet, and nature so fruitful in that land of plenty, where nothing was lacking for pleasure and luxury? One of the ancients said of the Etruscans: "Renouncing the virtues of which their ancestors were so jealous, the Tuscans pass their lives in feasting or in wanton pleasures; they have thus lost the glorious renown of their fathers."[1] We may write here, then, *Finis Etruriae.*



ETRUSCAN FUNERAL URN.
(Museum of the Louvre, Campana Collection.)

During these operations in the North, hostilities had been actively carried on in the South. The Greek town of Thurium (Thurii) had implored the aid of Rome against the Lucanians, who ravaged their lands every summer. A first expedition against these pillagers effected nothing; but in 282 Fabricius opened his way as far as Thurium, the blockade of which he raised, and left troops there. Locri, Crotona, and perhaps Rhegium, also received Roman garrisons. On his return, Fabricius put 400 talents into the treasury: with the remainder of the booty he paid large gratuities to the soldiers, and restored to the citizens what they had paid for the military tax that year. Such productive campaigns made men love war; the ambition of the great and the greed of the poor found it to their advantage.

Peace was apparently restored in the peninsula, and from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina all except Tarentum acknowledged the majesty of the Roman people, or submitted to alliance with it; but the powerful city on the banks of the Taras, proud of its Spartan origin, its riches, and the numerous vessels that crowded its harbor, the *mare Piccolo*, was about to instigate a

[1] Diod., v. 40. Theopompus and Timaeus said much more . . . *famulas nudas ministrare viris . . . communes mulieres*, etc., Athen., *Deipnosoph.* xii. 14, and iv. 38.

war more dangerous to Rome than had been any of the struggles which she had sustained in the last sixty years.

[1] This votive shield seems to represent the famous legend of the gold of the Capitol weighed by the Gauls; below, Camillus and Brennus; above, the town and its monuments; in the centre, a grotesque figure with ram's horns, a twisted beard, and great leaves. The workmanship is referred to the first century of our era. (Dodwell, *de Parma Woodwardiana.*)



VOTIVE SHIELD.[1]

CHAPTER XVI.

WAR WITH PYRRHUS (280-272).

I. Rupture with Tarentum; First Campaign of Pyrrhus in Italy (282–278).

WE have reached the moment when Rome and Greece are about to clash. Greece was then moribund, and her end marked the completion of a new period in the life of humanity. By allowing individual genius its full flight, by leaving it untrammelled by the bonds of priestcraft or of an overshadowing aristocracy, Greece had created political liberty, art, and science; but from an excess of liberty social anarchy had arisen. The Greeks were a great people; Europe owes her civilization to them; but they never were a great state. That is why others inherited their labors. Rome represents a second age of the European world, — manhood after youth, the people of action after the people of theory, ambition after enthusiasm, discipline and order after liberty and anarchy. Plato and Aristotle,[1] tracing the ideal of a Greek city, admit therein only a few thousand citizens, and even condemn fruitfulness in women. Rome makes citizens even of her enemies, and prepares her subjects to become so. Accordingly, her prosperity endures for ages, whilst that of the Greek cities had lasted but a few years. Sparta had succeeded to Athens, Thebes to Sparta, Macedonia to all three. Then when Alexander died, and

[1] Plato would have no more than 5,040 citizens (*Laws*, v.). Children born of parents who are blemished or too old, says he, natural children or deformed, should be exposed. The republic must not be burdened with them (*Rep.* v.). Aristotle demands that the number of marriages and the number of children to be raised in each household should be fixed. If the law of the country forbids the exposure of children, says he, let abortion be practised (*Polit.* vii. 14, 10). He would have the number of citizens such that they might all know one another (*Ibid.*, vii. 14). In another place he mentions the means employed by the Cretans to stop the increase of population. (*Pol.* ii. 7, 4.)

his vast designs with him, a huge disorder had shaken his empire, from the Indus to the Adriatic; confusion devoid of greatness, chaos whence life could never spring! Morality was debased, nationalities were forgotten; every man's hand was against his neighbor's for a little gold or power; war became a trade, as in Italy and in Germany at the most disastrous periods of their history; and a few mercenary soldiers bestowed or took away crowns.

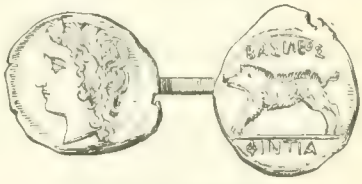


COIN OF HICETAS.[1]

This general decay of the Greek race had reached Sicily and Magna Græcia. In Sicily the brilliant rule of Agathocles had just closed, and everywhere petty tyrants arose:[2] Hicetas at Syracuse, Phintias at Agrigentum, Tyndarion at Tauromenium, Heraclides at Leontini, etc. On the west, Carthage was strengthening herself; on the north, the mercenaries of Agathocles took possession of Messina by treason, massacred the male inhabitants, and thence extended their raids over the whole island as far as Gela and Camarina, which they pillaged.[4] On the north of the straits Rhegium, so hardly treated by Dionysius the Elder; Locri, ruined by his son; Metapontum, almost destroyed by Cleonymus and Agathocles; Thurium, which had replaced Sybaris without succeeding to its power; Croton, thrice taken by Agathocles and Dionysius, — all these, surrounded by Lucanians and Bruttians,



COIN OF CAMARINA.[3]



COIN OF PHINTIAS.[5]

[1] Head of Ceres crowned with ears of wheat; behind, the torch lighted by Demeter in her search for her daughter Proserpina; the legend ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ; coin of the Syracusans. On the reverse, a Victory in a chariot, drawn by two horses galloping; above, a star and the words ΕΠΙΚΕΤΑ; under the reign of Hicetas. Gold coin.

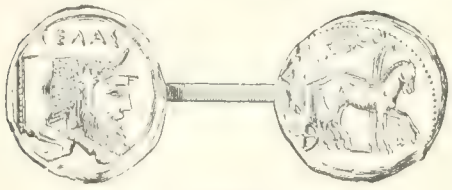
[2] Diod., Fragm. xxii. *Excerpt. Hoeschel.*, p. 495.

[3] ΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑ (*ίων*), coin of Camarina; head of Hercules with the lion's skin. On the reverse, figure on a *quadriga* crowned by Victory, probably in commemoration of a prize won in the chariot-race at Olympia.

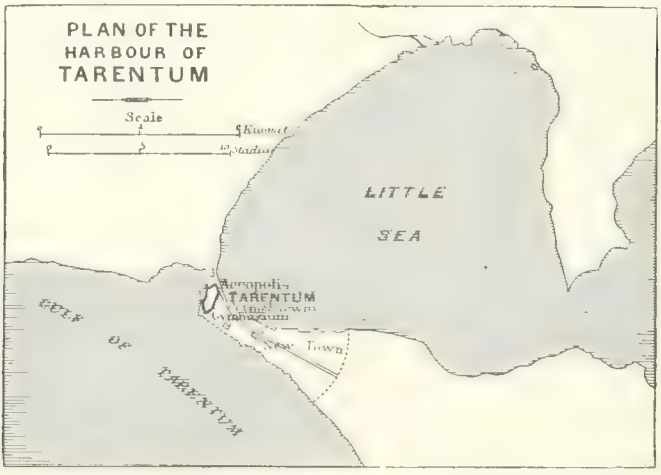
[4] Diod., Fragm. xxi. *Excerpt. Hoeschel.*, p. 493.

[5] Laurel-crowned head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΦΙΝΤΙΑ, Phintias being king, and a wild boar. Bronze coin.

lived a miserable life amidst continual alarms. Tarentum was an exception;[1] but these Dorians, who had become the richest merchants of Italy, had fallen into a dissoluteness of manners which made them incapable of sustaining a serious struggle. Yet they had the haughtiness which wealth brings, and were angry at hearing all Italy resound with the name of these barbarians



GELA.[2]



HARBOR OF TARENTUM.

on the banks of the Tiber, who were as incapable of executing a work of art as of arranging a festival.

The Senate had added to the Roman garrison of Thurium a squadron of ten galleys to cruise in the gulf. One day, as the people of Tarentum were assembled in the theatre facing the sea, the Roman vessels appeared at the entrance of the port. A demagogue, named Philocharis, cried out that, according to ancient

[1] Tarentum was the only port on this coast: Croton had only a summer roadstead (Polyb., x. Fragm. i.). The principal industry of Tarentum was the manufacture and dyeing of woollen stuffs. Hence its relations with the Samnites, of whom it bought the wool. The latter took in exchange salt, fish, and manufactured objects. (Cf. Strabo, v. p. 259.)

[2] ΓΕΛΑΣ. Gela was the name of the torrent which ran at the foot of the walls of the town, now the *Fiume di Terranova*. The god of this torrent was represented under the form of an ox with a man's head. Thus our silver tetradrachma of the town of Gela shows it. On the reverse, a chariot, or *biga*, and a figure crowned by a Victory, — a token of a prize gained in the Olympic games.

treaties, the Romans had not the right to pass the Lacinian Cape. The Tarentines hastened to their vessels, attacked the Roman galleys, sank four of them, took another, and butchered the crew; and, emboldened by this easy success, went and drove the Roman garrison out of Thurium and pillaged the town. Soon a Roman ambassador presented himself, demanding reparation. He was received with hooting and low insults: one buffoon dared to cover



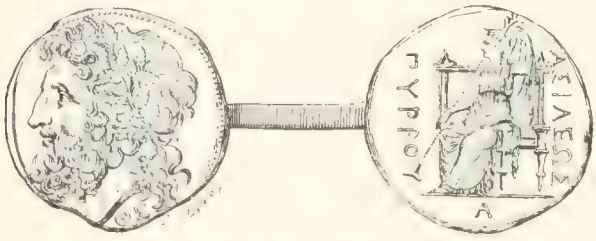
THE LACINIAN CAPE.[1]

the ambassador's toga with filth. "Laugh," said Postumius, "laugh now; your blood will wash out these stains." (282 B. C.)

The Senate, however, entered upon this fresh war with repugnance. The Etruscans still resisted the legions. Armed bands overran Samnium, and the Lucanians must be punished for their repeated attacks upon Thurium. Moreover, it was evident that the Tarentines would seek auxiliaries in Greece, as they had

[1] This solitary pillar still marks the site of the famous temple of Hera Lacinia, built on the point of the cape. (From a photograph taken in 1882.)

already done thrice, when they had called in Archidamas, king of Sparta, Alexander of Molossus, and the Lacedaemonian Cleonymus. The discussion lasted several days in the Senate. The war party at last prevailed, and the consul Aemilius marched through Samnium against Tarentum. Before attacking it he once more offered peace. The nobles accepted it; but the popular party, who were the true masters of the state, rejected all proposals, and invited Pyrrhus to make a descent upon Italy (281).



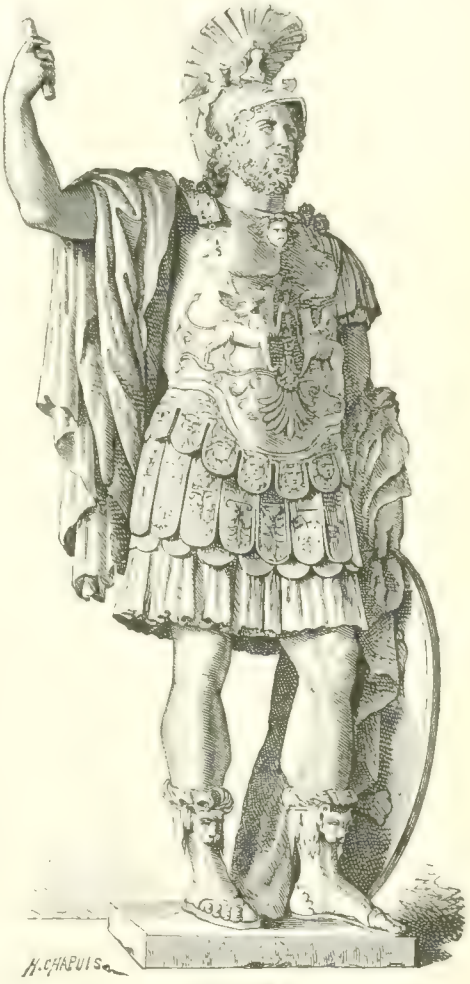
COIN OF PYRRHUS.[1]

Pyrrhus, nephew of Olympias, and son of Aeacides, king of Epirus, was perhaps the ablest of all those who claimed to be the heirs of Alexander. Tried, however, by the most diverse fortunes, having already twice lost and regained his kingdom, and conquered and abandoned Macedonia, he had acquired a restless ambition which all his life long impelled him from one enterprise to another. At Ipsus (301) he had fought for Antigonus against Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander. As Asia fell to these, he dreamed of the conquest of Rome, Sicily, and Carthage; he desired to be the Alexander of the West. Method was wanting in all his designs; accordingly, he lived and died less like a king than an adventurer. In other respects, brilliant in mind and courage, like his cousin Alexander; like, him too, beloved by his people, even to the most entire devotion; a spoiled child of fortune, which so often smiled on him and so often deserted him; upright of heart, open to all noble feelings, history at once loves and condemns him. When he saw Fabricius, he desired to have him for a friend; when he knew the Romans, he was eager to have them as allies; and he never blushed at having been conquered by them.

The Tarentines spared neither presents nor promises. He was to find in Italy 350,000 foot soldiers and 20,000 cavalry. In spite of the warnings of his friend, the Thessalian Cineas, Pyrrhus

[1] Head of Jupiter crowned with oak. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ, Pyrrhus being king.

accepted, and immediately sent off Milo with three thousand men to occupy the citadel of Tarentum. During the winter he prepared a considerable armament — 20,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, 2,000 archers, 500 slingers, and 20 elephants. In crossing, a tempest dispersed the fleet and almost dashed the royal vessel on the coast of the Messapians.



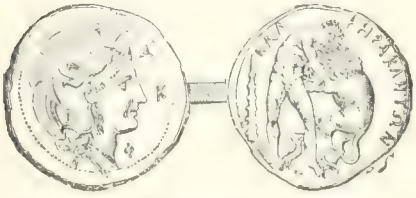
PYRRHUS.[1]

When Pyrrhus arrived at Tarentum, he closed the baths and theatres, obliged the citizens to take arms, and exercised them pitilessly, like mercenaries. The town of pleasure had become a place of war. Many Tarentines fled (280 B. C.).

At Rome it was desired to open the campaign with a solemn declaration of war against Pyrrhus; but Epirus was far away, and time pressed. They escaped from the difficulty, as at Caudium, by a subterfuge. An Epirote deserter bought a field, and on this field the heralds solemnly carried out the religious ceremonies. The letter of the law was fulfilled. The gods ought to consider themselves satisfied. The public conscience asked no more. Happily, the preparations for war were more serious. The consuls enrolled, as in all times of extreme danger, all the capable men, even of the proletariat. The freedom of Rome, recently granted to several tribes, the colonies spread over Campania, Samnium, and Apulia, especially that of Venusia, which was so numerous, and the garrisons in the advanced posts of Locri and

[1] Statue in the Capitoline Museum.

Rhegium, secured the fidelity of the allies. Moreover, to keep them from the sight of hostile standards, Laevinus marched to meet the King as far as the banks of the Siris. In vain did Pyrrhus strive to negotiate, condescending to act the part of mediator; the Romans repelled every offer: they neither would nor could allow a stranger to interfere in the affairs of Italy. The first battle was fought near Heraclea, half way between Thurium and Tarentum. The elephants, which were new to the Romans, threw their ranks into disorder. They left fifteen thousand men on the field of battle. But Pyrrhus had lost thirteen thousand.[2] "Another such victory," said the latter, "and I return without an army to Epirus." He himself was nearly slain by the Frentanian Vulsinius; and one of his officers, whom he had equipped with his own weapons and royal mantle, had fallen, covered with wounds.



COIN OF THE LUCANIAN HERACLEIA.[1]



FIGHTING ELEPHANT MAKING A PRISONER.[3]

This hard-earned victory, the very dangers he had run, and what he had learned about Rome, inspired the Greek King with an earnest regard for these barbarians, whose tactics were so excellent. He had reckoned, when crossing the Adriatic, on an easy war, and he met with the most redoubtable adversaries; on numerous auxiliaries, and the Italians had left him to fight alone at Heraclea. After this battle, Locri had opened its gates to him; the Campanian legion, in garrison at Rhegium, massacred the inhabitants of that city and took their place, as the Mamertines had done at Messina. Some Lucanians and Samnites came to his camp; but this was very far from the three hundred and seventy thousand men who had been promised.

Pyrrhus renewed his first offers, — that the Romans should leave free Tarentum and all the Greeks of Italy, and restore to

[1] Helmeted head of Minerva; the reverse, Hercules choking a lion, the hero's club, and Minerva's bird, the owl. Siver coin.

[2] These are the figures, the latter certainly false, given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

[3] Gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,911 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

the Samnites, Apulians, Lucanians, and Bruttians the cities and lands which they had taken from them. In exchange, he offered his alliance and the ransom of their prisoners. Cineas, whose eloquence, it is said, had gained for Pyrrhus more cities than his arms, was charged with submitting these proposals to Rome. He brought bribes for the senators, and rich robes for their wives; but he found nobody venal. Yet the Senate was inclined for peace. The aged Appius, now blind, heard of this with indignation. He had himself led to the senate-house: "I was sorry at not being able to see," said he: "to-day I am sorry that I can hear;" and after having spoken strongly against what he termed a cowardly act, he ended with these words, which became ever afterward a rule for the guidance of the Senate: "Let Pyrrhus leave Italy, and then we shall talk of treating with him."[1] Cineas was ordered to leave Rome the same day. Before his eyes two legions were formed solely of volunteers. The sight of this great city, of its austere manners, of this patriotic zeal, struck the Greek with admiration, brought up, as he had been, in the midst of the base intrigues, the venality and decay of his own country. "The Senate," said he on his return, "seemed to me an assembly of kings. To fight with the Romans is to fight the Hydra.[2] Their numbers, like their courage, is unbounded."

Pyrrhus tried a bold move. He left Lucania, avoided Laevinus, who was covering Naples and Capua, threw himself into the Valley of the Liris, took Fregellae, Anagni, Praeneste, and pushed his advanced posts to within six leagues of Rome; but nothing stirred around him, not a city revolted, and Laevinus was approaching; Coruncanius, who had just signed a peace with the Etruscans, was bringing from Etruria another consular army, and in the city new legions were being drilled.

Before this threatening circle could close around him, Pyrrhus escaped with his booty, and returned to winter at Tarentum. The legions also went into winter-quarters, except those which had been defeated at Heraclea. As a punishment for their defeat,

[1] Cic., *de Sen.* 6. This speech of Appius was still extant in Cicero's time.

[2] Plut., *Pyrrh.* 19. See in Horace (*Od.* IV. iv. 57, 61) the beautiful comparison, *Duris ut ilex . . . . Non hydra secto corpore firmior*, etc.

they were made to stay in the enemy's territory, living on what they could plunder.

The Senate, nevertheless, decided to ransom the prisoners. These were, for the most part, cavalry, whom their horses, being scared by the elephants, had thrown. They belonged, besides, to the best houses in the city. Three commissioners went to treat of their ransom or exchange, Aemilius Papus, Corn. Dolabella, and Fabricius, the hero of the legends, which we are compelled to follow during this period, when Dionysius and Livy fail us, and after which Polybius begins. Pyrrhus refused; but, from esteem for Fabricius, whom he in vain tried to bribe, he allowed his prisoners to go to Rome to keep the Saturnalia. Not one of them failed to return. In the spring of the year 279 he resumed hostilities in Apulia, and besieged Asculum, which the two consuls, Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius, determined to save by a battle. The report went abroad, it is said, in the two armies that Decius would imitate the example of his father and grandfather. The King gave his troops a description of the costume which the consul would wear, and gave orders to seize him alive and unwounded. At the same time he warned the Roman generals that after the battle he would put the *devoted* to an ignominious death, as a man practising sorcery and waging unfair war.[1]

The fragment of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, found lately at Mount Athos, does not say a word of the death of Decius,[2] but relates the battle in a way which seems to indicate a sort of official despatch. It is indeed probable that Dionysius, who knew the *Commentaries* written by Pyrrhus, had borrowed from them, at least partly, this account of the battle, which we give abridged.[3] "Heralds had fixed beforehand the time and place of combat. The

[1] Zonaras, viii. 5.

[2] Valerius Max. (V. iv. 5, 6) speaks only of the Decii, whose death in the Latin war and in the Etruscan we have related. At Asculum Dionysius shows the two consuls acting in concert right to the end of the battle. Cicero does the same in *de Offic.* (iii. 4) and *de Senect.* (20); but in *Tusc. Disp.* (i. 37) and in *de Finibus* (ii. 19) he admits the death of three Decii. These discrepancies confirm the opinion of Valerius Maximus and Dionysius.

[3] Dionysius and Plutarch cite the *Commentaries* (ὑπομνήματα) of Pyrrhus. He had likewise written a treatise on the art of war, which Cicero read. (*Fam.* ix. 25.) [I have even abridged it further in the translation, as the details are quite conventional, and of no moment in explaining to us the real points of strategy employed by either side. — *Ed.*]

Macedonian infantry were on the right with the Italian mercenaries and the auxiliaries of Bruttium and Lucania; the Aetolians and Acarnanians filled the centre. The left wing was formed by the Samnite battalions. The cavalry, elephants, and light-armed soldiers covered the two extremities of the line, which reached a terrace of land raised above the plain. A reserve of two thousand cavalry was under the direct orders of Pyrrhus. The consuls adopted a similar order. In the space between the four legions, they placed the contingents from Latium and Campania and their other allies. They distributed equally their cavalry on the two flanks of the army. Three hundred four-wheeled war-chariots, bristling with scythes and lances, were intended to take part this time in the action. They had been furnished with long movable poles, carrying at one end bundles of tow steeped in pitch, in order that when in flames the smoke and the smell would rout the elephants.

"Pyrrhus had 70,000 infantry, 16,000 of whom were Greeks, who had crossed the Ionian Sea; the consuls had nearly as many, of whom 20,000 were Roman citizens and 8,000 horse. The King had rather more cavalry, and nineteen elephants.

"On the signal being given, the Greeks sounded the paean, and the cavalry opened the action. In the royal army the prize for valor was gained by the Macedonians, who made the first legion and the Latin allies retreat; in the Roman army it was merited by the second legion, who drove back the Molossi, Thesprotes, and Chaonians.

"The battle was maintained with this alternation of diverse fortune, when an unexpected succor reached the Romans. A body of four thousand infantry and four hundred horsemen from the city of Arpi, seeking to join the consuls, reached the high grounds at the rear of the King's camp, and attacked it. Warned by a soldier, Pyrrhus ordered his bravest horse to hasten to the camp with some elephants, and drive away the pillagers. But the latter had already set fire to it; and, on seeing the troops despatched against them, they retired to a steep hill, which the cavalry were unable to climb.

"However, in the plain the fight continued. The King was the first to grow tired, and began, at the decline of day, to withdraw.

The Romans also withdrew; they crossed the river, and returned to their camp. Pyrrhus did not find his own again; the tents and his baggage were burned, and many of the wounded perished through failure of succor;[1] but he remained master of the field of battle."

If the Romans were worsted, they had, at all events, yielded a victory dearly bought (279).[2]

For Pyrrhus this war was decidedly very serious and very slow. He desired nothing more than a pretext to give it up with honor. Fabricius having forewarned him that his physician, Philip, sought to poison him, he sent back all the prisoners without ransom (278).[3] After this exchange of amenities it was hard to fight any longer. So, leaving Milo in the citadel of Tarentum, and his son Alexander at Locri, he crossed into Sicily, whither the Greeks had invited him against the Mamertines and Carthaginians.

II. Pyrrhus in Sicily; Capture of Tarentum (272).

Carthage had recently sent a fleet to Ostia of a hundred and twenty galleys, offering help to the Senate against Pyrrhus. The Senate had declined it, at the same time renewing their ancient alliance. The two republics seemed to have then the same interests; they struggled against the same enemies: the one against the Greeks of Italy, the other against those of Sicily. The Carthaginians were again besieging Syracuse. It is to the succor of this city that Pyrrhus,[5] as son-in-law of Agathocles, was invited. He raised the blockade, and drove the Africans back



ALEXANDER II., KING OF EPIRUS.[4]

[1] Dionys., *Ant. Rom.*, *excerpta ex libro*, xx. 1, 3.

[2] According to the Roman annalists, their countrymen had made a great carnage of the King's troops. A contemporary, Hieronymus of Cardia, following the Commentaries of Pyrrhus, makes the loss of the Romans six thousand men, that of the Epirotes three thousand five hundred and six. [Cf. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ii. 454. — *Ed.*]

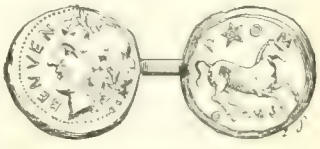
[3] These details are too strongly out of character with the wars which precede or follow and with ancient manners, which possess nothing chivalrous in them, to be accepted without suspicion. The story of Pyrrhus' physician is an evident reminiscence of the story of Alexander's physician.

[4] Alexander, son of Pyrrhus and Larissa, with a head-dress from the hide of an elephant's head. Gem from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,050 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

[5] Pyrrhus had married his daughter Larissa or Lanessa; cf. Diod., xxii. 14.

from port to port as far as Lilybaeum, which he could not take. There, as in Italy, after victories arose misunderstanding with his allies and the tediousness of a war which would not end. Pyrrhus had lost Cineas. Urged on by new counsellors to violent measures, he severely punished some acts of perfidy, and alienated by his haughtiness the Sicilians, to whom he wished to give as their king his son Alexander. Besides, he had remaining very few of his veteran Epirotes, as the bravest had perished at Heraclea, Asculum, and in the battles against the Carthaginians. With an army of Greek and barbarian mercenaries, he did not feel himself secure against the Sicilians. The entreaties of the Italians, hard pressed by Rome, decided him; and for the second time he left his enterprise uncompleted (278–276).

Every year since his departure had been marked by the successes of the Romans. In 278 Fabricius had beaten the Lucanians, Bruttians, Tarentines, Salentines, and compelled Heraclea to enter into alliance with Rome. In 277 Rufinus and Bubulcus had completed the devastation of Samnium, and forced the remainder of the population to seek, like wild beasts, a refuge in the forests and on the highest mountains. Then Rufinus had gone to capture Croton and Locri. The following year there was a fresh victory over all those nations, who then recalled Pyrrhus. At the crossing of the straits the Carthaginians beat his fleet and captured his military chest; then he encountered the Mamertines, who had reached Italy before him, and through whom he was compelled to force a passage. One of them, of gigantic stature, was eager in his pursuit, when Pyrrhus turned about and with an axe cleft him from the head to the saddle. At Locri, which he re-entered, he pillaged Proserpine's temple to pay his mercenaries. But this sacrilege, he himself said, drew down on his arms the anger of the goddess,[2] and caused his fortune to fail at Beneventum. Curius

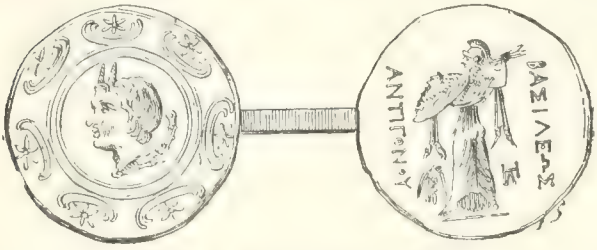


COIN OF BENEVENTUM.[1]

[1] Coin of Beneventum. BENEVENTOD. Laurel-crowned head of Apollo: on the reverse, ΠΡΟΠΟΜ, a word that Eckhel (vol. i. p. 102) believes to be the name of a magistrate. A horse at large; above, a pentagon. Bronze coin.

[2] Ὡς . . . καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πύρρος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑπομνήμασι γράφει. (Dionys., *Ant. Rom.*, *exc. ex libro*, xx. 10.)

Dentatus was then in command of the Roman army. The legionaries had become accustomed to the *Lucanian oxen*,[1] as they named the elephants; they knew how to keep them off by a shower of darts, or by burning brands: their victory was complete. Even the royal camp fell into their hands (275).



COIN OF ANTIGONUS GONATAS.[2]


PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.[3]

Pyrrhus was unable longer to keep in Italy; he left a garrison at Tarentum, and crossed into Epirus (274) with an army reduced to eight thousand men, and without money to pay it. He led it to fresh enterprises, tried to reconquer Macedonia from Antigonus Gonatas, was proclaimed king there for the second time, then met an ignoble death, at the attack on Argos, from the hand of an old woman (272).

The following inscription has been recently found at Dodona:[4] "King Pyrrhus and the Epirotes have dedicated to Jupiter Naïos these spoils of the Romans and their allies." Whilst these lying trophies were hung up in the most venerable of the sanctuaries of Greece, Curius was triumphing at Rome on a car drawn by four elephants, and an ambassador from the King of Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus, came to congratulate the Senate, and to ask its friendship. The alliance of the two states became a rule of national policy, at Rome as at Alexandria.



DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES.[5]

[1] [A formation like turkey-cock or Nil-pferd. — *Ed.*]

[2] Coin of Antigonus Gonatas. Bust of Pan, with the *pedum* (see p. 262) on a Macedonian shield; the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ. Minerva walking; beside her, a helmet and monogram. Tetradrachma in silver of Antigonus Gonatas.

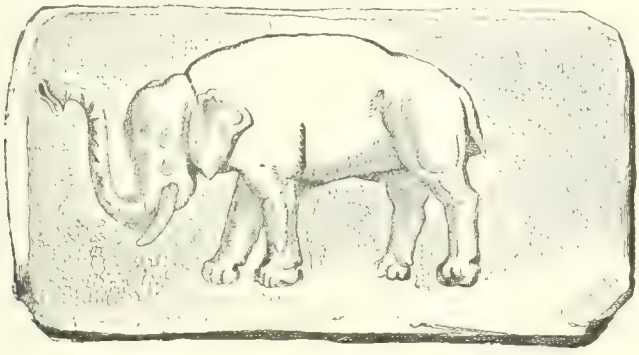
[3] From the quadruple stater of gold of Ptolemy Soter, Berenice, Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Arsinoe.

[4] By M. Carapanos, the able and learned excavator of Dodona, the results of which he has published in a magnificent work.

[5] On the right, the head of Demetrius Poliorcetes; the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ: a horse-soldier (Demetrius?) with a Macedonian helmet and armed with a lance. Gold stater.

Some years before, Demetrius Poliorcetes had sent back to the Senate some prisoners made on the Italian ships which cruised in Greek waters. Thus, the princes of the East turned their eyes towards this new power, which they saw seizing the dominion of Italy. But in Pyrrhus the Romans had conquered in advance all the successors of Alexander. The Romans had triumphed over the Macedonian phalanx and the elephants, those living engines of war belonging to the Asiatic and African armies.

Hostilities, but of no importance, lasted for some years longer in the south of Italy. A victory of Papirius Cursor and Spurius



QUINCUSSIS WITH THE FIGURE OF AN ELEPHANT.[1]

Carvilius disarmed the last Samnite bands. This people at length submitted, and gave numerous hostages. It was seventy years ago since the battle of Mount Gaurus had been fought; and in this long war the consuls obtained the triumph twenty-four times.

The same year Papirius received the submission of the Lucanians, and Milo (272) delivered up Tarentum, the walls of which were destroyed, its arms and vessels taken away. The citadel was preserved, into which the Senate put a garrison to hold the city, which was condemned to an annual tribute, and to keep away the Carthaginians from the best part of South Italy. Pyrrhus had, in fact, hardly left, before distrust grew up between the two republics. During the siege of Tarentum by the Romans a

[1] This money, worth five-twelfths of a libra, was coined in memory of the victory gained over Pyrrhus.

Carthaginian fleet appeared outside the port,[1] offering assistance. Papirius had done all he could to keep off this formidable aid, and the city owed to these fears the fact of its being less harshly treated. Before eight years were gone by, this mistrust changed into a terrible war.

The struggle for the rule of Italy was ended. Measures rather of policy than of war will account for some agitations, which are the last paroxysms of this great body of Italian people. The Senate knows that there are no enemies to be despised, and that great conflagrations are often produced from mere sparks. Placed in the centre of Italy, it could hear the least sound and watch every movement. Nothing escaped this surveillance, which never slept in times of success, and as soon as danger showed itself, strong forces were at once sent to the threatened point.

Thus, in the year that followed the capture of Tarentum, the consul Genucius went to demand reckoning for their misdeeds of the revolted legionaries of Rhegium. Three hundred of them, being sent to Rome, were scourged and beheaded. The rest had almost all perished in the attack.[2]

In 269 a Samnite hostage, Lollius, escaped from Rome, collected a few adventurers, and tried to raise the Caraceni in the high valley of the Sagrus. The two consuls at once sent against him quickly stifled this re-opening war.

The year after, it is the Picentes who are struggling with two other consular armies, and who are compelled to submit at the mercy of the Senate; then the Sarsinates and the whole Umbrian nation, which receives the final stroke; and lastly, in the south of Italy the Salentines and Messapians, who suffer the attack of the legions less on account of their alliance with Pyrrhus than because they possess the port of Brundusium, the best passage from Italy to Greece. Already the Senate turned its eyes in this direction. Some disturbances were arising also in certain villages

[1] There are, as to this fact, great variations between Orosius (iv. 2), Zonaras (viii. 6), the Epitome of Livy (xiv.), and Dion Cassius. In Livy (xxi. 10), Hanno gives as the cause of the First Punic War an attack on Tarentum projected by the Carthaginians; but it is Livy who makes him say it.

[2] Polyb., i. 7; Val. Max., II. vii. 15.

of Etruria, where two classes, the dominant and the subject, were always face to face; the latter cultivating the earth, working marble and iron for the former, who lived in abundance, whilst the plebs, subjected to a sort of slavery, continued in wretchedness.

At Rome the poor had reached, by a slow but continuous progress, comfort, political equality, and agreement with the patricians; in Etruria they had sought to bring about this change by violence and crime. This difference explains the opposite destinies of the two peoples.

Volsinii, built on a hill overlooking a beautiful lake, was the chief of the Etruscan cities,[1] but also one of the most effeminate; and its loose morals were combined with the most violent passions. A popular revolution deprived the nobles of their liberties, their property, even the honor of their families; for their daughters were compelled to marry the clients and slaves of the city. The nobility called in the Romans, who took the city by famine and destroyed it (360), after having carried away, Pliny assures us, two thousand statues. Much blood was shed. Rome made little distinction between the slaves revolted against their masters, the clients armed against their patrons, and the nobles, traitors to their native land. The remnants of the population were forbidden to inhabit the site of the old Etruscan metropolis. Even the ruins of this powerful city have disappeared.

This expedition was the last clash of arms heard in Italy till the explosion of the Punic wars (265). But these are impending. The military habits acquired by the Romans during these seventy years of fighting, this pillage of Italy, which had enriched the city, the nobility, and people, — these victories, which had raised the ambition, the patriotism, and pride of the nation, were to commit Rome to eternal war. The genius of conquest henceforward inspired the senate-house.

[1] *Caput Etruriæ*. (Livy, x. 37.) The temple of Voltumna, where the lucumons assembled yearly, was situated on its territory. The *tempio di Norzia*, to be seen at Bolsena near the Florence gate, is Roman work. The Etruscan city was on the height at the place called *s. Puzzano*, above the amphitheatre of Bolsena (Dennis, *Etruria*, i. 508); the Roman city was built at the foot of the hill. It was a custom of the Romans to compel the vanquished to abandon cities built on heights, and descend into the plain.

CHAPTER XVII.

ORGANIZATION OF ITALY BY THE ROMANS.

I. The Freedom of the City, and the Thirty-five Tribes.

WHILE Rome was bringing Italy into subjection, the Greeks were overturning the Persian monarchy. To the latter, a few years in one human life had sufficed to conquer from the Adriatic to the Indus. Rome required a century to stretch from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina. If she advanced only step by step, she knew at least how to keep what she took: while Greece, at the end of a few generations, had lost all, even her liberty.

In that immovable East, where governments pass away like the water of the streams which are lost in the desert, but where manners last like unchangeable Nature, the revolution which transferred the empire from the Persians to the Macedonians had no lasting results, and that old world was agitated only on the surface. The Greeks found themselves neither numerous nor strong enough to organize after having conquered, to establish after having destroyed. Left, after Alexander, without guidance; lost, so to speak, in the midst of Asiatic populations, — they exercised on the latter only a feeble influence, and by their imprudent divisions they encouraged revolts. What the conqueror might have perhaps known how to do, — to bind together all these nations, whose bonds the Persian monarchy had broken in its fall, not one of his successors attempted.[1] There, as elsewhere,

[1] [I need hardly say that the text gives rather a rhetorical than an historical view of the Diadochi. They each strove to recover for themselves the whole dominion of Alexander, — at least Perdiccas did, and Antigonus, Demetrius, and Seleucus. But they were too evenly matched, and wore one another out in mutual conflicts. Ptolemy alone of the leading men confined himself to Egypt and the surrounding coast, and so Hellenized Egypt very completely. But,

Greece was convicted of inability to organize anything great, outside of the petty states which, small as they were, were yet too large for her philosophers and public men. In the political world, therefore, there resulted from this conquest nothing but a vast confusion; and if, in morals, there grew up between these men of two hitherto separated worlds, a useful interchange of doctrines; if from the comparison of their systems of religion and philosophy there proceeded a rich intellectual development, — it was the West only that profited thereby, since only in the West was Rome able to establish the order and unity of power.

The Roman state grows slowly. Her territory becomes wider only as her population augments; before she makes a country into a province, she prepares long in advance her support there; she creates therein a Roman population, — Roman either in interest or by origin. Into the midst of twenty independent nations she throws out a colony, — an advanced sentinel, forever on guard. Of one city she makes an ally; to another she grants the honor of living under quiritarian law, — here, with the right of suffrage, there, with the local government preserved. Municipia of various grades, Latin colonies, Roman colonies, prefectures, allied cities, free cities, all isolated by the difference in their condition, all united by their equal dependence upon the Senate, they form a great network entwined about the Italian peoples until the day when, without further struggles, the latter awake to find themselves subjects of Rome. Let us examine thoroughly this policy which made of a little city the greatest empire of the world.[1]

Ancient patriotism had something material and narrow in it. The country which a man could see and touch, whose extent could be embraced with the eye from the summit of Cape Sunium, from Mount Taygetus, or from the Capitol, was the real fatherland, the hearths and the altar for which he ought to die: *pro aris et focis*. But those invisible ties of a common language, of the same ideas and

indeed, so did the Seleucidae Hellenize Syria, and even as far as the Punjab. Greek influences were deep and lasting. — *Ed.*

[1] Tacitus says so (*Ann.* xi. 24): *Quid aliud exitio Lacedaemoniis et Atheniensibus fuit, quamquam armis pollerent, nisi quod victos pro alienigenis arcebant? At conditor nostri Romulus tantum sapientia valuit, ut plerosque populos eodem die hostes, dein cives habuerit* (Speech of Claudius).

sentiments and manners and interests, — this patriotism, born of Christian brotherhood and modern civilization, was unknown in antiquity.[1] Each was of his own tribe, his canton, or his city. Like Sparta, Athens, and Carthage, like all the conquering republics of antiquity, Rome did not desire her sovereignty to pass beyond her Forum and her senate-house. These cities were not capitals, but the entire state. There were citizens[2] only inside these walls or on the narrow territory which lay around them; beyond were only conquered lands or subjects. Accordingly, Sparta, Athens, and Carthage, which never gave up this municipal pride, were never more than cities, and perished.[3] Rome, which often forgot it, became a great people, and lived twelve centuries.

The political wisdom of the Romans never rose, however, to the idea of creating an Italian nation. To deprive the vanquished of the right of foreign policy because it was Rome's interest to suppress local wars in Italy, as later on she put them down in the world; to place them in varied conditions of dependence, so that an unequal pressure might prevent a dangerous concert; in short, to make use of them to promote Roman security and grandeur by requiring their assistance against every foreign enemy, — this was the design of the Senate when the legions had conquered Italy. To comprehend and control this situation the Senate had merely to review its own history. Two very ancient ideas inspired its conduct. As regards political rights, it placed the Italians, towards the people of Rome, in the position which the plebeians had so long occupied in their relation to the patricians, that is to say, it made them a subordinate people.

[1] [This ignores the Pan-Hellenic sentiment so prominent in the policy of Pericles, the letters of Isocrates, the speeches of Demosthenes, and elsewhere. — *Ed.*]

[2] The maximum of the number of citizens was at Athens 20,000. (Thucyd., ii. 13; Demosth., *adv. Aristog.* i.; cf. Boeckh, i. 7.) "The limitation of the number of citizens was the basis of the government of Greece." (Letronne, *Acad. des Inscr.* vi. 186.)

[3] According to the public law of Greece, the conquered were either massacred, as the Plataeans and Melians, or driven away, as the Potidaeans, the Scyreans, the Carians of Lemnos, etc. (Thucyd., ii. 27; Diod. Sic., xii. 44; Corn. Nep., *Cim.* 2, and *Milt.* 2); or enslaved, as the Dolopes, the Pelasgians of Lemnos and Imbros (Thucyd., i. 98; Diod., xi. 60) and the ancient inhabitants of Crete under the Dorians (Athen., vi.); or made slaves of the soil, as the Helots, the Penestae, the Maryandinians among the Heracleotes of Pontus, the Gymnesii at Argos. (Muller, *Dor.* ii. p. 55.) Others, more fortunate, were subjected only to tribute and some humiliating conditions, as the Messenians, the Lesbians, etc. (Paus., *Messen.*; Thucyd., iii. 50.) All this was far from the state of things in the Roman policy.

As regards the common defence, the Senate imposed on them the part which the Latins and Hernicans had filled after the treaty of Spurius Cassius; it used them as guardians of its fortunes and instruments of its power.

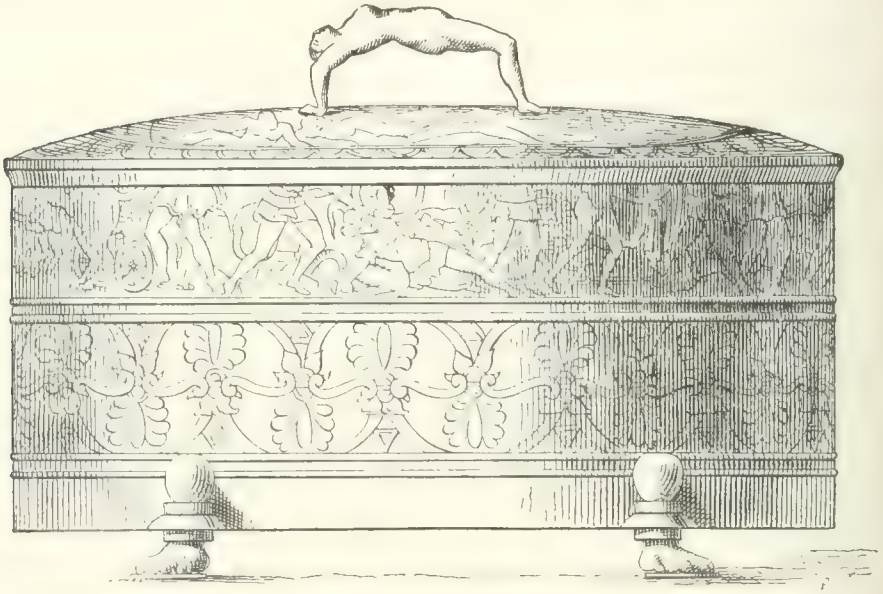
The origin of Rome, in fact, its history and policy, which under the kings had opened the city to the conquered, under the consuls the Senate to the plebeians, had taught the Senate that force alone establishes nothing durable, and that the vanquished cannot be trampled under foot for ever. Implacable on the field of battle, Rome showed no pity either for the hostile chiefs who fell into her hands or for the city handed over to her will. She massacred in cold blood, and made wars of extermination, at the end of which whole peoples had disappeared. In other cases she took a part of their territory: that is ancient war in all its severity. But after the victory there is no tyrannical oppression; she leaves to her subjects their laws, their magistrates, their religion, — in fact, all their municipal life; no tribute, — that lasting and painful mark of defeat and servitude; no fiscal extortions or arbitrary levies of soldiers; in case of a common danger they furnish subsidies of men and money according to rules established for the Romans themselves. If they have lost their independence they have become members of a powerful state, which reflects on them the glory of its name; and when the wounds made by war are healed, they are certainly more happy than before their defeat, since they enjoy peace and security in place of frequent struggles and perpetual alarms.[1]

The sovereign people of the Quirites is always that of the Forum, and it can exercise its rights only in the sacred enclosure of the *pomœrium*;[2] but into this enclosure the vanquished are by degrees admitted, according as they become gradually penetrated

[1] Dionys. (i. 89) says of Rome: *κοινοτάτην τε πόλεων καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτην*; cf. *ibid.*, ii. 16, and Sall., *Cat.* 6; Flor., i. 1; Livy, *passim;* Tac., *Ann.* xi. 24; and Cicero in a beautiful passage (*de Legibus*, ii. 2) and in *pro Balbo* (13): *Romulus docuit etiam hostibus recipiendis augeri hanc civitatem oportere. Cujus auctoritate . . . nunquam est intermissa largitio et communicatio civitatis.* [All these panegyrics on the Roman peace ignore the fact that Italy as a whole did not prosper under this rule. It became depopulated more and more, and provincial life became gradually sadder and duller. The loss of political liberty, with the impetus it gives to intellect and to material enterprise, is never counterbalanced by the so-called blessings of an ignoble and compulsory peace. — *Ed.*]

[2] *Roma sola urbs, cetera oppida.* (Isid., viii. 6.)

with the Roman spirit. The bravest and nearest entered it first. It was, without doubt, for the Romans a partition of the profits of victory; so also was it, by doubling their number, an assurance of new victories and durable conquests. Between 384 and 264 twelve tribes were created, and the *ager Romanus* spread from the Ciminian forest to the middle of Campania. On this territory the censors reckoned 292,334 fighting men.[1] — *i. e.*, a population of 1,200,000 souls close around Rome, which was certainly strong



CHEST OF PRAENESTE.[2]

enough to keep the rest of Italy in awe.[3] Two centuries before, the military population did not exceed 124,214 men.[4] In spite of the losses from the Gallic and Samnite wars, the force of Rome in citizens, and consequently in soldiers, increased in the proportion

[1] Census made at the commencement of the First Punic War. (*Epit.* Livy, xvi.; cf. Eutrop., ii. 10.)

[2] This chest, taken from the *Atlas* of the *Bull. Arch.*, vol. viii. pl. 8, has unfortunately been cut, no doubt to lessen its height. The part which remains represents Aeneas killing Turnus, Camilla on her chariot, etc. It is the old legend of the Trojan origin of Rome, treated by a Greek artist. We shall see later at what period the legend became established in Latium.

[3] I follow, for the evaluation of the whole population, the rule adopted by Clinton in his *Fasti Hellenici*. Ihne (*Röm. Gesch.* i. 465) stretches these figures, and reaches a population of a million and a half, for which he gives half a million of slaves. I think both these numbers exaggerated, especially the latter.

[4] Census of 463 (Livy, iii. 3). The number in 338 was still only 169,000, before the great annexations which the success of the war, then commencing, admitted.

of 1 to 3. The old Roman stock counts for scarcely half of this number. But its 21 tribes[1] gave 21 votes, and the new citizens, perhaps more numerous, counted as 12 only; the districts of South Etruria, Roman since 387 B. C., had 4 votes; the Latins, Volscians, Ausones, and the Aequians, 2 each; the Sabines in 241 formed no more than two tribes.[2] Let us add that the distance from Rome of the new citizens did not permit them, without costly journeys, to attend the comitia to vote in the centuries. Thus while doubling her military strength, while declaring the peoples established around her as far as 50, 60, or 100 miles from her walls members of the sovereign state, Rome prudently reserved to her ancient citizens their legitimate influence. She satisfies the vanity of her subjects without altering the fundamental nature of her constitution; she remains a city, and is already almost a nation; she has the strength of numbers and that of unity.

This union, however, was never so complete but that there remained at the very gates of Rome some independent towns. In every direction the territory of the 35 tribes, *ager Romanus*, was intersected by foreign territories, *ager peregrinus*. At Tibur, at Praeneste, the Roman exiles found an inviolable asylum; for the law which interdicted them fire and water was unable to touch them beyond the lands of the Republic.[3] While making their own Forum the only theatre of political discussions, the only place from the Umbro to the Vulturnus where lofty ambition and great talents could find scope, the Senate wished to leave some encouragement to this old love of the Italians for municipal independence. Many a town of Latium, *nomen Latinum*,[4] still continued a foreign

[1] Four urban: the *Esquiline*, *Colline*, *Suburan*, and *Palatine*; 17 rural: *Aemilia*, *Camilia*, *Claudia*, *Cornelia*, *Crustumina*, *Fabia*, *Valeria*, *Horatia*, *Lemonia*, *Menenia*, *Papiria*, *Pollia*, *Pupinia*, *Romilia*, *Sergia*, *Veturia*, and *Voltinia*. The four urban tribes have geographical names; the seventeen rural tribes, one only excepted, *Crustumina*, bear the names of patrician *gentes*.

[2] Etruscan: *Stellatina*, *Tromentina*, *Sabatina*, *Arniensis*, in 387 (Livy, vi. 5); Volscian: *Pomptina* and *Publilia*, in 358 (Livy, vii. 15); Latins: *Maecia* and *Scaptia*, in 332 (Livy, viii. 17); Ausones, *Oufentina* and *Falerina*, in 318 (Livy, ix. 20); Aequi, *Aniensis* and *Terentina*, in 299 (Livy, x. 9); Sabines, *Velina* and *Quirina*, in 241 (Livy, *Epit.*, xix.).

[3] The same at Naples.

[4] The *nomen Latinum* now includes what remained of the ancient Latin peoples not yet attached to the Roman city, and those who had received the *jus Latii*, as *colonies of the Latin name*; but among these people "of the Latin name" there were also differences: some kept some of the privileges from the ancient alliance concluded by Sp. Cassius; others, who perhaps

city, and yet attached by divers bonds to the great association of peoples and cities which formed the Roman Republic. Less hardly treated in general than the other peoples of Italy, surrounded by Roman citizens, possessing the same material interests, the same language, the same manners, often the same civil laws, with the right of trade, *jus commercii*, and many facilities for obtaining the freedom of the city, the Latins had no other feelings than those of Roman citizens. The election of their magistrates and senators (*decuriones*), the liberty left them of making laws of local interest, of administering their revenues, of coining,[1] of watching over the worship and police of their city,[2] occupied men's life in these little cities. Their political speaking, less far-reaching than the Roman debates, was not less impassioned. Before seeing at Rome the rivalry of Marius and Sylla, Cicero had seen at Arpinum the hereditary struggles of his ancestors and of those of Marius.[3] But the Senate took good care not to forget these consuls, these municipal censors in their own municipality. It had appointed that the exercise of a municipal office should give the freedom of the Roman city;[4] in this way attaching to the fortune and interests of Rome whatever men of wealth, nobility, or ambition were in the Latin towns. To disarm the plebeians, it had taken their chiefs into its bosom; to disarm the Latins, it summoned their nobility to Rome.

This freedom of the city, which the Senate knew so well how

were at first the inhabitants of the twelve Latin colonies founded since 268, had not the right of coinage, excepting copper, and retained the *jus commercii* with restrictions. Hence one distinction between the *Latium majus* and the *Latium minus*, which spread greatly under the Empire. This *Latium minus* opened the Roman city to those of the Latins who had borne one of the great municipal offices or convicted a Roman magistrate of peculation.

[1] It seems that from 268 the Latins ceased the coinage of silver money, and that the issuing of their bronze coin stopped after the Second Punic War. (Mommsen, *Hist. of Roman Money*, iii. 188–195.)

[2] Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.* xvi. 13: *legibus suis et suo jure utentes.* See *ibid.*, iv. 4, the proof of the existence among the Latins of a civil law distinct from that of Rome for marriages, and in Livy (xxxv. 7) for debts. The Julian law destroyed this special law.

[3] *De Leg.*, iii. 16. Arpinum, on a hill which overhangs the Liris near its confluence with the Fibrenus, was surrounded by Cyclopean walls with a remarkable gate (see this gate, p. 47, No. 7). Cicero built for himself, quite near, a villa on one of the isles of the Fibrenus See the charming description which he gives of it in *de Legibus*, ii. 1. It is in this passage that the beautiful words are found, cited on p. 210.

[4] Strab., iv. p. 187; App., *Bell. Civ.* ii. 26: Ὧν ὅσοι κατ' ἔτος ἦρχον ἐγίγνοντο Ῥωμαίων πολῖται; Gaius, i. 96: *Hi qui vel magistratum vel honorem gerunt ad civitatem Romanam perveniunt.*



MOUNT ERCTE (MONTE PELLEGRINO), NEAR PANORMUS (PALERMO).

to use for stimulating zeal, recompensing services, or softening the regret of lost liberty,[1] implied for him who had obtained it absolute authority over his children, wife, slaves, and property, the guaranty of personal liberty, of religion, of the right of appeal, and that of voting up to 60 years of age;[2] fitness for office, inscription on the censor's lists, and the obligation of military service in the legions; that of permission to buy and sell according to the law of the Quirites;[3] exemption from every impost except that which citizens paid;[4] lastly, the useful right of participating in the enjoyment of the domain lands or in the farming out of the taxes, — in a word, the benefit of the civil, political, and religious laws of the Romans. Among these laws, some affect the family and property, — these are included under the name of *jus Quiritium*; others affected the State, — this is the *jus civitatis*; all together, they formed the freedom of the city in its fulness, — *jus civitatis optimo jure.*

II. Municipia, Prefectures, and Allied Towns.

The Senate conferred on the Italians outside the 35 tribes either the civil rights of the Caerites[5] after the Gallic invasion, or political rights in their full extent. Sometimes the Senate granted only the right of trade (*commercium*), or of marriage (*connubium*); and in this case children followed the condition of the father.[6] Far from dishonoring the freedom of the city by an imprudent liberality, the Senate parcelled it out in order to vary the concessions,

[1] However, some Italians refused this so envied honor. (Livy, ix. 45; xxiii. 20.)

[2] Macrob., *Saturn.* i. 5; Pliny, *Ep.* iv. 23; Festus, s. v. *Sexagenarios.*

[3] *Patria potestas, jus connubii, legitimi dominii, testamenti, hereditatis, libertatis, provocationis, sacrorum, suffragii, honorum vel magistratuum, census, commercii, militiæ.*

[4] That is to say, a moderated impost, some rights of customs, and excise of one twentieth on the sale and setting free of slaves.

[5] As they could neither vote nor hold any office, the censors, in order to punish a citizen, inscribed him *in tabulas Caeritum.* But this list of Caerites had at first been a title of honor, when the inhabitants of Caere were associated to the Roman state, *ea conditione ut semper rem publicam separatam a populo Romano haberent.* (Festus, s. v. *Municeps.*)

[6] Gaius, *Inst.* i. 77. When marriage had taken place between persons not having the *jus connubii*, the condition of the children was fixed by that of the mother; in the case of a marriage of a foreigner with a Roman, *natum deterioris parentis conditionem sequi jubet lex Mensia.* (Ulp., *Lib. reg.* v. 8; cf. Gaius, *Inst.* i. 78, 81, 86.)

which enabled it to repay zeal or punish lukewarmness, at the same time making everywhere inequality.

These concessions were made sometimes to a man, or a family, or an entire class; more often to a whole city. *Municipia* was the name given to the cities thus annexed to the great Roman society. They were of three kinds:[1] —



COIN OF A MUNICIPIUM.[2]

1. Municipia *optimo jure*, whose inhabitants had all the rights and obligations of Roman citizens. Their internal government was copied from that of Rome, but they ceased to be an independent state, *civitas*, since they formed part of the Republic, and had not the right of coining money, which the federated cities and Latin colonies possessed.

2. Municipia without the right of suffrage, whose inhabitants were in the same condition as the ancient plebeians of Rome, bore the title of citizens, served in the legions, but could not hold office or vote.[3]

3. Towns having a treaty of alliance with Rome, who bound them to her fortune without altering their laws and institutions.

Below the municipia came, in this social hierarchy, the *praefecturae*, which had no local magistrates at all; a prefect, sent yearly from Rome, administered justice and did all the public business; then cities sank to the state of simple country towns, *vici*.[4]

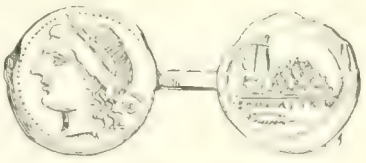
[1] Fest., s. v. *Municipium*. When the people, on receiving the freedom of the city, adopted the Roman laws, *beneficio populi Romani*, it was called *fundus*, and its citizens adjusted their actions-at-law to the Roman law, sometimes before a *praefectus jure dicundo*, who was called the *praetor urbanus*. So it was at Arpinum, whose inhabitants had the right of voting at Rome and in several other cities. Let us note, too, in passing, that the prefects, whatever their functions, — and these were very variable, — were always appointed, and not elected.

[2] Laurel-crowned head of Augustus, with the legend, AVGVSTVS P. P. IMP. (Augustus, Pater patriae, Imperator). On the reverse, MVN. (municipium) in a crown of laurel, and the name of the municipium, TVRIASO. Medium-sized bronze coin, of coarse workmanship, struck in a Spanish city.

[3] Fest., s. v. *Municipes . . . cives erant et in legione merebant, sed dignitates non capiebant.* The Campanians were in this class; it is for this reason that Polybius counts them with the Romans. Cf. Livy, viii. 14; Fest., s. v. *Praefectus.*

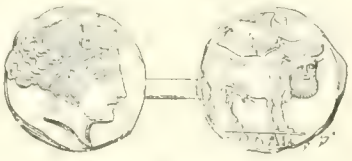
[4] *. . . in quibus et jus dicebatur et nundinae agebantur . . . neque tamen magistratus suos habebat.* (Fest., *ibid.*)

The prefectures of this sort were cities punished for their too great power or their revolts, as Capua during the Second Punic War, or cities troubled by intestine dissensions and which asked of Rome a body of laws and a prefect.[1] In the Middle Ages every Italian republic had also a foreign *podesta*. Yet among the prefectures the same diversity existed as among the municipia, and doubtless for the same reasons.



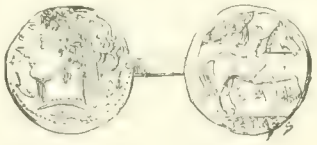
COIN OF NAPLES.[2]

The *dedititii* were still more severely treated: handed over by victory to the discretion of Rome, they had been obliged to give up arms and hostages, to pull down their walls or receive garrisons, to pay tribute, and furnish a contingent determined by the Senate. According to the formula of surrender preserved by Livy, they and their property, even their gods, became the property of the conqueror.[4] The *dedititii* were the subjects of Rome.



COIN OF NOLA.[3]

Others bore none of these names. They had with Rome treaties of public friendship or hospitality which made their citizens, when they came to the Forum, the guests of the Roman people, and permitted them to attend, in a place of honor, at religious feasts. Or again a convention, the terms of which they had struggled for, declared them the free allies of the Roman people, *civitates foederatae*, — an illusion which served the designs of the Senate without taking aught from its power.



COIN OF TARENTUM.[5]

[1] *Eodem anno* (316) *primum praefecti Capuam evocari coepti sibus ab L. Furio praetore datis, cum utrumque ipsi pro remedio aegris rebus discordia intestina petissent.* (Livy, ix. 20.)

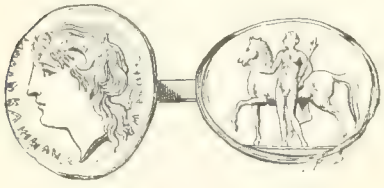
[2] Laurel-crowned head of Apollo. The reverse, a lyre and the vase called *cortina*, which received the first oil come from the press, or water carried to horses and circus-riders. A small bronze of the Neapolitans, ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.

[3] Head of a woman. The reverse, ΝΩΛΑΙΩΝ, money of the Nolans, — a bull with human face crowned by a winged Victory. Silver didrachma.

[4] For the formula of surrender, see p. 59.

[5] Head of a woman between three dolphins and the legend ΤΑΡΑ. The reverse, a young man on horseback crowned by a Victory. Gold *stater* of Tarentum, the Greek name of which is ΤΑΡΑΣ.

Tarentum was free, like the Hernican cities;[1] but its demolished walls, its citadel occupied by a Roman legion, told plainly what sort of liberty it was. Naples was the ally of Rome, as also Velia, Nola, Nuceria, the Marsi and Peligni, and a number of other peoples, but they were obliged in all wars to give vessels and pay for the troops.[2] The Camertines and Heracleotes had treated on an equal footing, *aequo foedere*;[3] Tibur, Praeneste, had preserved all the external signs of independence, like the greater part of the Etruscan and Greek cities, and seemed like foreign states. But these allies of Rome had promised to respect "the Roman majesty," — which interdicted them from every enterprise against the fortunes of the Roman people.[5] The term, moreover, was vague enough to let the Senate extract from it all the obligations which suited them; and as in every city Rome had created friends by sustaining the party of the nobles against the popular party, from which some foolish heroism[6] was always apprehended, what could this equality be between some obscure cities and the mistress of Italy? What was this independence, due simply to the disdainful or politic moderation of the conqueror?



COIN OF NUCERIA.[4]

Such, then, was the policy pursued by the Senate in its treatment of the vanquished: the respect of local liberties in all the cities where particular circumstances had not demanded severity, but no general treatment which would have united what the Senate wished to keep separate: on the contrary, formal interdiction of every league, of all commerce, even of marriage, between the Italians of cities or different cantons;[7] and for every

[1] They had autonomy. (Livy, ix. 43.)

[2] Livy, xxviii. 45. Rhegium, Velia, Paestum, rendered ships also (xxvi. 39). Likewise Tarentum (xxxv. 16), Locri (xxxvi. 42), Uria (xlii. 48), *et aliae civitates ejusdem juris.* Cicero says, speaking of these duties imposed on the allied cities: *Inerat nescio quo modo, in illo foedere societatis, quasi quaedam nota servitutis.* (II. *in Verr.* v. 20.)

[3] Cic., *pro Arch.* 4; *pro Balbo*, 20, 22; Livy, xxvii. 46.

[4] Head of a young woman with a ram's horn; Oscan legend; behind the head a dolphin, and on the reverse a Dioscuros standing, holding his horse by the bridle, and a sceptre. Silver money of Nuceria.

[5] *Ut populi Romani majestatem comiter conservaret.* (*Dig.* xlix. 15, 7 § 1.)

[6] At Capua, during the Second Punic War, the nobles remained faithful to the Romans; the people were for Hannibal.

[7] Cf. Livy, viii. 14; ix. 45; xlv. 29.

people who submitted, special conditions; for every city a special treaty![1] To judge from appearances, one might take Italy for a confederation of free states, one of which in the centre surpassed the others only in power and renown. The fate of the Latin league has taught us already what must be that of the Italian confederation.

The prohibition which broke every bond between the cities was political, and is easily comprehended; that which authorized the exercise to the Italian of the *jus commercii* only within the limits of his own territory was economic, and had grave results, which do not appear at first sight. The Romans, being alone able to buy and sell throughout the peninsula, and meeting with a very limited competition from the inhabitants of the place where the transaction was made, possessed a privilege which permitted them by degrees to unite in their own hands a great part of the Italian landed property. This limitation certainly contributed much to the formation of the *latifundia*, which, in the centuries following, established, for the profit of the Romans, immense domains cultivated by armies of slaves.

There were, however, conditions common to the whole of Italy. Thus prudence counselled not to subject the Italians to a land-tax; and this exemption became one of the marks of the Italian law under the Empire. But citizens *pleno jure*, citizens *sine suffragio*, allies or *socii*, and *civitates foederatae*, all were subjected to military service, which these warlike peoples scarcely regarded as a burden; and their contingents had to be raised, armed, paid, perhaps even supported, at the expense of the cities,[2] — which was not unjust, since Rome at first demanded them only for the common defence.

[1] For towns bearing the same title some differences existed. Thus Messina and Tauromenium became during the First Punic War *foederatae*: but the former furnished a ship, and the other was not expected to do so. (Cic., II. *in Verr.* v. 19.)

[2] For the incorporation of the Italians into the Roman army, see Polyb., vi. *Frag.* 5. He says that Rome gave gratuitously corn and barley to the Italian auxiliaries (*ibid.*, p. 8), while she retained the cost of it out of the pay of the Roman citizens. We infer from this passage that she did not undertake the pay of the auxiliaries, although she divided the booty with them. But their chiefs, *praefecti sociorum*, were Roman citizens. (Livy, xxiii. 7.)

III. Colonies and Military Roads.

After having divided the interests, there was need to prevent them from becoming reunited: the colonies forestalled this danger.

The Greek colonies were sometimes founded with a commercial end in view, like the three hundred trading-posts of Miletus; but never for a political object, unless it were to rid the mother country of a surplus population or a turbulent crowd. Like the swarm driven from the hive, the colonists became strangers to their metropolis;[1] the utmost they owed to it was in religious matters — some marks of deference and filial respect. The civil law explains the political law; at Athens, the son, inscribed in the *phratria*, became a citizen, and no one had authority over him. At Rome, the father was master of the life and property of his son, even if senator or consul. In the colony born of Rome,[3] emancipation could never come. From the Senate it received its municipal law; its internal organization was sketched on that of the mother country; it had senators or *decuriones*, consuls or *duumvirs*, censors or *duumviri quinquennales*; but in case of war it had to pay a tribute to the Roman treasury, and to the legions even the very last of its able-bodied men.[4] The ancient Roman colony was truly nothing but a garrison,[5] sent out to the state lands, and, as Machiavelli terms it, a sentinel.[6] It did not establish itself at random[7] in some



COIN OF A COLONY.[2]

[1] The κληροῦχοι must be always excepted. Athens entered upon this system after the Median wars, and to it owed the power that she enjoyed during half a century. The true Greek colonist was in a state of inferiority in respect to his metropolis (Thuc., i. 25). He of Athens, if he returned to Attica, was nothing more than a μέτοικος. See on this question the learned memoir of M. Foucart on *les Colonies athéniennes* of the 5th and 6th centuries.

[2] Reverse of a bronze struck at *Carthago Nova*. Two military ensigns, and around, C. AQUINVS MELA IIVIR QVIN (*duumvir quinquennalis*).

[3] The colonies were reflections of Rome. *Ex civitate quasi propagatae sunt et jura institutaque omnia populi Romani habent . . . cujus istae coloniae quasi effigies parvae simulacraque esse . . . videntur.* (Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.* XVI. xiii. 8–9.)

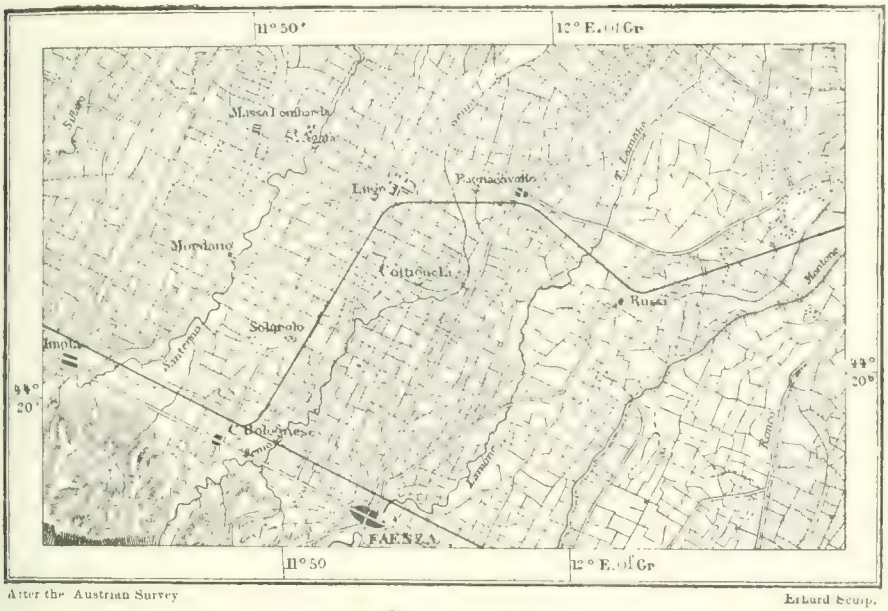
[4] . . . *Milites pecuniamque darent.* (Livy, xxix. 15.)

[5] *Non tam oppida Italiae quam propugnacula imperii.* (Cic., *in Rull.* ii. 27.)

[6] The expression is Cicero's. In the speech *pro Fonteio* he calls Narbonne: *Specula populi Romani et propugnaculum.*

[7] Servius (*in Aen.*, i. 12) defines a colony: *deducti sunt in locum certum aedificiis munitum.*

fertile district, on a river's bank, or at a harbor. It had as its object not its own prosperity, but the guardianship of a territory.[1] In place of building a city where it chose, it occupied



GROUND-PLAN OF LANDS FOR A COLONY.[2]

in narrow passes, or on precipitous mountain-sides, old cities surrounded by good walls, and commanding the country far and wide.[3] The *agrimensor* who came from Rome with the armed colonists, all veteran soldiers,[4] divided among them houses as well as lands. At

[1] Brutus (*ap.* App., *Bell. Civ.* ii. 140) calls the colonists: *φύλακας τῶν πεπολεμηκότων.*

[2] There still remain traces of the ground-plans set out by the *agrimensores:* "In following the *Via Aemilia,* between Cesena and Bologna, as well as here and there in the districts of Modena and Parma, the traveller is much surprised to see uniform paths, all perfectly parallel, equidistant and at right angles with the high road. They are all cut at right angles by other tracks, so that the fields have exactly the same area. Seen from the spurs of the Apennines, these fields look like chessboards of verdure or of ripening crops, and an accurate survey proves that in fact the soil of these districts is cut into rectangles of geometrical equality, being 785 yards long and about 127 acres. Now this square is precisely the Roman *centuria,* and Livy tells us that all these lands, after having been taken from the Gauls, were measured, squared, and divided among the Roman colonists. It is, then, beyond doubt that these regular networks of roads, canals, and furrows date 20 centuries back, and are, indeed, the work of the veterans of Rome." (Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie universelle,* i. 344.)

[3] Horace says, speaking of Venusia: *Quo nec per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis.* (*Sat.* II. i. 38.)

[4] Livy, iv. 48; Front., *Strat.* iv. 3, 12. The colonists formed a little army, having its centurions and knights, who received a larger share. (Livy, xxxv. 9, 50; xxxvii. 57; xl. 34.)

the first, they were few in number; in the cities of Latium and the Sabine territory there were three hundred families; later on, when there was need to occupy important military frontiers, actual armies went forth: six thousand men went to Beneventum, to cover Campania; still more to Venusia, to threaten Magna Græcia, to defend Apulia, to check the Lucanians and the Samnites of the south. It is thought that the colonists, once established at the expense of the former inhabitants, and consequently surrounded by enemies, were not allowed to desert their post and go to vote at Rome, and that, like all the soldiers with the colors, the law deprived them of the right of deliberating. We have no express evidence that they did not preserve the plenitude of their privileges as Roman citizens. But though they preserved them, they had something else to do than increase the din and crowd of the Forum. The Republic required them to render its conquests durable; to watch over the vanquished and prevent revolts; to carry throughout Italy the language, manners, laws, and blood of Rome and Latium.[2] This they secured so well, that, within a few years, there was born in the depths of Apulia the man whom the Romans styled the father of their literature, *Ennius noster*, the poet who sang in eighty-one books the great deeds of their ancestors.



COIN OF THE DECURIONS.[1]

Three magistrates were generally charged with conducting them, and during the first year supervising their wants: *triumviri deducendis coloniis, qui per triennium magistratum haberent.* (Livy, xxxii. 29.) The colonies called maritime (not all the colonies on the sea were so, but only those which guarded an important port at the mouth of a river) were exempt from land service, and sometimes that by sea: *sacro-sancta vacatio.* (Livy, xxvii. 38; xxxvi. 3.) They were required above all to defend the position which had been intrusted to them, and this interest appeared so considerable, that the maritime colonies were composed of Roman citizens.

[1] Coin struck by decree of the decurions DD (*decreto decurionum*) at Apamea in Bithynia under Caracalla. Large bronze.

[2] Asconius (*in Pison.*) reckoned before the Second Punic War 53 colonies, twenty-three of which had the *jus Latii*. Madvig and Mommsen have enumerated the names of thirty-one or thirty-two Roman colonies and of thirty-nine Latin colonies. In the latter not only Latins and Italians were admitted, but also plebeians from Rome, who preferred a property in a colony to the exercise of political rights in the Forum.

Following a custom derived from older Italy, the colonists, where the conquered had been spared, took usually a third of the territory; the natives shared the rest, and had in their own city only an inferior position, like that of the plebeians of Rome when the latter were still without the *jus suffragii* and the *jus honorum*. Thus revolts were frequent, and many a time were the colonists driven away or surprised and massacred by their subjects. But time and community of interests effaced, as at Rome, these differences. The colonial *populus* and *plebs* ended by being fused in the equality of municipal rights, to which was often added equality of rights with Rome, in virtue of a plebiscite which enrolled the city in one of the thirty-five tribes. Then there remained no other division than the natural one between the rich and poor, the *assidui* and the *aerarii*, the *honestiores* and the *humiliores*, which formed the great social division in the last days of the Republic and under the Empire.

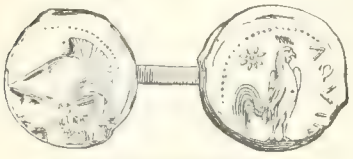
With the Gracchi a new sort of colonies began, — that of poor people to whom lands were given; another again with Marius and Sylla, — that of soldiers who obtained lands as a military prize: two very different proceedings, which we shall discuss in due time.

To complete this sketch of the ancient colonies, let us see what posts the Senate gave them to guard.

Till the Samnite war, Rome, more engaged in gaining peace within than conquests without, had formed a small number only of these establishments alike political and military. In Etruria, Sutrium and Nepete at the passes of the Ciminian forest; among the Rutuli, Ardea and Satricum; among the Volsci, Antium to watch the coast; Velitrae, Norba, and Setia, to keep in check the mountain district.

In the war with Samnium the legions had conquered in vain; the war would never have ended, had not the Senate, by its colonies, gradually made the enemy retreat to the Apennines. By Terracina, on the Appian Way, it closed the route from Campania into Latium; by Fregellae it barred the Valley of the Trerus, which led to Praeneste and the Alban Mount; by Sora, Interamna, Minturnae, all on the Liris, it covered the country of the Volsci and of the Hernicans.

A second line defended the first, — Atina, Aquinum, Casinum, in the mountainous country which separates the Vulturnus from the Liris, closed the passes which the Samnites had many a time followed to descend into the valley of this latter river, and thence effect a junction with the revolted peoples of Latium. Vescia, Suessa Aurunca, Teanum, and Cales among the Sidicini, kept the country between the Lower Liris and the Vulturnus.



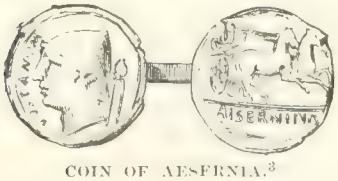
COIN OF AQUINUM.[1]

This double line, which encircled Latium on the south and southeast, was connected on the east by Alba Fucentia among the Marsi, Aesula and Carseoli among the Aequi, with the important position of Narnia, which covered the route from Umbria towards Rome, and with the colonies of Etruria, Nepete, Sutrium, Cosa, Alsium, and Fregellae. Behind this rampart Rome could brave every enemy. Hannibal and Pyrrhus, who once crossed this formidable circle, but without having broken it, did not dare to remain in the midst of it.



COIN OF COSA.[2]

In the rest of Italy the colonies were less numerous: the population of Rome and its Latin allies would not have been sufficient to form so many garrisons; but by their strength and good position they were enabled to command a wide area. Thus Samnium had only two, — at Aesernia and Beneventum, from whence started all the high roads of South Italy; Picenum, three, — Hadria, Firmum, Castrum; Umbria, four, ranged along the route of the Gauls, — Narnia, which barred the middle valley of the Tiber; Spoletum, which covered this place and



COIN OF AESERNIA.[3]

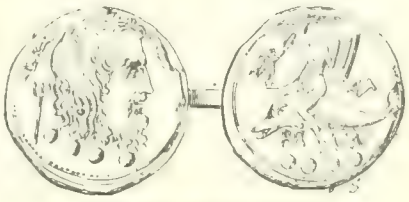
[1] Head of Minerva. Reverse, AQVIN, a cock and a star; small bronze of Aquinum on the *via Latina*, the ruins of which are to be seen still in the vicinity of the modern town of Aquino. It was the native place of Juvenal [and of the great St. Thomas. — *Ed.*].

[2] Head of Minerva. On the reverse, bust of a horse, CO(sa)NO. Small bronze.

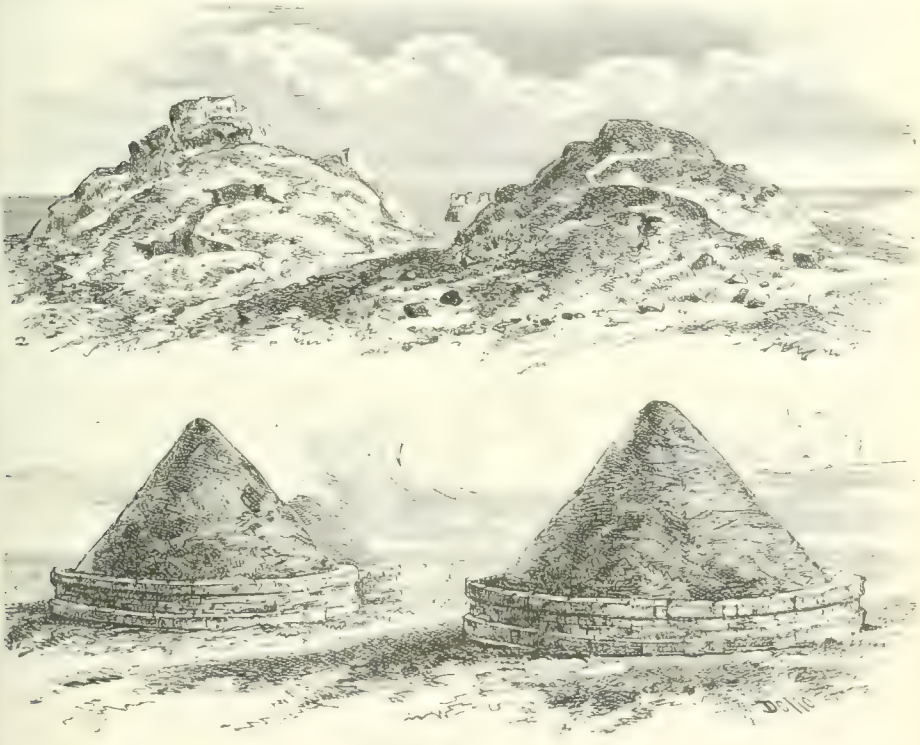
[3] Head of Vulcan: VOLCANOM; behind, pincers. On the reverse, AISERNINO and a young woman driving a biga. Small bronze of Aesernia, in the Valley of the Vulturnus, now Isernia.

the route to Rome; Sena and Ariminum, outposts against the Cisalpines.[1]

In Campania the Greeks proved faithful; but Capua, always turbulent, was watched by the colonies of Saticula and Cales; in case of need, Casilinum, on a rock at the edge of the Vulturnus and a short distance from Capua, could receive a garrison; Apulia was guarded by Luceria and Venusia, which put on its coins the eagle of Jupiter holding a thunderbolt;



COIN OF BRUNDUSIUM.[2]



TUMULI AT ALSIUM.[3]

Calabria, by Brundusium and Valentia; the coast of Lucania, by

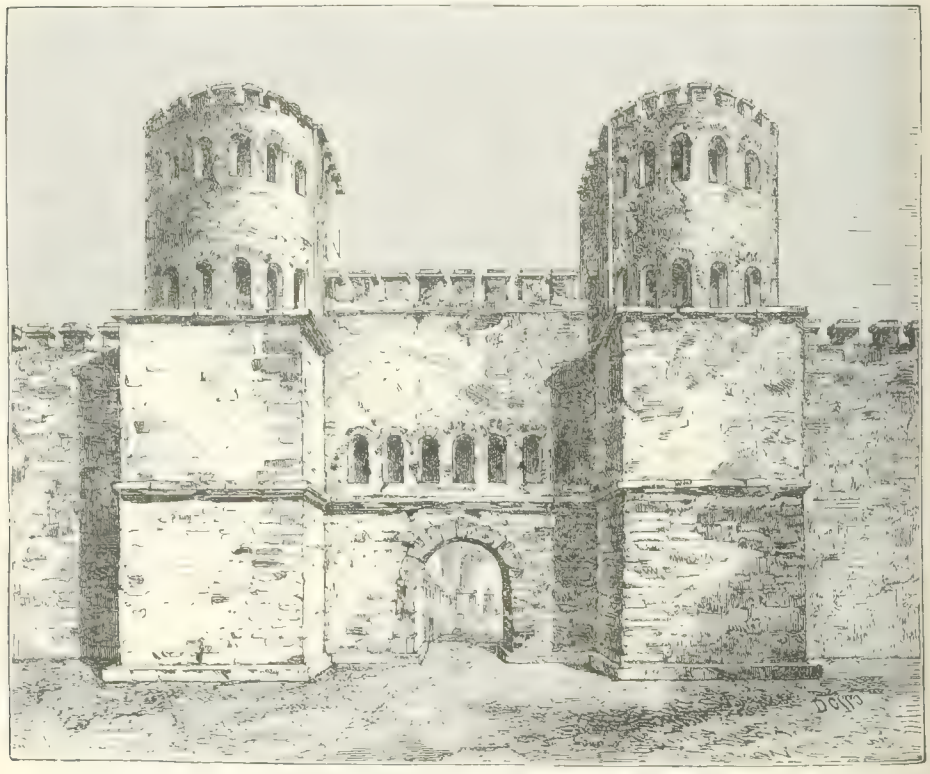
[1] To avoid returning later on to this matter of the colonies, in the case of some I go beyond the date which we have reached. Thus Spoletum was colonized only in 240; several others were founded only during the First Punic War.

[2] Neptune crowned by a Victory, the trident, and four O's, the mark of the *triens* (see p. 324). On the reverse, BRVN. (Brundusium) and a monogram. Arion on a dolphin, and holding in his right hand a Victory. Bronze of Brundusium.

[3] Vergil has described (*Aen.* xi. 850, *seq.*) this kind of sepulture: "On a mountain arose

Paestum. More to the south, Tarentum, Locri, Rhegium, on the Straits, and some other places, had garrisons.

To bind together all these parts, and to transport the legions rapidly to menaced points, great military roads were laid out from one extremity of the peninsula to the other. In the middle of the Samnite war, in 312, the censor Appius had begun the Appian

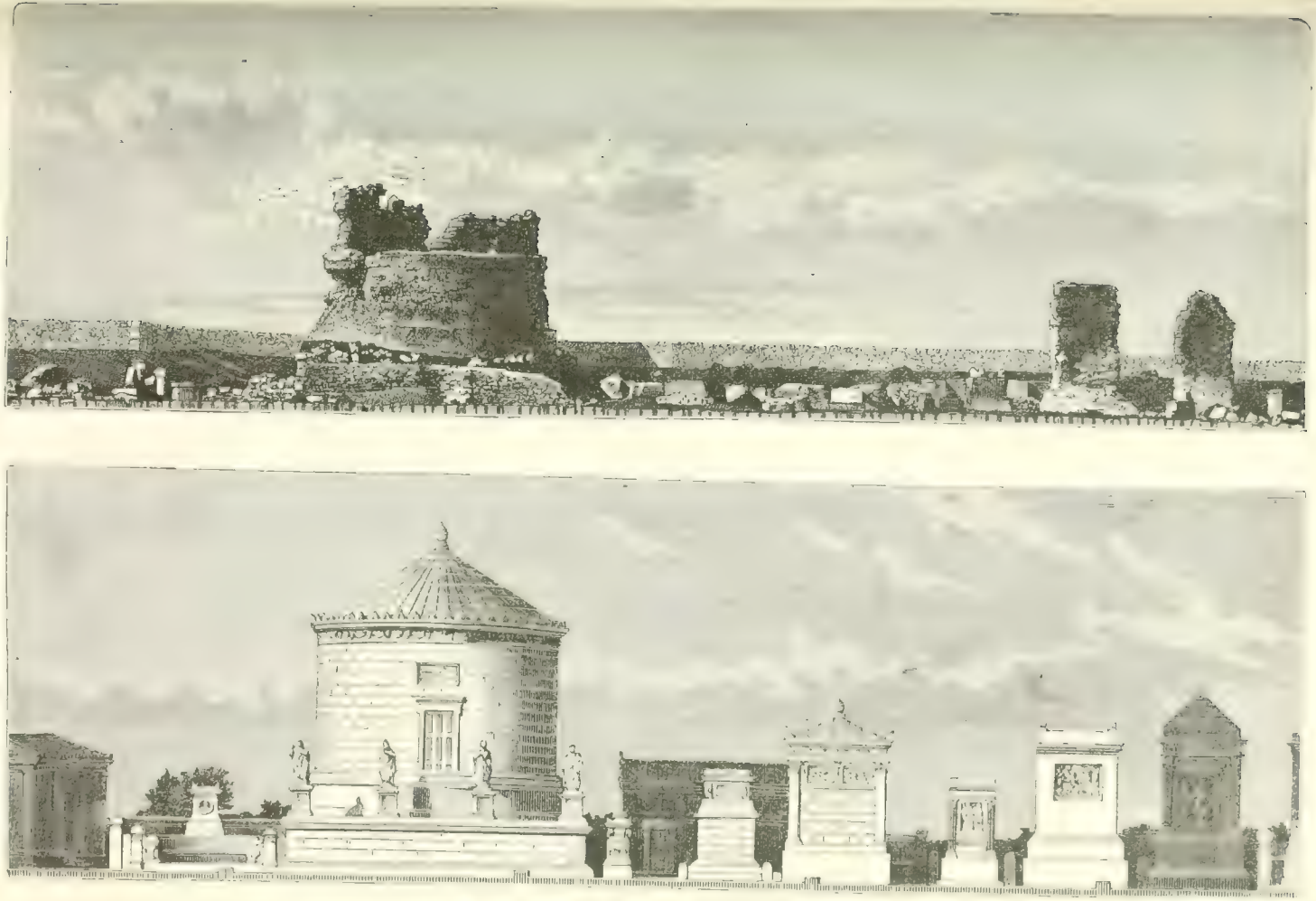


THE APPIAN GATE (RESTORED).[1]

Way, which led across the Pontine Marshes from Rome to Capua. This great example was followed; and from that time the censors employed for works of peace the resources of the treasury. They set with such activity to work, that before the Second Punic War the Valerian Way traversed Tibur, the colonies of Carseoli and Alba, and reached Corfinium, on the other side of the Apennines; the Aurelian Way ran along the coasts of Etruria, and the Flaminian

an immense eminence, which an oak covered with its thick shade. It was the tomb of Dercennus, a former king of Laurentum."

[1] Canina, *gli Edifizj di Roma*, pl. 270.



THE APPIAN WAY; IN ITS ACTUAL STATE, AND AS RESTORED BY M. ANCELET.

Way went from the Campus Martius to Ariminum, *i. e.*, to the entrance of Cisalpine Gaul.

By the Appian and Latin Ways Rome had therefore prompt and easy communication with Lower Italy; by the Aurelian and Flaminian Ways, with Etruria and Umbria; by the Valerian Way, with the country in the midst of the Apennines. The colonies settled on these routes were able, in case of danger, to close them.[1]

The genius of a people or an epoch is seen in its architecture. Greece had the Parthenon, — supreme elegance and ideal beauty; the Middle Ages, the cathedrals of Rheims and Amiens, — the fervent glow of devotion. The architectural glory of the Romans is above all their military roads, whose strong network first enlaced Italy, later on, the world. This people did not look upwards: its eyes and hands are fixed on the earth; but no one has held it with a stronger grasp.[2]

[1] It is true that ancient armies, not carrying heavy artillery, could more easily leave the main roads.

[2] The following is a list of the seven high-roads leading from Rome, to which were attached twenty secondary roads or branches from the principal ones. The most important of these can be traced on our special map of the military roads and colonies before the Punic wars. In the following list we give the complete system, so as to avoid returning to this matter.

I. Via Appia, from Rome to Capua by the plain, and from Capua to Brundusium. From it branch off the roads, — *Setina*, going to Setia; *Domitiana*, which from Sinuessa to Surrentum goes round the Bay of Naples; *Campana* or *Consularis*, from Capua to Cumae, Puteoli, Atella, and Naples; *Aquillia* from Capua to Salernum, Paestum, Cosentia, Vibo, and Rhegium; *Egnatia*, from Beneventum to Herdonea, Canusium, and Brindisi; *Trajana*, from Venusia to Heraclea, Thurium, Crotona, and Rhegium, where it joins the Via Aquillia; *Minucia*, or *Numicia*, traversing Samnium from north to south.

II. Via Latina, from Rome to Beneventum, at the foot of the mountains. It sends a branch to Tusculum, *via Tusculana*, and is connected to the Appian Way by a cross-road, *Via Hadriana*, running from Teanum to Minturnae. The two roads, Appia and Latina, separate at the Porta Capena. Between the Latin and Valerian roads run, — the *Via Labicana*, from the Esquiline Gate to Labicum, and joining the Via Latina at a place called *ad Bivium*, 30 miles from Rome; the *Via Praenestina* or *Gabina*, going off at the same point and joining the Latin Road near Anagnia; the *Via Collatina*, very short.

III. Via Tiburtina, from the Porta Tiburtina to Tibur, and continuing, under the name of Via Valeria, across the Sabine country to Corfinium, whence it was continued to the Adriatic, which it coasted from Aternum to Castrum Truentinum, where it met the Salarian Road. Two branches led to Sublaqueum, *Via Sublacensis*, in the high valley of the Anio and in Apulia; *Via Frentana Appula*, along the Adriatic. The *Via Nomentana*, or *Ficulnensis*, started from the Porta Collina, rejoined at Eretum the Salarian Way.

IV. Via Salaria, from the Colline Gate to Ancona, by Fidenae, Reate, Asculum, Picenum, Castrum Truentinum, to the coast of the Adriatic.

V. Via Flaminia, from the Flaminian Gate to Ariminum, by Narnia, Interamna, Spoletum, Fanum Fortunae, and Pisaurum, on the coast. It was continued under the name of *Via Aemilia*, which traversed Gallia Cisalpina to Placentia, where it crossed the Po, reached

Besides the military colonies sent to the strongest places of Italy, Rome had in the country establishments of another kind, and which helped the same result, — the spread of the Latin race over the whole peninsula. The *ager Romanus* stopped at the Vulturnus; but the rest of Italy was covered with lands assigned to the public domain of the Roman people. The Bruttians had ceded half of the Sila forest;[1] the Samnites and the Lucanians, who had recognized *the majesty of the Roman people*, the Sabines and Picentines, despoiled by Curius, the Senones, exterminated by Dolabella, had lost more still; and the half, perhaps, of the best lands of the peninsula had become Roman property. The censors had let them;[2] and shepherds and Roman laborers, being spread throughout the country, were unceasingly being fused with the Italian populations.

In order to insure the payment of the tax imposed on the lands of the domain, the Senate divided the peninsula into four grand divisions, to which were sent four quaestors, who resided at Ostia and Cales for the provinces which lie towards the Tyrrhenian Sea; in Umbria and Calabria for the districts along the Adriatic.[3]

To the cities of different ranks which we have named are attached the cantons, *pagi*, and the country towns, *vici*, which had their annual magistrates; also the *fora* and *conciliabula*. In the districts where the population was not dense, certain places became the

Milan, and from thence ran westward to Turin, to the east as far as Trieste. A cross-road, *Via Postumia*, went from Genoa to Verona.

VI. Via Cassia led across Central Etruria, by Veii, Sutrium, Vulsinii, and Arretium to Luna, where it joined the Aurelian Way. One of its branches, *via Amerina*, went to Tudor and Perusia; another, *Via Clodia*, united Rusellae and Tarquinii, and the *Via Cimina* crossed the mountains of Viterbo, *Ciminus mons*.

VII. Via Aurelia, leaving Rome by the Janiculum Gate, touched Alsium, and followed the Etruscan coast to Genoa and Frejus. The *Via Portuensis* followed the right bank of the Tiber to Portus Augusti; the *Via Ostiensis*, the left bank to Ostia, whence it turned to the south, keeping, under the name of *Via Severiana*, along the coast to Terracina; the roads *Laurentina* and *Ardeatina* indicate the route by their names.

Thus seven grand roads started from Rome, — two, *Appia* and *Latina*, to the south; two, *Valeria* and *Salaria*, to the Adriatic; one, *Flaminia*, to the northeast; two, *Cassia* and *Aurelia*, to the northwest; and the *Via Aemilia* serves for both banks of the Po. See on this question the classic work of Bergier, *Histoire des grands chemins de l'empire romain*, and the *Table de Peutinger*, ed. Ernest Desjardins.

[1] Dionys., *Excerpta ex libro* xx. 15 (20, 5).

[2] In many places the Italians were admitted as farmers, and this was one more bond between them and Rome; but that dates, doubtless, from a later period. At the time of the Gracchi, many of them are holders of domain land. (Cic., *de Rep.* iii. 29.)

[3] Livy, *Epit.* xv.; Tac., *Ann.* iv. 27.

common market-place, *forum*, and the point of reunion, *conciliabulum*, of the whole canton.[1] Communities were there formed which became by degrees *vici*, or even cities; and the nomad shepherd of the Pontine Marshes, as well as the mountaineer whose hut lay hidden in the most retired valleys of the Apennines, was attached to this municipal rule, of which Rome, while respecting it, made an instrument of dominion.

IV. Religious Supremacy; Rome governs, and does not administer.

Religion exercised too great an influence throughout the whole peninsula for the Romans, while disciplining Italy, to neglect the discipline also of its religions. We have seen[2] that the protecting divinities of conquered cities were often worshipped at Rome. When their gods were left to the vanquished, it was usual to subject the priests of these gods to the control of Roman priests, who claimed to be the sole possessors of the science of augury. From the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina, not a prodigy happened that was not immediately referred by the trembling people to the Roman Senate, interpreted by its augurs, and expiated according to their directions.[3] By this the local clergy was dispossessed of its principal means of influence, and the Romans held Italy by religion, as they did by policy and arms. Presently, we shall find the religious feeling grow weak, and amongst some disappear. Now it was still powerful, and the Romans gave an example of piety. It is computed that from 302 to 290 ten temples were built by them in their city.

The other great nations of antiquity had known well enough how to conquer; not one knew how to preserve its conquests, because none would forego the rights which victory had given them.

[1] The commissioners nominated in the year 211 for the recruiting, go *per fora et conciliabula*. Cf. Livy *pass.* and Festus s. v. These *fora et conciliabula* were places where a rural population, not having a city, transacted their religious or judicial affairs, and held their meetings and markets. I have counted among the ancient cities of Italy more than thirty *fora*, many of which to this day keep the name: Forli, Forlimpopoli, Fossombrone, etc.

[2] Page 358, n. 1.

[3] Livy, xxi. 62: *haetisternium Cereri imperatum*: xxii. 1, *decretum est . . . Junoni Lanuvii . . . sacrificaretur . . . Decemviri Ardeae in foro majoribus hostiis sacrificarunt.* Cf. xxxiii. 31. See especially in the next volume the *senatus-consultum* against the Bacchanals.

Under her kings, Rome called in strangers to unite with her; now, populous enough, in the Senate's judgment, she creates Roman citizens outside her walls; and to stimulate zeal, she holds up, before the eyes of all, this title which raises to the rank of masters of Italy, which releases from many taxes, which gives access to office, and invites to a share in the distributions of lands and to the enjoyment of the public domain. It is the coin in which she repays all services, — precious money, which she distributes in order to gain by it a greater number to her cause. Therefore if it is true that the Roman people, terrible against the strong, and pitiless on the field of battle, carried destruction wherever it found a keen resistance, at least, when war was over, it spontaneously, in the interest of its greatness, raised up the enemy which it had just struck down; it was pleased, as the poet says, *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*. Satisfied with having destroyed the political power of its adversaries, it generally respected, in this first period of its conquests, their manners, their laws, and their government. It knew that a people could be resigned to the loss of its independence, that is to say, to a confession of its weakness, but never to the contempt of the customs of its ancestors. The centralization was political, not administrative; and the greater part of the cities, preserving their magistrates,[2] laws, religion, finances, internal police, allowed to confer municipal freedom, to administer criminal and civil procedure,[3] — in short, to give themselves laws, — regarded themselves rather as associated with the splendor of the Roman name than subject to its power. The bustle of their comitia made them believe themselves free. All the living forces of Italy were centralized in the hands of the consuls; the Senate disposed of its five hundred thousand soldiers, its cavalry, its navy, and yet political life was not extinguished in the *municipia;* the blood did not leave the extremities to rush to the heart, as is the case a century and a half later, when those tempests arise in which the Republic will founder. We are still in the age of moderation and wisdom.

[1] See p. 483. After the war against Perseus, the citizens had no taxes whatever to pay.

[2] Even the simple towns: *magistri vici, item magistri pagi quotannis fiunt.* Fest., s. v. *Vicus.*

[3] Except for the municipia *optimo jure.* A Roman citizen could, in a criminal matter, be judged only by the whole people according to the Twelve Tables.

While giving to Italy the organization just described, Rome had accomplished all that her municipal constitution permitted, and more than the political wisdom of antiquity taught her. She continued the sovereign city by the right of victory; but she made herself the capital of the Italians by attracting to her Senate their most notable citizens. If it is not the representative system in its reality, it was a feeble image of it; and this political genius which anticipated the far-off future ought to command our admiration.[1]

[1] We have seen at p. 418 that the Latins had demanded that the Senate should be composed half of Roman senators and half of Latin senators. This idea of a sort of federative republic was very familiar to the Italians of Central Italy. We know of an Etruscan diet of Voltumna, the feriae Latinae, the ancient league of Rome, the Latins and Hernicans. Alexander the Molossian had also formed an amphictyonic council for the Italian Greeks.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INTERNAL STATE OF ROME DURING THE SAMNITE WAR.

I. Manners.

THIS period has been regarded as the golden age of the Republic. According to the old and honorable custom of praising bygone days, all the virtues have been ascribed to the Romans of this period; and virtues they indeed possessed, especially those which make good citizens. The conquerors of the Etruscans and Tarentum did not despise poverty; the plebeians, who had asserted so many rights, accepted all their duties, and their patriotism had the force of a religious feeling. Two Decii gave their lives for the Roman army; Postumius and Manlius each sacrificed a son to discipline. The censor Rutilius, re-elected on leaving office (266), called together the people, and censured them strongly for having conferred twice in succession on the same citizen those important functions. If Corn. Rufinus, in spite of two consulates, a dictatorship, and a triumph, was expelled the Senate for his ten pounds of silver plate, when the law permitted only eight ounces;[1] if the consul Postumius forced two thousand legionaries to cut his corn or clear his woods. — Atilius Serranus received at the plough the consular purple, as Cincinnatus did formerly the dictatorship. Regulus, after two consulates, possessed only a little field with a single slave, in the sterile territory of Pupiniae; and Curius, with his triumphal hands, like Fabricius and Aemilius Papus, prepared his coarse food in wooden vessels. The same Curius who declared a citizen to be dangerous to whom seven acres were not enough,[2] refused the gold of the Samnites; Fabricius

[1] Livy, *Ep.* xiv. Rather, perhaps, for his plundering. The answer which Fabricius made him (Cic., *de Orat.* ii. 66) represents him as a plunderer.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 4.

that of Pyrrhus; and Cineas, when introduced to the Senate, thought he saw there an assembly of kings.

"At that time," says Valerius Maximus, "there was little or scarcely any money, some slaves, seven acres of poor land, poverty in families, funerals paid for by the state, and daughters without dowry; but illustrious consulates, wonderful dictatorships, innumerable triumphs, — such is the picture of these old times!"[1] Let us say more tamely that, thanks to the Licinian law of the limitation of property,[2] Rome had neither the extreme wealth which sometimes produces insolent pride, nor the extreme poverty which causes the growth of envy and the spirit of revolt. The greatest number was in that happy mean which excites to labor, gives value to a small possession, and puts into the heart the desire of energetically defending it.

This people had its faults: it liked work, but also booty, usury, litigation; it had in its blood the she-wolf's milk. The creditor was hard to the debtor, the father to his son, the master to his slaves, the conqueror to the conquered. They had the limited intelligence of the peasant, who lives with his head bent over the furrow, with the brutal passions of dull natures and the vulgar pride of physical force. There was nothing generous, nothing elevated, save in the very few; neither art, philosophy, nor true religion; as its ideal, gain, and power, which is the political form of covetousness. Was their domestic life more edifying than it is in the sequel? Evil is better seen in the societies which are in full light of day, than in those whose darkness history can hardly penetrate. But there are vices which excess of wealth, the pleasures of a too easy existence and of too numerous temptations, develop; with these the Romans of the fourth century before Christ were certainly unacquainted.

They were upright, and kept their plighted word. "Trust," said a later proverb, "a treasure to a Greek, take ten sureties, ten signatures and twenty witnesses: he will rob you." At Rome, a magistrate had in his hands all the public wealth, and to prevent

[1] Val. Max., IV. iv. 6 and 11. The triumph of Curius introduced, by what Florus says, great riches into the city. Silver was soon so abundant that, three years after the taking of Tarentum, silver coin was struck. Up to that time there had been only *ases* of bronze. Polybius (xviii. 2) still praises the poverty of Paulus Aemilius and of Scipio Aemilianus.

[2] *Eo anno plerisque dies dicta ab aedilibus, quia plus quam quod lege finitum erat, agri possiderent.* (Livy, x. 13.)

his embezzling it, his oath was sufficient.[1] This good faith of the individual, this probity of the magistrate, were the reflection of a more general virtue which existed in the whole body of citizens: absolute respect for law, a spontaneous obedience to established authority, with the right of appeal from an arbitrary order. "The people most jealous of its liberty which the world ever saw was at the same time the most submissive to its magistrates and to lawful power."[2] Bossuet was right in bringing together these two ideas, which to so many men are contradictory: it is their union which makes citizens truly free, and states really strong.

The Roman is not lovable, but he extorts admiration, because, in that society, if the man is little, the citizen is great. He is so by those civic virtues through which he deserved empire, by the indomitable courage which gave it him, by the discipline, in the best sense of the word, and by the political wisdom which preserved it to him. Thus his history, in which the poet and artist find so little interest, will be always the proper school of public men.

II. The Constitution; Balance of Forces.

The dangers of the Samnite wars had restored peace between the two orders. Little rivalries had ceased when the great interest of the public safety was concerned, the political emancipation of the plebeians was fully accomplished, and the new generation of patricians, brought up in camps, had lost the remembrance of the popular victories. The new men were now as numerous in the Senate as the descendants of the old families: and the services as well as the glory of Papirius Cursor, Fabius Maximus, Appius Caecus, and Valerius Corvus, effaced neither the services nor the glory of the two Decii, P. Philo, four times consul, of C. Maenius, twice dictator, of Caecilius Metellus, who commenced the renown of this family, of whom Naevius is obliged to say: "The Metelli

[1] [This statement may have been often true, but suffered many sad exceptions. There was great corruption among Roman public men later on, and it is not certain that their political morality, when state interests were concerned, was higher than that of Demosthenes. Cf. my *Social Life in Greece*, fourth edition, p. 424. — *Ed.*]

[2] Bossuet. *Disc. sur l'hist. univ.*, part 3, cap. vi.

are born consuls at Rome," of Curius Dentatus and Fabricius, who were plebeians not even of Roman descent.

There was union because there was equality, because the aristocracy of blood was no longer known, and because they did not yet know that of riches. At this period the Roman constitution presented the wise combination of royalty, aristocracy, and democracy which Polybius, Machiavelli, and Montesquieu have admired. In the consulate, there was unity in command; in the Senate, experience in counsel; in the people, strength in action. These three estates being kept mutually within just limits, all the forces of the state, sometime in opposition, had at last found, after a struggle of more than two centuries, that happy state of equilibrium which made them concur, with irresistible power, towards one common end, — the grandeur of the Republic.

In the city the consuls[1] were the chiefs of the government; but there were two of them, of different order, and their inevitable rivalry assured the preponderance of the Senate, to which they were constrained by their dearest interests to show a prudent deference. They received the ambassadors of foreign nations; they convoked the Senate and the people, proposed laws, drew up the senatus-consulta, and directed the other magistrates; but all this power, more honorable than real, might break down against the opposition of a colleague or the inviolable authority of the tribunate, against the sovereignty of the people who made the laws, against a decree of the Senate, which could annul the power of a consul by causing a dictator to be nominated. In the army the consul seems an absolute chief; he chooses a part of the legionary tribunes, fixes the contingents of the allies, and exercises over all the right of life and death; but without the Senate he has neither victuals, clothes, nor pay, and a senatus-consultum can suddenly stop his enterprises, give him a successor, suspend him from his command, grant or refuse him a triumph.[2] He makes treaties; but the people ratify them or reject them. He acts, he decrees; but the tribunes watch him, and by their veto stop him, by their right of accusation keep

[1] *Apropos* of consuls, Cicero utters the celebrated but dangerous maxim: *salus populi suprema lex esto.* It was an indirect vindication of his own consulate.

[2] It was the Senate that authorized the consul to borrow from the treasury the amount necessary for covering the expense of this solemnity. (Polyb., vi. 5.)

him in a continual suspense. Lastly, when his term of office has expired, he must render an account to the people to receive their plaudits, which promise him fresh offices, or reproaches and murmurs, which for ever close against him entrance to high office, — sometimes even a penalty which ruins and dishonors him.[1]

Subjects, allies, and foreign sovereigns, never received by the Senate but when assembled in the temple of Bellona, to remind them that Rome was always prepared for war,[2] who saw it settling their differences, replying to their deputies, sending amongst them commissioners, and granting or refusing the triumph to the generals who had conquered them, looked on this body as the mistress of the Republic.[3] Even at Rome the senators, appearing always clothed in the royal purple; holding their sittings in the temples; discussing important affairs, — the plans of generals and the government of conquered countries; able to adjourn the assemblies of the people or pass decrees having the force of law;[4] receiving the reports of the censors and quaestors; authorizing outlays, public works, and alienations of the domain lands; watching over the conservation of the religion of the state, the prosecution of public crimes, the celebration of games and solemn sacrifices; finally, decreeing, in case of peril, supplications to the gods after victory, acts of thanksgiving, and regulating even the affairs of Heaven by granting temples and the freedom of the city to foreign divinities, — the senators, I say, seem to be the chiefs in the state by the extent of their public rights, as they were by their dignity and the respect which was attached to their name. But, subjected to the irresponsible control of the censors, the Senate is still presided over by

[1] Postumius, on quitting office, was condemned to pay 500,000 *ases* (Livy, *Epitome*, xi.); Camillus narrowly escaped being fined the same amount.

[2] This temple, vowed by Appius in 296 (Livy, x. 19, and Pliny, xxxv. 3), was built outside the city, in the Field of Mars. The Senate met there to receive foreign ambassadors and the consuls who asked of it a triumph. At the entrance of this temple was the column which the fetial struck with a javelin when the enemy was too distant to permit him to declare war from the Roman people. (See p. 230.)

[3] In England also the people are little concerned with foreign affairs, the direction of which they generally leave to the ministry.

[4] Montesq., *Espr. des Lois*, v. 8. Legally the legislative power of the Senate was exercised only in matters of administration. But the limit was very difficult to fix, and more than one senatus-consultum trespassed on the territory of the law. The Senate later on took the right of giving dispensation from keeping the laws. (Cic., *pro lege Man.* 21.) On the formalities followed for drawing up a senatus-consultum, see Foucart, *Mém. sur un senatus-cons., inédit de l'an* 170.

the consuls, who direct its deliberations as they please. Should they be agreed, yet would it not be possible, without the consent of the tribunes, either to assemble or pass a decree; and the legislative omnipotence of the people places the Senate in dependence on the centuries and tribes. All its members are, besides, indirectly nominated by the people, since it is they who raise to office, and it is by office that the Senate is attained.[1]

With us the executive can be questioned respecting its acts as soon as they are done; in certain cases even before their execution, and this can stop them. At Rome the magistrate renders an account only after the expiration of his magistracy. He is inviolable, sacrosanct,[2] and yields only to the interference of a colleague, the veto of a tribune, or that of the augurs. Nor can he be proceeded against even for a crime in common law.

The people, the highest jury,[3] an electoral and legislative body,[4] — in a word, the true sovereign in the Forum, — finds in the civil tribunals, senators as judges, in the army, consuls as generals, the former armed with the authority of the laws and of that discretionary power which an uncertain and obscure legislation gives; the latter with a discipline which commands a blind obedience. The plebeian will avoid offending those who could be avenged on

[1] We shall see later how Fabius Buteo filled up the Senate after Cannæ. So also the senators are often represented as chosen by the people. (Livy, iv. 4; Cic., *pro Sextio*, 65; *pro Cluent.*, 56.) In *de Legibus* (iii. 3) Cicero says the Senate must be composed of all the former magistrates, and Sylla passed a law in this sense. Yet the censors could inscribe on their list any whom they pleased; but the *lex Ovinia* (p. 392) obliged them to summon former magistrates first. This it is which made the Senate so experienced an assembly.

[2] Livy, ix. 9. The praetor Lentulus, an accomplice of Catiline, could only be proceeded against after he had abdicated his office. (Cic., *Catil.* iii. 6.)

[3] At the head of the Roman constitution Cicero (*de Leg.*, iii. 3) puts the precious right of appeal [like our *Habeas corpus.* — *Ed.*].

[4] The people, assembled by tribes, *appointed* the tribunes, aediles, quaestors, a part of the legionary tribunes, the chiefs of colonies, the commissioners for the agrarian laws, the *duumviri maritimi* (Aul. Gell., xiii. 15; Livy, vii. 5, ix. 30). It deliberated in the *conciones* and voted in the assembly of the tribes (*plebiscitum*) on the propositions of the tribunes, which sometimes referred to the gravest interests of the state; on the granting the freedom of the city (Livy, xxxviii. 36); on the powers of magistrates (Livy, xxii. 25, 26, 30). Flaminius brought his agrarian law to their vote. They had also a judicial power (Livy, xxvi. 3, 4; App., *Bell. Civ.* i. 31). In the comitia centuriata the people as a legislative power made laws, decided peace and war, ratified treaties, and received the accounts of the magistrates; as an electoral body it nominated to the leading offices; as supreme tribunal it received appeals from all the courts, pronounced on the life of citizens, on the crime of high treason (Livy, vi. 20, xxvi. 3; Cic., *de Leg.* iii. 4, 19; *pro Sext.* 44, 51). But we know that in these assemblies the rich and the high class easily predominate, and that the multitude is reduced to an unimportant part.

him as suitor or legionary for his hostile vote as citizen. In the comitia even, where the people is supreme, nothing is left to the hazard of the moment. The magistrate who calls together the assembly limits the debate; he asks either a Yes or a No; he allows no inquiries; and the people reply, *Uti rogas* [as you propose], for approval; *Antiquo* [I am for the old], for rejection. We should say now that the assembly had neither the right of amendment nor question. Discussion occurred only in the *conciones*, — a sort of preparatory assemblies, where no voting took place. If, nevertheless, the sovereign people sought to manifest its sovereignty, it could be stopped by a double veto: in the *comitia tributa* by that of the tribunes; in the centuries by that of the gods expressed by the augurs. Lastly, the farmers of the revenue and contractors for public works — a large class of citizens and among the richest — were still more dependent upon the Senate and the censors, who decide upon bids, allow commissions, put off the pay-day, or break the lease.[1]

There were none, even to the poorest, who had not their days of royalty. On the eve of the comitia the patrician sinks his nobility to mix with the crowd, to caress these kings of a few hours who give place, power, and glory. He takes the hard palm of the peasant, calls the most obscure citizen by his name,[2] and, later on, he will restore to the people for one election all that he and his fathers have saved out of the pillage of many provinces. Canvassing, which a century later was punished as producing venality, tended as yet only to draw the rich and poor together, and to give a lesson in equality to the great.

"Everybody in the state," says Polybius, "may, therefore, damage another or serve it; hence arises their harmony and the invincible strength of the Republic."

A moral power, the censorship, itself irresponsible and unlimited in its rights, watched over the maintenance of this

[1] Polyb. vi. 7, 11. I could have quoted him for almost every detail of this picture of the Roman constitution. When we compare it with that which Cicero has drawn in his treatise *de Legibus* (iii. 3), we see that the former was written by a statesman, the latter by a jurisconsult and a philosopher, who, in the first book at least, is pre-occupied with a matter for which ancient Rome had no thought, — natural law.

[2] Cf. Livy, *passim*; Plutarch, in the Life of Coriolanus; and the curious book of Quintus Cicero, *On the Candidature for the Consulate*. [The author might have cited the canvassing of great English nobles at parliamentary elections, especially before the introduction of the ballot. — *Ed.*]

equilibrium. In oriental legislations, the principal preservative of the constitution is religious sentiment, for law is only the expression of the divine will. In Greece and at Rome, Lycurgus and Numa also gave to their laws the sanction of the gods. But Solon and the Romans of the Republic, further removed from the sacerdotal period, confided to men this conservating power: Solon to the Areopagus, the Roman constitution to the censors. At Athens, the Areopagus, a sort of tribunal placed outside the executive, was never sufficiently strong to exercise a useful in-



SUOVETAURILIA.[1]

fluence;[2] at Rome, the censorship, charged with very important material interests, was an active magistracy; the political importance grew, and asserted a moral authority.[3] Those details which no law could anticipate, those innovations which silently unsettle republics by destroying equality, the censors knew how to reach and punish. They often expelled powerful citizens from the Senate or the

[1] Bas-relief from the Louvre, showing the ceremony of the *suovetaurilia*. Before the altar, the magistrate, standing with veiled head, performed the functions of sacrificer; near him are two assistants or *camilli* carrying, the one the *acerra*, or incense-box, the other the vase of libations, *guttus*; behind are the two lictors of the magistrate with their fasces; next come the *victimarii* crowned with laurel, leading the victims, or preparing to strike them; lastly, on the second slab, are seen some assistants at the ceremony. See p. 233.

[2] [I think the influence of the Athenian Areopagus is underrated by the author. — *Ed.*]

[3] *Censores populi aeritates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censento; urbis tecta, templa, vias, aquas, aerarium, vectigalia tuento, populique partes in tribus discribunto, exin pecunias, aevitates, ordines partiunto, equitum peditumque prolem discribunto, caelibes esse prohibento, mores populi regunto, probrum in senatu ne reliquunto, Bini sunto.* (Cic. *de Leg.* iii. 3.)

equestrian order, or deprived them of their political rights, and in the re-partition of classes "they exercised legislation even over the body which had the legislative power,"[1] and they placed their acts under the sanction of religion, by offering at the closing of the census the solemn sacrifice of the *suovetaurilia*. By their uncontrolled power they came to the aid of the executive power, — always so weak in democracies.

In every state it is a grave question to know in whose hand the judicial power should be placed. This question troubled the last century of the Roman Republic; in anterior periods it had received an original solution. The consul, and then the praetor, did not himself judge. For each case he gave the rule of law which ought to be applied, and the judges [jury] appointed by him, with the agreement of the parties, decided the question of fact. Thus the process was double, *in jure* before the praetor, *in judicio* before the judges [jury]. For important causes the judges were chosen from the Senate: for less important matters from the body of centumvirs selected to the number of three by each of the thirty-five tribes. Thus, the organization of civil justice was, in some respects, that which we have for criminal justice; the magistrate declared the application of the law, and *judices* or jurors pronounced on the point of fact.

Criminal justice was exercised by the people. Whoever had violated the public peace, was amenable to the sovereign assembly, which also received appeals brought against the decisions of the magistrates; the latter, in virtue of their duty to make the law respected, punished offences, a certain number of which would be regarded by us as crimes. The chastisement was the rod for the lower classes; for the others, a fine. The consuls and praetors had, besides, preserved from royalty the right of nominating, for grave and pressing cases, criminal quaestors, — an exceptional jurisdiction which became permanent, *quaestiones perpetuae*. However, criminal justice was rarely exercised, for domestic justice dealt with the crimes of the slave, of the son, if he were not emancipated, and of the wife *in manu*. The master, the father, and the husband pronounced in the interior of the house the sentence, and had it

[1] Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, Bk. xi. cap. xvi.

executed. There was not then, at the period of Roman history now reached, a body of citizens who were invested with judicial authority, and who, thanks to that privilege, could menace the liberty of the other classes. Justice was, therefore, now equal to all; in a century it was so no more.

This so well balanced constitution, however, exposed the state to some great perils. It was not written down; and the rights of the assemblies or the magistrates having never been clearly defined, it could happen that the different jurisdictions should clash, and hence cause disturbance; or that one, aided by circumstances, should gain a dangerous preponderance in the state. Thus, Hortensius gave an equal authority to the decisions of the Senate and of the people. Let these two powers array themselves against each other, and there is no legal force in the state, save the violent and temporary remedy of the dictatorship, which can end this struggle without conflicts. But the prudence of the Senate was able for a century and a half to avoid the danger. It caused a division to be made between itself and the people of the matters respecting which legislative omnipotence should be exercised. To the people fell the elections and the laws of internal organization: to the Senate, the administration of finance and foreign affairs; to the magistrates, the unlimited rights of the *imperium* for the exercise of the executive power.

Then, too, if this people was continually urged on by new wants, it was constantly also held in check by its respect for ancient times. As long as Rome remained herself, she had, like the image of her god Janus, her eyes turned at the same time towards the present and the past. The custom of their ancestors, *mos majorum*, preserved an authority which often permitted the supplementing or evading of the written law; and this authority of custom was a powerful principle of social conservation.

III. Military Organization.

Abroad, this government was protected by the best armies yet known. No adversary, no enterprise could affright the conquerors of the Samnites and Pyrrhus. They had triumphed over

all enemies and obstacles; over Greek tactics[1] as well as Gallic dash and Samnite obstinacy; the elephants of Pyrrhus had astonished them only once.[2] Surrounded by enemies, the Romans had, for three quarters of a century, known no other art than war, no other exercise than arms. They were not only the bravest soldiers, the best disciplined in Italy, but the most active and strong. The average military march was 24 millia in 5 hours (nearly 3 miles per hour), and during these marches they carried their arms, rations for five days, stakes for encamping, — in all, at least 60 Roman pounds.

In the intervals between the campaigns drill was continued in the Field of Mars. They shot javelins and arrows, fought with the sword, ran and leaped in full armor, or crossed the Tiber swimming, employing for these exercises weapons of a weight double that of ordinary arms. The noblest citizens took part in these games; consuls, those who had triumphed, contended in strength, address and agility, showing to this people of soldiers that the generals had also the qualities of the legionary.

All other Powers fought at that time with mercenaries; Rome alone had a national army, from which the foreigner, the freedman, the proletary were excluded, and which had already established that devotion to the colors which has wrought such miracles.[3]

All the wealthy citizens had to pass through this rude school of discipline, devotion, and self-denial. No one, says Polybius, can be elected to a magistracy who has not been in ten campaigns.

[1] The Macedonian phalanx had its force merely from impetus; barbarian armies from the individual courage of their soldiers. In the one the individual was nothing, and the mass everything; in the others, the mass nothing, the individual everything. The legion, by its division into maniples, left full swing to individual courage, and preserved full action to the mass. Hannibal himself did homage to the organization of the Roman armies by arming his veterans like the legionaries. (Polyb., xviii. 11.) [The power of the phalanx is perhaps underrated here. As a formation, like the modern column, intended to break the old extended lines, it was most effective, and it was superior to the Roman order of battle when they met on even ground. But the difficulty of marching it through any rough or uneven ground made it often useless, and so it was that Alexander never won a battle with his phalanx, but always used it as the *defensive* arm of his line of battle, — the cavalry and light footguards being the offensive. At the very time of his death he was devising means to make the phalanx more serviceable, and resolvable into smaller and more active subdivisions when need arose. — *Ed.*]

[2] It has always been said that Pyrrhus taught the Romans how to pitch a camp. The description of Polybius makes one think of the *urbs quadrata* of the Etruscans; and he himself contrasts the regularity of a Roman camp to the confusion which prevailed in a Greek one.

[3] On the return from every campaign the standards were placed in the *aerarium*.

To what an extent must this law have raised the dignity and force of the army!

We have followed the Romans to the Senate and the Forum; we have shown their public as well as their private life. This study would be incomplete if we did not see them in camp. Military organization is for all peoples a very serious matter. Without soldiers formed in the gymnasia of Greece, the Persians had been conquerors at Marathon and Plataea; without the phalanx of Philip, Alexander had not set out from Macedonia; without the legion, Italy and the world would have been given up to the barbarians before civilization could have taken such root as not to be entirely extirpated by them. The picture of the Roman army necessarily, therefore, forms part of Rome's history; and to trace it we have only to abridge, while supplementing it in some points, the account by Polybius, who, if not a great writer, was the most intelligent observer of antiquity.[1]



ROMAN SOLDIER.[2]

"After the election of the consuls, 24 tribunes, always of senatorial or equestrian order, were appointed, 16 by the people, 8 by the consuls, for the annual levy, which is usually of four legions.[3] They were chosen in such a way that 14 of them were selected from those who had at least served five years. And that was easy, since all the citizens were obliged, up to forty-six years, to carry arms, either ten years in the cavalry, or sixteen years in the infantry. Only those were excepted whose property did not exceed

[1] Fragment of book vi. 19–42.

[2] Taken from the work of M. Lindenschmidt, keeper of the Museum of Antiquities of Mayence, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit.*

[3] In 207, the levy being of 23 legions, the comitia nominated the twenty-four tribunes of the first four legions; the consuls designated all the others. (Livy, xxvii. 36.)

400 drachmae, and who were reserved for the navy. When necessity arose, even they were taken for the infantry, and then their military obligation was twenty years' service.

"Each legion has six tribunes, who command the legion by turns for two months under the superior orders of the consul; and care is taken that this body of officers is made up in almost equal proportions of young and veteran tribunes.



ROMAN SOLDIER.[1]

"When there is need to make a levy, ordinarily of four legions, all Romans of age to bear arms are summoned to the Capitol. There the military tribunes draw the tribes by lot and choose in the first four men equal, as far as possible, in height, age, and strength. The tribunes of the first legion make their choice first, then those of the second, and so of the rest. After these four other citizens come forward; it is then the tribunes of the second legion who make their choice the first; those of the third afterward; and so of the rest. The same order is observed till the finish, whence the result is that each legion is made up of men of the same age and strength, generally to the number of four thousand two hundred, and of five thousand when danger presses.[2] In respect of the horse the censor selects them according to the state of the revenue, three hundred to each legion. When the levy is over the tribunes assemble their legion, and, choosing one of the bravest, they make him swear that he will obey the orders of the chiefs and do all he can to carry them out. The others, passing in turn before the tribune, take the same oath by pronouncing the words, *Idem in me.* [It was equivalent to our formula, *I swear it.*[3]]

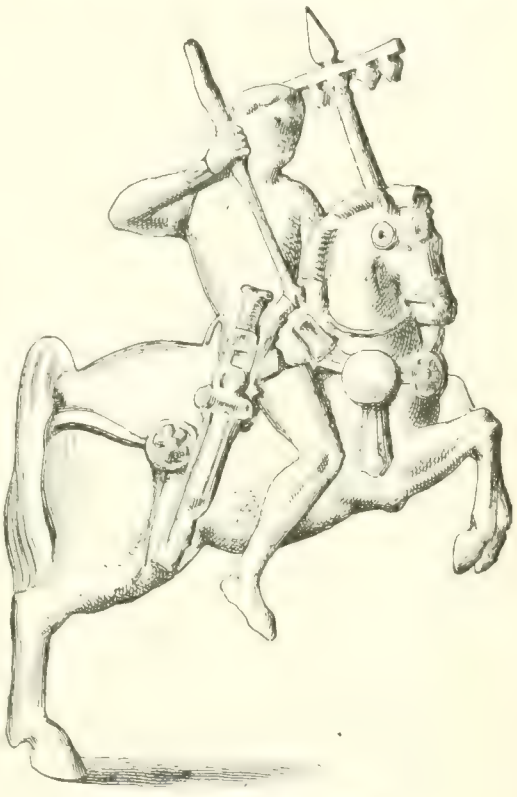
[1] Lindenschmidt, *op. cit.*

[2] According to Livy (viii. 8) five thousand was the regular number; later on it reached six thousand. (Cf. Livy, xlii. 31; and Suidas, s. v. λεγεὼν . . . ἑξακισχίλιοι.)

[3] This oath was called *sacramentum*, because he who took it became cursed or devoted to the infernal gods if he broke it. Seneca says, too: *primum militiae vinculum est religio et signorum amor et deserendi nefas.* (*Ep.* 95.)

"At the same time the consuls gave information to the cities of Italy, whence they wish to draw auxiliaries, as to the number of men they require, the day, and place of assembly. The levy takes place in these cities as at Rome, the same order, the same oath. A chief and quaestor is given to these troops, and they are marched off.

"The tribunes, after administering the oath, inform the legions of the day and place where they must assemble without arms; then he dismisses them. When assembled on the day fixed, of the youngest and poorest the *velites* were formed; those who followed them in age formed the *hastati;* the strongest and most vigorous composed the *principes;* and the oldest were taken to form the *triarii.* Thus each legion was composed of four sorts of soldiers, who differed in name, age, and arms: 600 triarii, 1,200 principes, as many hastati; the rest formed the velites.



ROMAN HORSE-SOLDIER.[1]

"The velites were armed with a helmet without crest, a sword, a round buckler, 3 feet in diameter, several javelins, the wood of which was 2 cubits long and an inch thick. The point, 9 inches long,[2] is so tapering that at the first stroke it warps, so that the enemy is unable to use it.[3]

"The hastati have complete armor, that is to say, a convex buckler, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad and 4 long. It is made of two planks glued together, and covered outside with linen, then with calf-

[1] Lindenschmidt, *op. cit.*

[2] The Greek foot = 1 ft. 0.135 in.; the digitus = .7584 in.; the spithame = 9.10125 in.; the cubit = 1 ft. 6.2025 in.

[3] Livy, xxvi. 4, says that the *velites* each had seven of these darts.

skin. The edges of this buckler above and below are mounted with iron, and the convex part is covered with a plate of the same metal, to ward off darts sent with great force. The *hastati* carry their sword on the right thigh; the blade is strong, and strikes both cut and thrust.[1] They have, besides two *pila*, a bronze casque and buskins. One of these two javelins is round or square, and 4 digits thick; the other is lighter, but the staff of both is 3 cubits long, and the iron as much.[2] On their helmet is a red or black plume, formed of three straight feathers, a cubit high, — a thing which makes them appear taller and more formidable. The poorer soldiers wear, besides, on the breast a plate of bronze, which is 12 digits in diameter. But those whose wealth exceeds 10,000 drachmas have, instead of this breastplate, a coat of mail. The *principes* and *triarii* have the same arms, only the latter have but one lance (*hasta* or δόρυ).

"In each of these three bodies they select — putting aside the youngest — twenty of the most prudent and brave, to make them centurions. The first chosen has a voice in the council. There are twenty other officers of an inferior rank, *optiones*, who are chosen by the first twenty to lead the rear-guard. Each corps is divided into ten *maniples*,[3] with the exception of the *velites*, which are divided in equal numbers among the three other corps. The centurions choose in their companies two of the

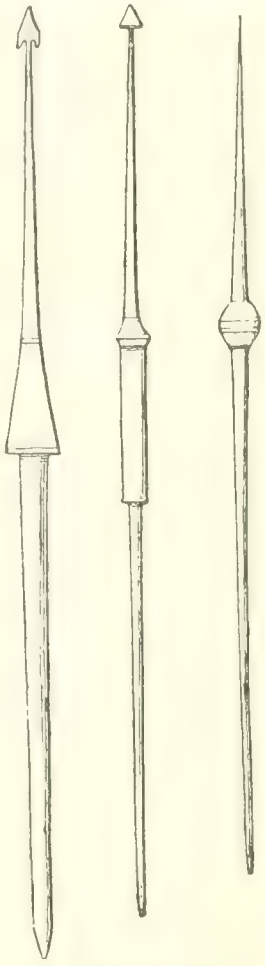
[1] This sword of which Polybius speaks was the Spanish sword, adopted by the Romans during the Second Punic War, just as they must have taken the *pilum* from the Etruscans. There has been found at Vulci, among some old Etruscan arms, an iron *pilum*-head.

[2] That would make 6 cubits or 9 feet; but as a part of the iron entered the wood, where it was fastened by a socket, the *pilum* was somewhat shorter. Polybius makes it also too heavy for the thickness which he gives it, unless he meant the *pilum murale*, which played the part of our siege muskets, which are much larger than the ordinary musket. We shall see the changes made by Marius and Caesar in the *pilum*, — the arm with which the Romans conquered the world.

[3] The legion had then thirty maniples divided into two centuries, each commanded by a centurion, so that there were sixty of these officers to a legion. The *centurio prior* commanded the first maniple, and was placed at the head of the right wing; the *centurio posterior* served as his lieutenant, if needful, took his place, and had his place in battle at the left wing. The distinctive sign of the centurion was a vine-stock, with which he might strike the soldiers. The allies, in case of fault, were beaten with rods: *quem militem extra ordinem deprehendit, si Romanus esset, vitibus, si extraneus, fustibus cecidit.* (Livy, *Ep.* lvii.) A cohort was the union of a maniple of *hastati* with another of *principes* and a third of *triarii*, each with the *velites* which belonged to them. The cohort was therefore the reduction to the tenth of the whole legion. (Cincius, *ap.* Aul. Gell. xvi. 4.)

strongest and bravest men to carry the standards, *vexillarii*, *signiferi*.[1]

"The cavalry is divided in the same manner into ten companies or *turmæ*; each of them has three officers, of whom the first nominated commands the whole company. These officers choose three others of a lower rank to control the rear ranks. The arms of the cavalry are a cuirass, a solid buckler, and a strong lance with iron at its butt, in order that it might still be used when its point was broken.[2]



THE PILUM.[3]

"After the tribunes had thus divided the troops, and given the necessary orders for arms, they dismissed the assembly until the day on which the soldiers had sworn to rejoin. Nothing can release them from their oath except the auspices or insurmountable difficulties. Each consul appoints a separate meeting for the troops intended for him, — generally the half of the auxiliary allies and two Roman legions. When the allies have joined, twelve officers chosen by the consuls, and who are styled prefects, are charged with regulating their distribution. They put on one side the best formed and bravest men for the cavalry and infantry, which are to form the consul's body-guard. These are styled the *extraordinarii*. The prefects divide the rest into two corps, one of which is called the right wing, and the other the left wing."

On the field of battle the legion formed three lines, — in the first, the *hastati*; in the second, the *principes*; in the third, the *triarii*; all divided into six maniples, in ranks of 20 in front and

[1] Before Marius the Romans put the image of the wolf on their standards. (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 4.)

[2] The cavalry did not use stirrups, and practised vaulting on horseback fully armed, (Vég., i. 17.)

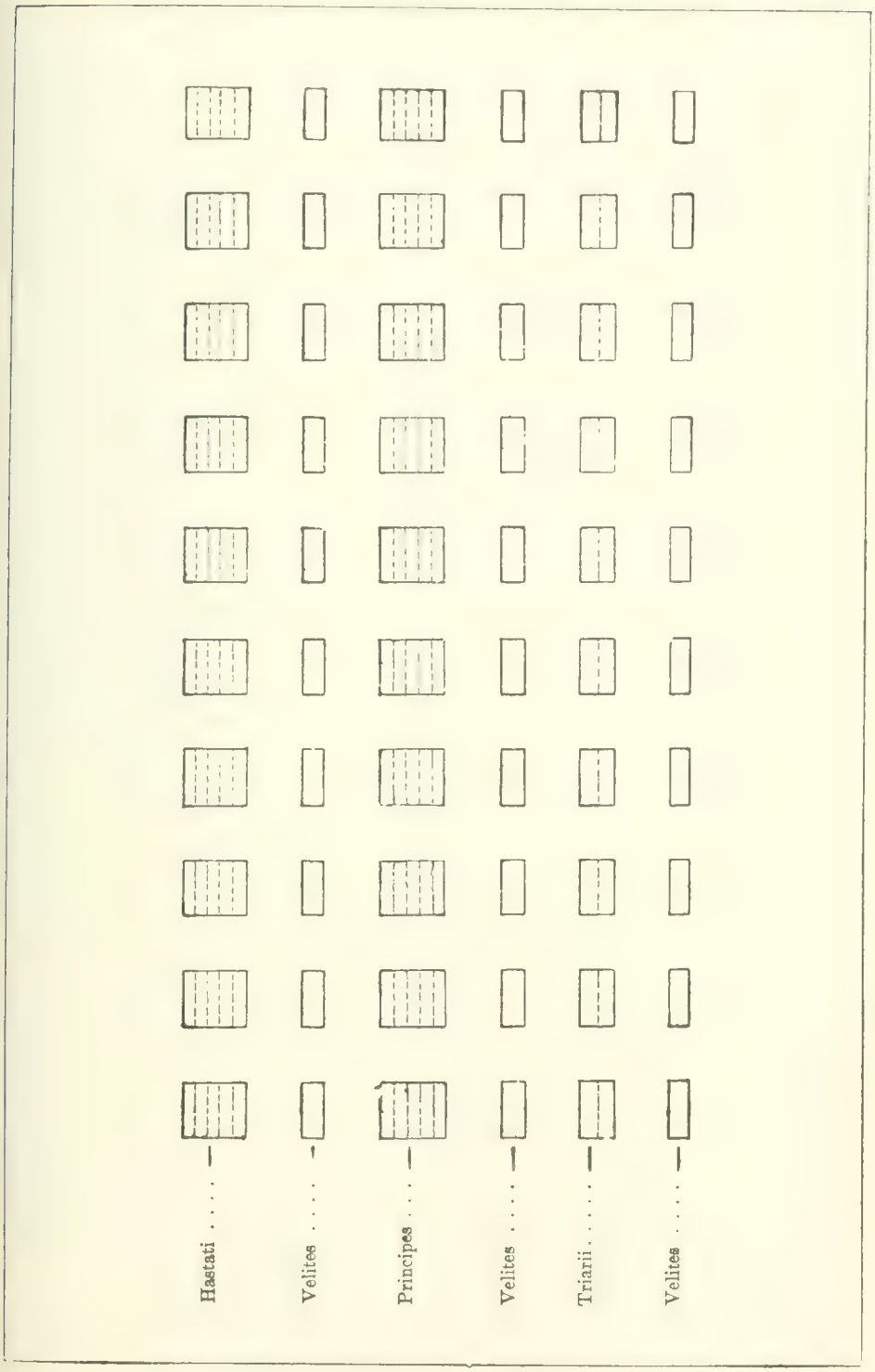
[3] De Reffye, *Les Armes d'Alise*, 1864, p. 339.

6 deep. In close order, *confertis ordinibus*, the soldiers were stationed 3 feet apart, in every direction, so as to have enough space for using their arms. A similar interval separated the ten maniples of each line, so that the front of a legion in battle array was about 617 yards, without counting the space reserved for the cavalry, which the general generally placed at the wings, and which took up a space of nearly 5 feet for each horse. In extended order, *laxatis ordinibus*, the soldiers were separated from one another by an interval of 6 feet, which doubled the line of front.

To each maniple of *hastati* and *principes* were joined forty *velites*, who formed behind the heavy infantry a sixth and seventh rank of light troops. The *velites* passed through the intervals to commence the action as skirmishers, re-entered again when the *hastati* closed with the enemy, or formed with them, if they could still hurl their darts to advantage against the enemy. The Romans did not employ slingers and archers till later. If the *hastati* gave way, they retired by the intervals between the *principes* in their rear; and while the latter fought, the *triarii*, kneeling and protected by their bucklers, waited the moment for coming into action.

"The position for the camp is chosen with great care. When once the site has been designated, the spot is selected from which the general can most easily see everything; and there is fixed a standard. Around is measured off a square space, each side of which is distant a hundred feet from the standard; this is the *praetorium*. To the left and right of the praetorium are the *forum*, or market, and the *quaestorium*, *i. e.*, the treasury and arsenal. The legions are stationed on the side which is most convenient for getting water and forage. The twelve tribunes, if there are only two legions, are lodged in a right line, parallel to the praetorium, and at a distance of fifty feet, their tents facing the troops, whose tents begin a hundred feet farther off, in a line also parallel.[1] The chief street (*Via Principalis*), a hundred feet wide, extends across the camp in front of the tribunes' tents; the *Via Quintana*, parallel to this, is fifty feet wide; and narrower ways (*viae*) intersect these at right angles.

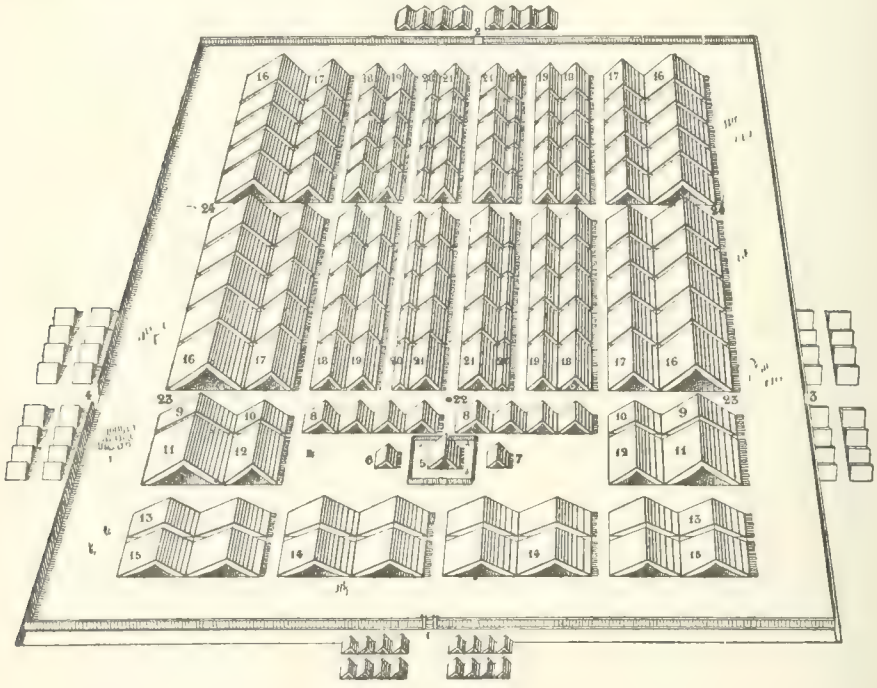
[1] The tents, made of skins, upheld by poles, each held ten men. [For further details of the arrangement of the troops, see the plan.]



PLAN OF THE ORDER OF BATTLE.

"From the entrenchment[1] to the tents there is a distance of 200 feet; this space serves to facilitate the entrance and departure of the troops. Cattle and whatever may be taken from the enemy are also put there. Another considerable advantage is that in night attacks neither fire nor dart can easily reach the tents.

"If it happen that four legions and two consuls camp together, the arrangement is the same for each army; only we must



ROMAN CAMP.

1. Porta praetoria.
2. Porta decumana.
3. Porta dextra.
4. Porta sinistra.
5. Praetorium.
6. Forum.
7. Quaestorium.
8. Tribuni.
9. Praefecti sociorum.
10. Legati.
11. Pedites delecti.
12. Equites delecti.
13. Equites extraord.
14. Pedites extraord.
15. Auxilia.
16. Pedites sociorum.
17. Equites sociorum.
18. Hastati.
9. Principes.
20. Triarii.
21. Equites Romani.
22. Ara.
23. Via Principalis.
24. Via Quintana.

imagine two armies turned towards one another, and joined where the *extraordinarii* of both are placed, — that is to say, by the rear of the camp; and the latter then forms an oblong, covering a space double the first.

[1] The camp was defended by a ditch 9, 11, 12, 13, or 17 feet broad, and 8 or 9 deep. The earth which was dug up was thrown inside the camp in such a way as to form an embankment 4 feet high, on which was fixed palisading strongly interlaced. The sutlers and servants encamped outside the gates in the *procestria*.

"When once the camp is arranged, the tribunes receive the oath from all, whether free or slaves, that they will not steal anything in the camp, and that if they find anything they will bring it to the praetorium. Then two maniples, made up of equal numbers of principes and hastati from each legion, are set to guard the place which extends in front of the tribunes' tents, and which the soldiers occupy during the day. The tent and baggage of each tribune are, besides, guarded by four soldiers. These maniples, drawn by lot from among the principes and hastati, furnish this guard daily, which is also intended to exalt the dignity of the tribunes. The triarii, exempt from this service, guard the horses for the squadron placed behind them. They have to prevent these horses from getting entangled in their halters or from causing by their escape any tumult in the camp. A maniple is always on guard at the consul's tent.

"The allies make two sides of the ditch and entrenchment, the Romans the two others, one by each legion. Each side is allotted to parties, according to the number of the maniples, and for each party a centurion supervises the work; when the side is finished, two tribunes examine and approve it.

"The tribunes were charged with the discipline of the camp. Two of them commanded in turn together for two months. This duty was among the allies performed by the praefecti. At day the centurions waited at the tents of the tribunes, and the latter at that of the consul, from whom they took their orders.

"The watchword for the night is given in the following manner: one soldier, exempt from all guard-duty, is chosen from each of the turmae of cavalry and the maniples of infantry quartered in the last line. Every day, a little before sunset, the soldier betakes himself to the tribune's tent, and there receives the watchword, which is written on a little piece of wood, and then returns to his company. His officer, taking witnesses, carries it to the officer of the next company, and the latter in his turn carries it to the next; and so on, until the watchword, having passed through all the maniples, is returned to the tribunes before night. General orders were sometimes circulated in the same way.

"A whole maniple guards the praetorium during the night. The tribunes and the horses are also guarded by sentries, who are

taken from the maniples. Ordinarily three sentries are given to the quaestor. The guard of each corps is taken from the corps itself. The exterior sides are confided to the care of the velites, who during the day mount guard along the entrenchment; there are, besides, ten at each gate of the camp.

"The cavalry make the rounds. It is the first maniple of the triarii whose centurion is charged to sound the trumpet at every hour when the guard must be mounted. The signal given, the horseman on whom the first guard has fallen makes the round, accompanied by some friends whom he uses as witnesses, and he visits not only the guards posted on the entrenchment and at the gates, but also all those who are at each company of foot and horse. If he finds the sentinels of the first watch on the alert he receives from them a small piece of wood, on which is written the name of the legion, the number of the maniple and century of which the soldiers on guard make part. If any one is asleep or absent he calls to witness those who accompanied him, and retires. The other rounds are made in a similar way. At each watch they sound the trumpet, so that those who have to make the round and those who form the guard may be warned at the same time.

"Those who have made the round, carry, as soon as the morning breaks, the little pieces of wood which they have received to the tribune. If they bring less than the number of guards, the writing on each of them is examined; whatever guard has not been found at its post, and the centurion and men who formed the guard, are called to confront him who made the round, who produces his witnesses, without which he alone bears all the penalty. Immediately a court-martial is called. The tribunes judge, and the guilty one has to run the gauntlet.

"This punishment is thus inflicted: the tribune, taking a small rod, simply touches the criminal; and immediately all the legionaries fall upon him with blows from sticks and stones in such a way that he frequently loses his life during the punishment. If he do not die, he remains marked with infamy. He is not allowed to return to his native land, and no relation or friend of his would dare to open his house to him. So severe a punishment causes the discipline as regards the night watches to be always exactly observed. The same punishment is inflicted on

those who steal in the camp, who give false witness, or have been caught three times in the same fault. There are also marks of infamy for any one who boasts falsely to the tribunes of an exploit, who abandons his post, or throws away his arms during battle. So that from the fear of being punished or dishonored, the soldiers brave all perils.[1]

"Should it happen that whole maniples have been driven from their post, the tribune assembles the legion; the guilty are brought forward; he makes them draw lots, and all who produce the numbers 10, 20, 30, etc., are made to run the gauntlet. The rest are condemned to receive barley in place of wheat, and to camp outside the rampart, at the risk of being carried off by the enemy. This is called *decimating*. When soldiers, on the contrary, distinguish themselves, whether in single combat with the permission of the general, or in a skirmish where the officer imposes no obligation of fighting, the consul parades the legion, calls out the soldiers, and having first bestowed great praises on them, makes a present of a lance to him who has wounded the enemy, of a cup or a breastplate if he has killed and despoiled him.

"After the capture of a city, those who first scaled the wall receive a golden crown.[2] There are also rewards for the soldiers who save citizens or allies. Those who have been delivered themselves, crown their liberator. They owe them during their whole life filial respect and all the duties which they would render a father. The legionaries who have received these rewards have the right, on their return from the campaign, to be present at games and *fêtes*, clothed in a dress only worn by those whose bravery the consuls have honored. They besides hang up, in the most conspicuous places of their houses, the spoils which they have taken from the enemy, as monuments of their courage.

"After a victory or the capture of a city the division of the booty is made with the same regularity. Half the soldiers guard the camp; the others disperse for pillage, and each brings

[1] The consul Petilius having been slain in 176 by the Ligurians, the Senate decided that the legion which had not been able to defend its general should not receive the pay of the year, and that that campaign should not be reckoned to any one *quia pro salute imperatoris hostium telis se non obtulerant.* (Val. Max. II. vii. 15; cf. Livy, xli. 18.)

[2] The *obsidional* crown was for a long time made simply of grass.

to his legion what he has been able to get. This booty is sold by auction, and the tribunes divide the proceeds equally among all, including the sick and those who are absent on leave.

"The pay of the foot-soldier is two *obols* per day.[1] The centurion has double, the cavalry treble, or a drachma. The ration of bread for the infantry was two thirds of an Attic *medimnus* of corn per month, that of the horse 7 *medimni* of barley and 2 of wheat.[2] The infantry of the allies had the same rations as the Romans; their cavalry 1 medimnus, and a third of wheat and 5 of barley. This distribution was made the allies without charge; but as regards the Romans, a certain fixed sum was deducted from their pay for the victuals, dress, and arms which were assigned them.

"As the camp was always arranged as has been explained, and as each corps holds the same place in it, all that was needful was that the army, on reaching the place of encampment, should see the white flag waving which marks the spot where the consul's tent is pitched, in order that all the maniples should know where to halt. The soldiers take their places as if entering their native city, each going straight to his dwelling without possibility of mistake. Thus the Romans have no need to search, as the Greeks had, for a place 'fortified naturally;' they could camp everywhere; and everywhere, when the enemy wished to try a night surprise, they found them established in a fortress, where the watch was well kept."[3]

We see that in the army of those days there was no question respecting the distribution of the soldiers according to the order of classes. The legion of the first age of the Republic was constituted aristocratically, according to wealth. After the

[1] The *obol* was one sixth of a drachma; and Polybius regards the Greek drachma as equal to the Roman denarius, which continued to be considered, for the pay of troops, as equal to 10 *ases*, though, from 218 B. C. onward (Pl. *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 13), it was worth 16 in commerce. For a year of 360 days, the pay of a foot-soldier was therefore 120 denarii, that of the centurion and horse-soldier from 240 to 360 denarii. The denarius, containing about this time 58 grains of fine silver (Hussey, *Ancient Weights*), had an absolute value of 88 centimes (8½*d.*), and a possible value much greater. M. de Witte raises the intrinsic value of the early denarii, struck at the rate of 72 to the lb., to 1.01 francs; that of the latter, 84 of which went to the lb., at about 82½ centimes (8¼*d.*).

[2] This rate is somewhat higher than that adopted for the French army.

[3] Compare with this description that which Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 5) gives more than two centuries after Polybius.

establishment of pay in 400 B.C., and probably since the reforms made by Camillus,[1] the distinctions set up or regulated by King Servius necessarily disappeared, and equality seemed to rule in the camp as well as in the Forum. Age and strength decided the place that the soldier should hold in the ranks. But Rome was too tenacious of its old usages to forget them entirely. The rich, who in the infantry have complete armor, alone furnish all the cavalry, both those who mount themselves at their own expense *equo privato*, to whom the state gives 7 medimni of barley a month, and those who receive from it a horse, *equus publicus*, with an allowance for its support, *æs equestre*, equivalent to the rations granted to the others in kind. The poor are only received into the *celites*, — a sort of forlorn hope, not called on for heavy fighting, — and the proletariat are enrolled only in times of grave peril.[1] Their service is then an exception, which becomes the rule from Marius' time, — that is to say, at the time when ambitious men believe the poorest to be the best auxiliaries.[2] At the time of the Punic wars the army was still representative of its country. In two centuries it will no longer be so.

Let us note also that no people of antiquity so faithfully fulfilled the obligation of military service. One may assert that from the battle of Lake Regillus to that of Zama the Romans were an army always on foot. To be raised to a civil magistracy one must have been a soldier; and this custom continued through the time of the Antonines. When, in the third century of our era, civil functions were separated from military, what remained of the spirit of old Rome disappeared, and the reign of adventurers began.

IV. Recapitulation.

So, in the heart of Italy, in the midst of populations subdued, disunited, and watched, arose a people, strong from union and character, which, having spent nearly two centuries in building up its constitution and army, had, in less than eighty years,

[1] The state gave them a sword and buckler.

Proletarius publicitus scutisque feroque
Ornatur ferro. (Ennius, *ap.* Aul. Gell. xvi. 10.)

[2] . . . *et homini potentiam quæreuti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus.* (Sallust, *ap.* Aul. Gell., *ibid.*)

subdued and organized the whole peninsula, from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina. In presence of these splendid results of human activity and prudence, remembering what Rome had once been, we shall say with Bossuet: "Of all the peoples of the world the Roman people has been the proudest and hardiest, the most regular in its counsels, the most constant in its principles, the most prudent, the most laborious, — finally, the most patient. From all this has been formed the best military power and the most prudent, firm, and logical political system which has ever existed."

These are very glorious destinies and a very great history. Yet if in Rome we have found many great citizens, we cannot say that we have, thus far, met with one really great man. This empire was, as Bossuet shows, in spite of himself, the work of time, of historical circumstances, and of the collective wisdom of the Senate and people. The union existing between those who deliberated in the curia and those who voted in the comitia, the spirit of sacrifice and the spirit of discipline, that is to say, the great civic virtues, — these gave to Rome the victory over the Samnites and Italy, these gave her the victory over Carthage and the world. This history is then the triumph of good sense applied with perseverance to public affairs; it is also the most brilliant protest against the old doctrine of the government of the world by the gods, and against the new theory which attributes all human progress to great men. They do much, doubtless, and in the works of art and thought they do all; but in politics there are no other great men than those who are the personification of the wants of their time, and who direct the social forces in the direction these forces had already taken. We shall one day see Rome, incapable of guiding her destinies, abandon herself into the hands of her military chiefs; but, for a century longer, her institutions and her old spirit preserved her from these dangerous leaders.

[1] Coin of Lollius Palikanus, the reverse of which represents the rostra. (See p. 422.)



HEAD OF LIBERTY.[1]

FOURTH PERIOD.

THE PUNIC WARS (264–201).

CHAPTER XIX.

CARTHAGE.

I. Commercial Empire of the Punic Race.

WHILE Rome was advancing slowly by war from the heart of Latium to the Straits of Messina, on the other coast of the Mediterranean, facing Italy, less than 30 leagues from Sicily, the Carthaginian power was growing by means of industry and commerce.

To-day, on a desert strand, 4 leagues from Tunis, are to be seen fragments of columns, the ruins of a Roman aqueduct, some reservoirs half filled up, and in the sea the remains of piers which the waves have destroyed. This is all that remains of Carthage,[1]

[1] The most considerable ruins are those of the aqueduct which crossed the isthmus and supplied the city. At its extremity are some deep parallel cisterns, which are sunk under the ground. At a little distance from the cisterns, and commanding the sea by a height of 205 feet, a hill rises, where King Louis Philippe has had a small chapel built in honor of Saint Louis. This is, without doubt, the site of Byrsa, the citadel of Carthage. M. Beulé (*Fouilles de Carthage*) thought he found the foundations of the walls on the declivity of the hill; but the results of his excavations have on this point been strongly combated by Mr. Davis (*Carthage and her Remains*). The temple of the great goddess of Carthage, Tanit, whom the Romans successively called Urania, Juno, and the Heavenly Virgin, occupied, according to the accounts of ancient authors, another hill almost as extensive as Byrsa, from which it was separated only by a low street. There has been found on the whole breadth of the space comprised between the chapel of St. Louis and the sea, but principally in the vicinity of the chapel, a quantity of ex-votos bearing dedications in the Phœnician language to Tanit and Baal-Hammon, which must come from the temple of this goddess.

"The situation of the ports leaves room for less doubt; they were to the south of Carthage.

. *etiam periere ruinae.* And yet twice, Carthage lived gloriously, first as a Punic city, and then as a Roman. Her towers rose to 4 stories; her triple walls reached to 30 cubits; and such was the strength of her walls, that the rooms made in their masonry could shelter three hundred elephants of war, four thousand horses, and twenty-four thousand soldiers with their provisions, equipment, and arms.[1] Gold plates covered her temple of the Sun, whose statue of pure gold weighed, it is said, 1,000 talents; and in her squares, which re-echoed with twenty languages, were to be met the half-naked Numidian and Moor, the Iberian dressed in white, the Gaul in his brilliant sagum, the stout Ligurian, the active Balearic, Greeks come to seek their fortune in the great city, Nasamones and Lotus-eaters called from the region of the Syrtes, — in short, all those who came to Carthage to sell their courage, pay their tribute, or to bring to this commercial centre of all lands, civilized and barbarous, the products of three continents. In its last days, after the struggle of a century, Carthage still contained seven hundred thousand people.[2]

and opened not upon the Lake of Tunis, but upon the sea, in front of the little port Goletta. There were two, one behind the other; but one opening gave entrance to both. The first, which communicated directly with the sea, was the commercial port; the other, the naval port, was smaller and circular; an island occupied its centre. These ports had been cut out of the rock, as were a great many of the Phoenician harbors; and they were thus defended on their sides by a natural wall; towards the south they were closed by an iron chain.

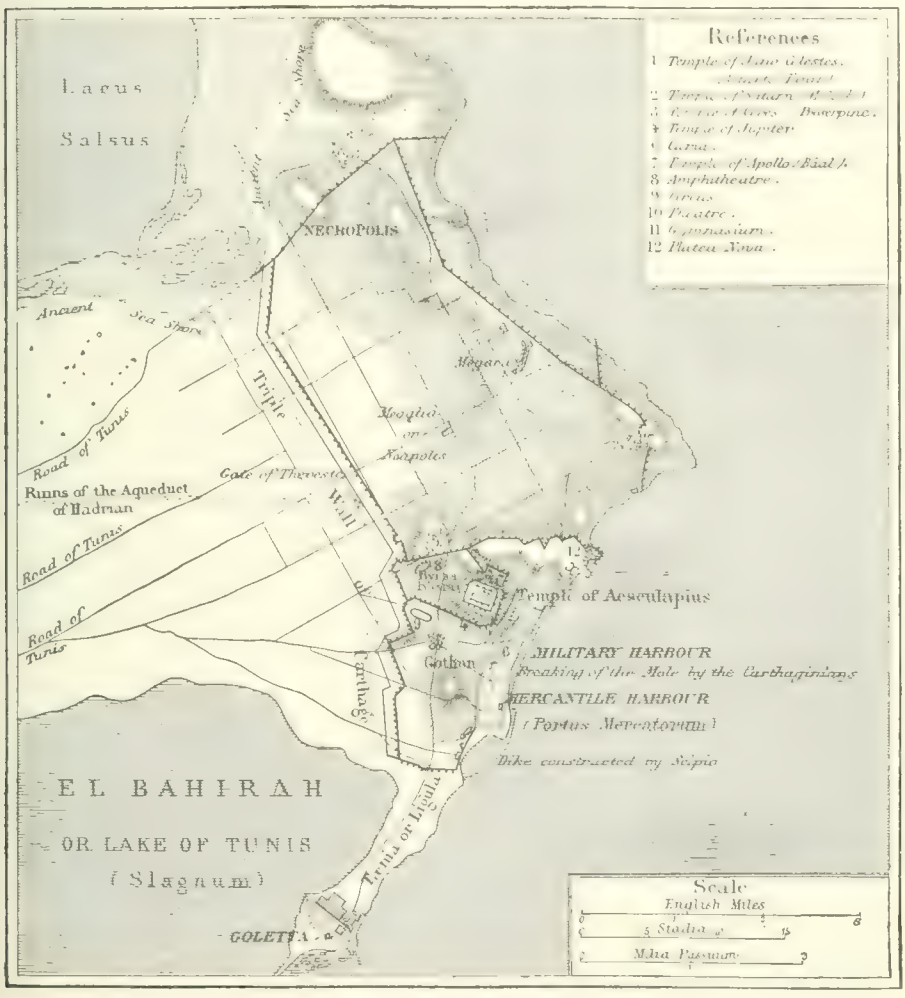
"The Phoenicians carried their religion with them. Wherever they went they raised chapels, or consecrated in the temples of foreign divinities ex-votos to their national divinities. So in almost all their commercial stations are to be found traces of the worship of Melkart and Astarte, or Hercules and Venus, as the Greeks and Romans have always called their gods. The *Portus Herculis*, *Portus Herculis Monoeci* (Monaco), and the *Portus Veneris* (Port Vendres) have this origin.

"The Carthaginian inscriptions make known to us, besides priests properly so called, the existence of hierodules attached to the service of the different temples who must have formed regular confraternities. The temple was their family; they had no ancestors: thus more than once is seen on the *stelae* the name of the city of Carthage in the place of the son and of the ancestor of him who made the offering. The inscriptions permit us also to catch glimpses of a religious organization outside the sacerdotal body; on two or three large inscriptions we see represented the 'ten men placed over the sacred things.' This must have been a sort of religious magistracy answering to the centumviri or the suffetes. Finally, it tells us the names of a certain number of suffetes, — Hannibal, Mago, Bomilcar; but their names were very widespread, and the total absence of dates prevents us from drawing any result relative to the history of Carthage." (Note communicated by M. Berger.)

[1] The triple enclosure of which Appian speaks was perhaps only the external wall, then the two walls of casemates separated from the first by a covered road.

[2] Its Punic name was Kiriath-Hadeshât, or the *New City*, which was probably pro-

This city was, however, only a colony of another city, — Tyre, a city without territory, like Venice or Amsterdam, a vessel at anchor on the sea, and thence witnessing conquerors and revolutions. Tyre and Sidon were the principal cities of a country



PLAN OF CARTHAGE.[1]

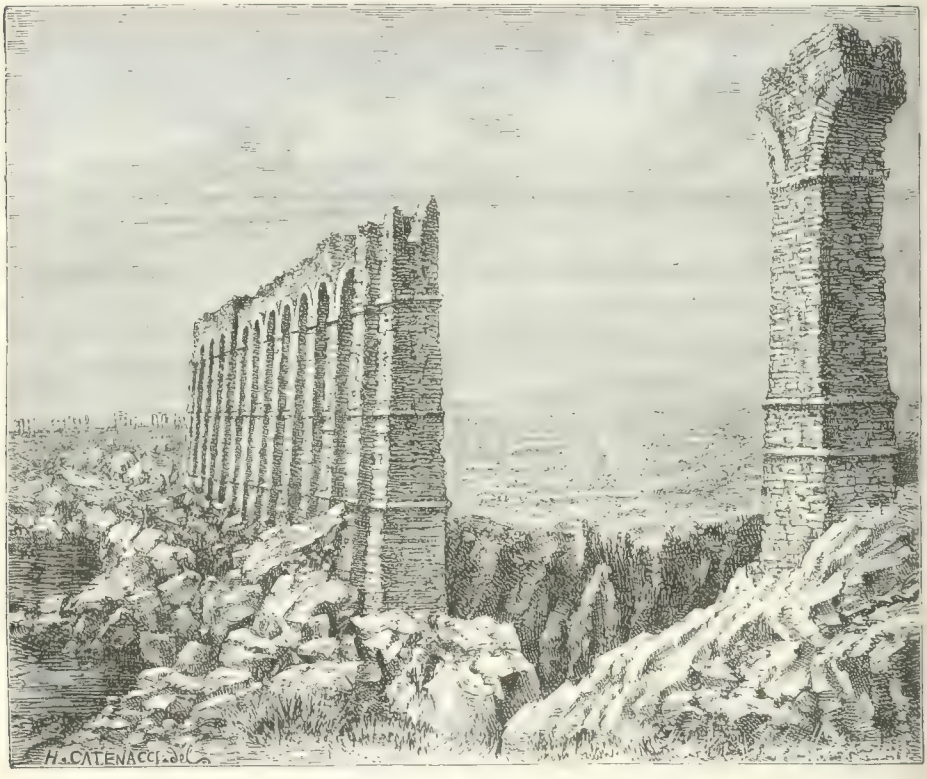
which, confined between Lebanon and the sea, had scarcely an area of 240 square miles. But from the smallest countries have come

nounced Kart-Hadshât, and this explains the Greek name Καρχηδών, and the Roman name *Carthago*.

[1] There are many plans of Carthage. We have collected into ours the results of the most recent works; but many of the details in the published plans, as also in our own, are only approximations.

the grandest things: from Attica, the civilization of the world; from Palestine, the religion of Christ.

The Greeks have been the artists, the thinkers, and the poets of the ancient world; the Phoenicians were only the traders,[1] but with so much courage, perseverance, and skill, that they have taken, in the history of the human race, a place among its civilizing peoples. In their distant expeditions these gold-seekers



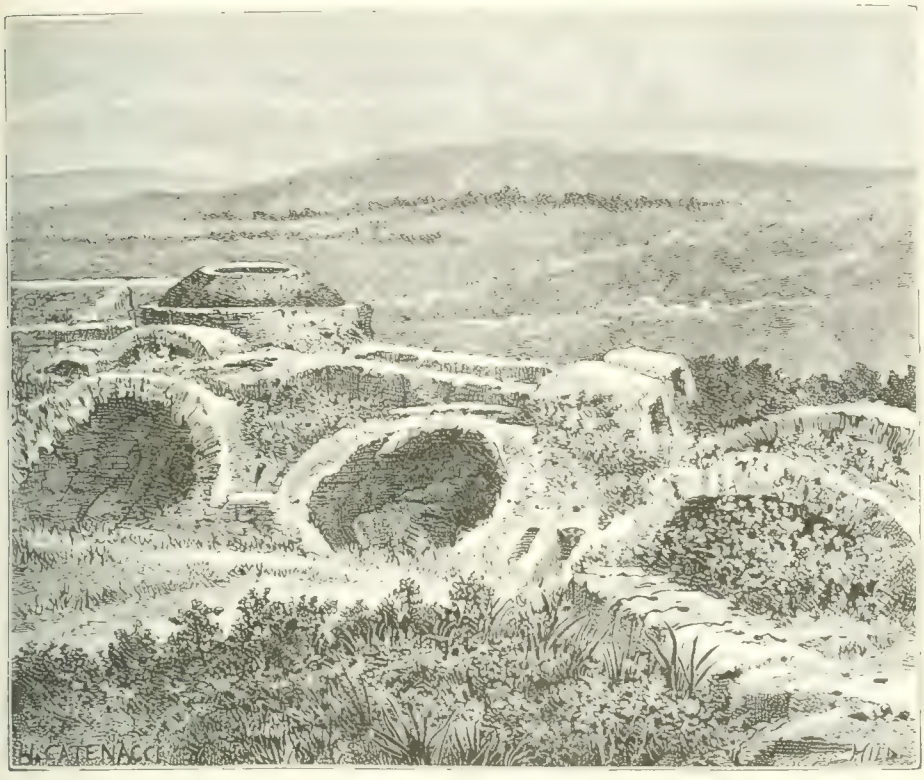
AQUEDUCTS OF CARTHAGE.[2]

had found what they did not seek, — the arts and science of Egypt and of Assyria, which they carried away in their caravans and on their ships. To the Greeks they transmitted the hieratic writing of the Pharaohs, the metric system of the Babylonians, and many religious doctrines and artistic methods, which were felicitously

[1] Respecting the commerce of the Phoenicians, see the magnificent ode by Ezekiel (chap. xxvii.): "O Tyre! thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty," etc.

[2] These aqueducts belonged to Roman Carthage. Drawing taken from the work by Davis, *Carthage and her Remains;* see p. 529, n. 2.

modified by the bright and charming genius of the race beloved by Minerva.[1] To the Africans and Spaniards they taught the agricul-



CISTERNS OF CARTHAGE.[2]

ture of Syria and of the Nile Valley; everywhere they brought the products of an advanced industry, which awakened the nascent industry of barbarous countries.

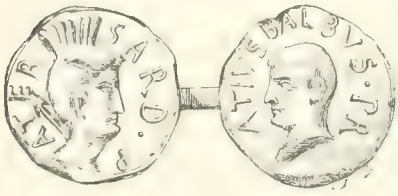
[1] [The Phoenician influences on Greek and Roman culture are here well stated, and have been of late proved far greater than was supposed by the earlier students of Greece and Rome. The Greek *μνᾶ* retains its Babylonian name; the Greek alphabet has now been proved (by De Rougé, to have come from Egypt through the Phoenicians, who re-named the letters; the tombs of Palestrina, etc., show the spread of Phoenician workmanship over Italy. How much Greek and even Roman religion owed them is uncertain, but the debt was certainly large. — *Ed.*]

[2] These cisterns, built on the east of the citadel, appear to have been 140 feet long, 50 wide, and 30 high; the walls were 5 feet thick. The Carthaginian cisterns became insufficient for Roman Carthage. Hadrian sought for a supply at Zaghwan and Djonghar, about 68 miles distant, and constructed a gigantic aqueduct across mountains and valleys. It had a mean height of about 113 feet, and a separation of only 9 feet between the supports. There exists above the Bardo, at about one hour's distance, a part of the arches to an extent of about 800 yards. The canal, which the aqueduct carried, was vaulted, and high enough for an average man to walk along without stooping.

As there was no land for the Phoenicians on their barren strand, they had taken the sea for their domain; they covered it with their fleets, and planted colonies on all its coasts, not after the fashion of Rome, as fortresses intended to secure empire and the unity of the conquering people, but after the Greek manner, as an overflow of population left to its own resources, and so much the better pursuing its own fortune. There was a time when the Mediterranean might be styled the Phoenician Sea. The legend, summing up, as it always does, the ancient history of a people in that of a mythic hero, represented the successive stages of progress of Phoenician colonization by the symbolic voyage of the god Melkart. The Tyrian Heracles, leading a powerful army, had crossed the north of Africa, Spain, Gaul, Italy, and Sicily, subduing nations, founding cities, and teaching to the conquered the arts of peace. Sardinia still possesses the strange monuments raised by the Phoenician colonists, the *Nuraghe*.[3]



COIN OF SIDON.[1]



COIN OF SARDINIA.[2]



NURAGHE OF SORI.

In the Aegean Sea the Phoenicians retired before the warlike races of Hellas; and leaving to them the north of the Mediterranean, they kept only Africa and Spain. From Tyre to Cadiz, for 1,000 leagues, the Phoenician

[1] Head crowned with towers, personification of the city. On the reverse, the name Sidonians, an eagle with a palm and its foot on a ship's prow; in the field a monogram and the date E, year 5 of the Sidonian era, or 106 B. C.

[2] SARD. PATER. Head of the god Sardus; on the reverse, the head and name of Atius Balbus, praetor in Sardinia, and grandfather of Augustus. Roman bronze coin.

[3] [That these *Nuraghe* were built by Phoenicians is more than doubtful; they probably date from earlier, or at least ruder races. — *Ed.*]

ships could follow a coast fringed by their trading-posts. But the Mediterranean was too narrow for these thousands of merchants who constituted themselves the purveyors of nations. Their caravans or their ships visited the most remote countries of the east and south. By the Red Sea and Indian Ocean they went as far as India, Ceylon, and established themselves in the Persian Gulf; by Persia and Bactria they penetrated to the frontiers of China. The ivory and ebony of Ethiopia, the gold dust of Central Africa and Asia, the perfumes of Yemen, the cinnamon and spices of Ceylon, the precious stones and rich tissues of India, the pearls of the Persian Gulf, the metals, slaves, and wools of Asia Minor, copper from Italy, silver from Spain,[2] tin from England, amber from the Baltic, lay in heaps in the markets of Tyre. But let us not look into the interior of these maritime cities, where, with so much riches, there was combined so much corruption. Under the influence of a hot climate and of a religion which reduced the problem of the universe to that of fecundity, their solemnities were the lascivious feasts of Astarte, or the shrieks with which their temples resounded when Moloch, "horrid king,"[3] required the sacrifice of the noblest children.[4]



COIN OF CADIZ.[1]

Carthage was only a link of this immense chain which the Phœnicians had attached to all the continents, to all the islands, and with which they seemed to desire to bind the world. But there are cities which are called by their situation to a high fortune. Placed at that point of Africa which stretches out towards Sicily, as if to close the Maltese Channel, and commands the passage between the two great basins of the Mediterranean, Carthage

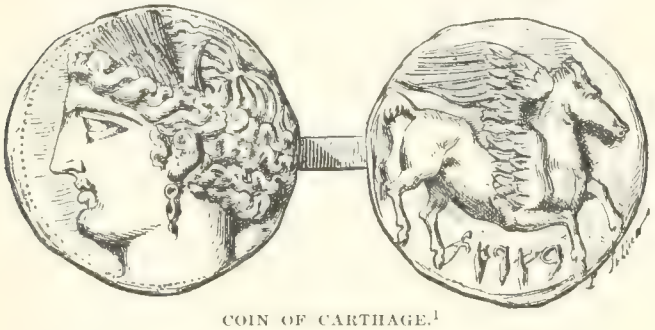
[1] Head of Hercules — Melkart; on the reverse, a fish and a Punic inscription, which reads: "Mebaali-Agadir," a "citizen of Agadir." Silver money. (Note by M. de Saulcy.)

[2] Silver being rare in ancient times, the ratio of gold to silver was at Rome as 1 to 10; anciently in Asia it was perhaps 1 to 7 or 8; with us it is legally 1 to 15½; this high price of silver was without doubt one of the causes of the wealth of the Phœnicians, who drew much silver from Spain. Tyre and Sidon had flourishing industries also, — purple stuffs, glass ware, textile fabrics, toys, salt provisions, metal work, etc.

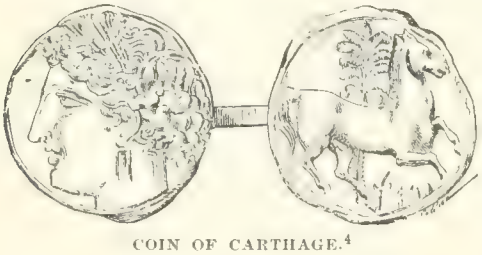
[3] "Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parents' tears."
MILTON: *Paradise Lost*, ii.

[4] [The most brilliant picture of Carthaginian splendor will be found in Flaubert's novel *Salammbo*, of which the scene is laid between the First and Second Punic Wars. — *Ed.*]

became the Tyre of the West, and in colossal proportions, because Mount Atlas, with its intractable mountaineers, was not like Lebanon to Tyre, close to its walls, barring the way and limiting its space; because it was not encircled, like Palmyra, by the desert and its nomads; because, in short, it was able, resting on large and fertile provinces,[2] to extend over the vast continent lying behind it, without being stopped by powerful states. The Greeks of Cyrene were kept in check, the interior of Africa crossed to the Nile and Niger, Senegal[3] discovered, Spain and Gaul explored, the Canaries discovered, America perhaps surmised and announced to Christopher Columbus by that statue on the Isle of Madeira which, with extended arm, pointed to the West. This is what the colony did which was placed by Tyre at Cape Bon.



COIN OF CARTHAGE.[1]



COIN OF CARTHAGE.[4]

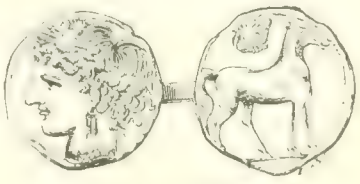
[1] Head of the nymph Arethusa; on the reverse, Pegasus. The inscription, BARAT, signifies the Wells, and perhaps more exactly Bi ARAT, "at Arat," a Punic name of Syracuse, which possessed the famous fountain of Arethusa. Large silver piece, certainly struck in Sicily, and probably at Syracuse. (Note of M. de Saulcy.)

[2] The Zeugitana and the Byzacene districts, the extreme fertility of which Polybius (xii. 3), Diodorus (xx. 8), and Scylax praise, and whose soil is even now of inconceivable fertility. Ninety-seven ears have been counted on a single root of barley, and the natives have assured Sir G. Temple (*Excurs. in the Medit.* ii. 108) that there have often been as many as 300. At the Algerian Exhibition of 1876 some clusters of barley grown in the ditches of Touggourt, and springing from a single grain, bore each 78, 84, and even 118 ears.

[3] Hanno, charged with the examination of the west coasts of Africa, came to a stop through want of provisions between the 7th and 8th degree of N. lat., in the Gulf of Sherboro, which he called the Horn of the South, Νότου κέρας. He settled colonists, men and women, on divers points of the coast, from 10° N. lat. to the Pillars of Hercules.

[4] Head of Arethusa. On the reverse, a free horse, with his back against a palm-tree,—a symbol essentially Carthaginian. A fraction of the former piece. The inscription has the same meaning, which assigns the same Sicilian origin to this piece. An electrum coin. (Note of M. de Saulcy.)

There was a moment when this commercial empire founded by the Punic race, with its two great capitals, Tyre and Carthage, extended, as did a thousand years later that of their Arab brothers, from the Atlantic Ocean as far as the Indian. But this rule had two implacable enemies, — in the east the Greeks, in the west the Romans. With Xerxes the Phoenician ships came as far as Salamis; with Alexander the Greeks appeared under the walls of Tyre, which they overturned. When, however, they founded Antioch and Alexandria, Phoenicia, straitened between these two cities, saw the commerce of the world depart. What Alexander had done to Tyre, Agathocles and Pyrrhus attempted against Carthage. But Greece looks towards the east; here she had gained her brilliant victory; Pyrrhus miscarried in the west against the Phoenician colonists; it required a stronger hand to snatch Sicily from the Carthaginians.



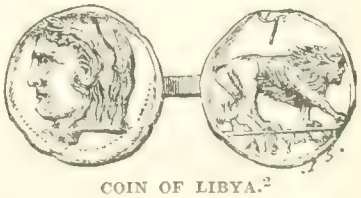
COIN OF CARTHAGE.



GOLD COIN.[1]

II. Carthaginians and Liby-Phoenicians; Commercial Policy of Carthage.

Like Rome, Carthage had the most obscure beginnings. She took four centuries to found her empire. Not all the Numidians were, as their Greek name would seem to indicate, nomads. Many of the Libyans were devoted to agriculture; many also wandered about, like the present Algerians, with their flocks. She conquered the former and gained or restrained the latter by the alliances which she caused their



COIN OF LIBYA.[2]

[1] On the right, a palm. On the reverse, the head of a horse. Coin of recent period.

[2] Hercules-Melkart, having the head covered with a lion's skin. On the reverse, a lion walking. Below the name of the Libyans. Above, the Punic letter corresponding to M, the abbreviation of the word MAKHNAT, which signifies *camp*. The piece must be, then, a *monetacastrensis* special to the Libyans. (Note of M. de Saulcy.)

chiefs to contract with the daughters of her richest citizens.[1] She encouraged the culture of the soil, and her colonists, mixing with the natives, formed in time one people with them, the Liby-



PORTS OF CARTHAGE[2] (TAKEN FROM DAVIS).

Phoenicians.[3] But the Roman colonies, always armed, encircled their metropolis with an impenetrable girdle. The establishments

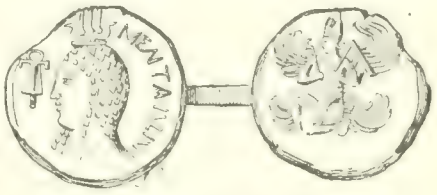
[1] See in Livy the history of Sophonisba, and in Polybius that of Naravas (i. 78 *seq.*). Oesalces, King of the Massylians, married also a niece of Hannibal. (Livy, xxix. 29.)

[2] The harbors of Carthage were situate to the southeast of Saint Louis' chapel, at the point where the Bey's country-house stands. The two little lakes now to be seen there are not remains of the ports, but an attempt at restoration, made some years ago by the son of the prime minister. (De Sainte-Marie, *La Tunisse Chrét.*)

[3] Arist., *Pol.* vi. 3. Let us note that between the Carthaginians and the Africans there was a difference of origin, language, and manners which did not exist, at least to the same degree, between Rome and the Italians, even if the famous narrative of Procopius (*De B.* V. ii. 20) should be admitted respecting the presence in Africa of Canaanites, — that is to say, of men of Phoenician language and race before the arrival of colonists from Sidon and Tyre. In Italy the fusion was possible; it was so in Africa only by that intermediary race the Liby-Phoenicians, which was slow in forming, and which had not the same interests as Carthage. Just as the English are foreigners in India, so the genuine Carthaginians always remained for Africa. In Livy the ambassadors of Masinissa reproach them with it.

of Carthage, all unwalled, that a revolt might be impossible, were only, to say the truth, large agricultural villages, charged with the feeding of the immense population of the capital and provisioning its thousand ships and its armies. Thus is it that the Carthaginian cities appear to us, — open to all attacks, and as incapable of defending themselves against Carthage as against her enemies. Spoletum, Casilinum, Nola, and the impregnable cities of Central Italy saved Rome by their resistance to Hannibal; two hundred cities yielded to Agathocles as soon as he had set foot in Africa.

The Senate had favored the intermarriage of its colonists with the Libyans (Berbers). But the people of this mixed race were regarded as an inferior class, excluded from honors and from office,[1] watched, treated as a hostile race, and thus urged on to revolt. The history of Mutines and of the war of the mercenaries shows the fault of Carthage and its punishment; at Rome, Mutines might have become a consul; at Carthage, he was insulted, proscribed, and forced into treason to save his head.



AEGYPTO-ROMAN COIN OF MALTA.[2]

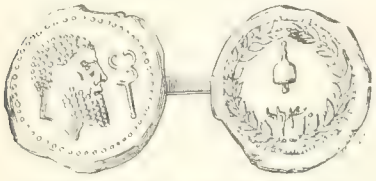
Carthage had been preceded or followed on this coast by other Phoenician colonies, — Utica, Hippo, Hadrumentum, the two Leptis, all of which she compelled to recognize her supremacy, except Utica, which knew how to keep a real independence.[3] No longer having to fear their rivalry, having subjected the Numidian borderers, keeping the rest divided by policy or gold, she had full liberty to extend her maritime empire. Born of a merchant city, Carthage loved nothing but commerce, and made war simply to open up thoroughfares, to make sure of trading with new countries, or to destroy rival powers. The Greeks and the Phoenicians divided between them one of the two great basins of the

[1] It was the Liby-Phoenicians who composed, with the populace of the capital, the colonies sent out in such number. (Arist., *Pol.* vi. 3.) [Mommsen thinks the designation was really political, like the *Latin name*. — *Ed.*]

[2] ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. Head of Iris, with her usual head-dress, — three plumes and two uraeus (the serpent, mark of royalty); before her, the representation of the goddess Tanit. On the reverse, Osiris (?) carrying the two symbols of regularity, — the claw, which holds, and the *flabellum*, which moves or fans. Bronze coin of Malta.

[3] Polyb., iii. 24. Utica in Phoenician means the *old town*.

Mediterranean: Carthage sought to possess the other. Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands commanded its navigation; she took possession of them. Sicily was better defended by the Greeks of Syracuse; she kept them in check by taking up her position at Malta, where she kept two thousand men as garrison, at Gaulos, at Cossura, which touch it, at the Aegates and the Lipari Islands, which dominate its coast on the west and north, in Sicily itself, two thirds of which she finally occupied. Wherever she ruled as sovereign, hard laws — as merchants have always prescribed, even in our days, to defend their monopolies — oppressed the conquered. Whilst around her own walls she condemned the Libyans to work for her profit, it was forbidden, if we may believe the Greeks, the inhabitants of Sardinia, under pain of death, to cultivate the soil.[2] In Africa, whose stormy coast she had fringed with her numerous factories; in Spain, where ancient Phoenician colonies served as commercial stations, — she profited by the ignorance of the barbarians to make good bargains with them. She lost neither her time nor strength in conquering or civilizing them; she preferred to create wants for them, and to impose on them burdensome exchanges, taking, for some slight tissues made at Malta, the gold dust of the African or silver of the Spaniard; always gaining on everything, and with all men.



POENO-ROMAN COIN OF GAULOS.[1]



POENO-ROMAN COIN OF COSSURA.[3]

[1] Head of Melkart. Before it, a *caduceus*, symbol of commerce. On the reverse, an object, the meaning of which is lost, and in a Roman crown of laurel the words "the ships." Bronze money used for paying sailors.

[2] *Auct. de Mirab.* 104. This is a mistake; Sardinia furnished much corn to the fleets and armies of Carthage (Diod., xiv. 63, 77). But the Carthaginians spread this report to keep off foreign ships from the island, which would have supported Carthage if a revolt or war deprived them of the corn of Africa. In the first treaty with Rome, the Romans were allowed to trade in Sardinia; in the second, this permission was withdrawn. (Polyb., iii. 22–24.)

[3] Head of a veiled woman, image of the tutelary deity of the island, crowned by a Victory. Reverse, COSSURA, and the representation of Tanit in a crown of laurel (see p. 542, n. 2). Bronze coin of Cossura. These three coins show the two islands submitting to the triple influence of Phoenicia, Egypt, and Rome; and as two at least are of the Roman period, they prove also the persistence of the Punic nationality.



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF BÂAL-HAMMON.

The Etruscans, Massaliots, Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the Greek cities of Italy created for her a severe competition. Against some she excited the hate and ambition of Rome (by the treaties of 509, 348, and 276 B. C.); against others she perhaps armed the Gauls and Ligurians; or else she mysteriously hid the route followed by her ships. Every foreign vessel caught in the waters of Sardinia or near the Pillars of Hercules was pillaged and the crew thrown into the sea.[1] After the Punic wars, this strange right of nations, as Montesquieu calls it, was modified. A Carthaginian vessel, seeing itself followed into the Atlantic by a Roman galley, ran itself aground rather than show the route to the Cassiterides (the Scilly Islands).[2] The love of gain rose almost to heroism. What is strange, the greatest commercial power of antiquity seems to have remained a long time without itself coining its gold and silver money; at least, the silver and gold coins which we possess of Punic Carthage all come from the mints which it had in Sicily, and where Greek artists worked for it. Syracuse even made them for it, as appears from the beauty of the type and image of the nymph Arethusa. These moneys do not even belong to the standard of weight after which the true Punic coins were made.[3] Carthage, however, had them at the time of its independence; but, following the custom of Egypt and Western Asia, it made its exchanges principally with bullion, as China still does, and by barter, or with pieces of leather, which, bearing the stamp of the state,[4] played the part of our paper money. This practice need hardly surprise us, as something analogous to it has been found among the Assyrians, from whom Phoenicia borrowed so much.[5]

[1] App., *Bell. Pun.* 4; Strabo, xvii. 802; Montesq., *Esp. des Lois*, xxi. 11.

[2] Strabo, iii. 176. The captain being saved, Carthage restored him, at the public expense, all he had lost.

[3] Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, i. 266. The author believes that Carthage began to coin pieces of gold at home only towards 350.

[4] Cf. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numm.* iv. 136.

[5] From the ninth century B. C. the Assyrians had small clay bricks, which were real letters of credit, enabling the merchants of Babylon and Nineveh to dispense with the cumbrous and sometimes dangerous transport of specie. (Lenormant, *ibid.* i. 113.)

III. — Mercenaries.

To give its commerce scope and security, to be mistress of the seas, Carthage only wanted quiet possession of the isles and coast-line. However restricted these pretensions were, armies were required to realize them. But as soon as war becomes simply a commercial matter, a means of assuring the return of capital and the sale of merchandise, why should not the merchants pay soldiers as they pay agents and clerks? Venice, Milan, Florence —



FIGURES PLACED AT THE PROWS OF PUNIC SHIPS.[1]

all the Italian republics of the 15th century had *condottieri;* England has often bought them. It was a Phoenician practice: "The Persians, Lydians, and the men of Libya," said Ezekiel to the city of Tyre, "were in thine army, thy men of war: they hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness."[2] Carthage had, therefore, its mercenaries. Horses were bought and ships,

[1] We may suppose that Carthage followed the usage of Tyre and Sidon, who placed monstrous dwarfs at the prow of their ships (*Musée Napoléon*, vol. iii. pl. 19). See (p. 542) what is said of Carthaginian art.

[2] xxvii. 10.

which they armed at the prow with deformed dwarfs to excite terror; they also bought men, and from the Alps and Pyrenees to the Atlas Mountains there were plenty of swords for hire! Every one of Carthage's factories became a recruiting office. The prices were low, for the emulation was great amongst the poor and greedy barbarians who encircled the narrow border of the Carthaginian possessions. Besides, Carthage understood her business. She shipped the women, children, and even the effects of her mercenaries, — they were so many hostages of their fidelity; or after



OFFERING (EX-VOTO.)[1]



THE GODDESS TANIT (EX-VOTO).[2]

a murderous campaign they fell to the treasury. No one was refused, neither the Balearic slinger,[3] nor the Numidian horseman,[4] armed with a buckler of elephant's hide and covered with the skin of a lion or panther, nor the Spanish and Gallic foot-soldier, nor the Greek, whom they employed in every capacity, — spy, sailor, builder, in time of need even general.[5]

The more different races there were in the Carthaginian

[1] A Carthaginian making an offering before an altar.

[2] Top of a *stele* of the temple of Tanit, where the goddess, who was "the splendor of Bâal," that is to say, the moon, is reflection of the god, whose wife she was, is represented holding a child. To the right and left on the *acroteria* the crescent moon above the sun's disc.

[3] The reputation of these slingers is known. Strabo says (iii. 168) that the Baleares gave bread to their children only by placing it on a spot which they had to reach by the sling. Cf. Florus (iii. 8), Lycophron (*Alex.*, p. 637), and Diodorus (v. 18), who say the same thing.

[4] Polyb., i. 15.

[5] Xanthippus. Polyb., i. 7. See in the chapter following the history of the Rhodian of Lilybaeum.

army, the more confidence Carthage felt; a revolt seemed impossible among men who could not understand each other's speech. Besides, the general, his principal officers and his guard, called the sacred battalion,[1] were Carthaginians; and the senators always kept some of their colleagues near him, to watch over his conduct, and make sure that all these men were well earning their pay. The love of fame and of country, devotion to the state, — all those grand words, which at Rome wrought miracles, had no currency with the Carthaginian Senate. There was much talk of receipts and expenditures — very little of national honor; hence the resources of the country were exactly measured by those of the treasury. When that was full, soldiers were lavished with careless prodigality; when it was exhausted, Carthage yielded, or negotiated: the transaction had been a failure. In case of success, the disbursements were quickly made good, and the dead mercenaries forgotten. What matter if there were forty or fifty thousand barbarians less in the world! These mercenaries might sometimes be dangerous; but in that case it was easy to get rid of them, — witness the four thousand Gauls given up to the sword of the Romans, the troop abandoned on the desert Isle of Bones,[2] and Xanthippus, who perhaps perished like Carmagnola.

Such a system might last, so long as distant expeditions only were concerned; but the moment that war drew near her own walls, Carthage was lost. Her citizens, having committed to mercenaries the care of their defence, found few resources in themselves when they stood alone in face of the enemy. Even if they had had a senate able to send to the Romans, when making a descent on Africa, the answer of Appius to the King of Epirus, still they could not have made legionaries, like those of Asculum and Beneventum, out of their shopboys. "A crowd of virtues belongs to the pursuit of arms;"[3] and war, while a great misfortune, gives to

[1] For the Carthaginian citizen military service was so meritorious that he desired to keep perpetual remembrance of it. The law considered that to gird the sword was quite an exploit, and authorized the citizen to wear as many rings as he had made campaigns. (Arist., *Polit.* vii. 2, 6.)

[2] Ὀστεώδης. Diod., v. 11.

[3] Châteaubriand says: "A people accustomed to see only the variations of the funds and the yard of cloth sold, if it find itself exposed to a disturbance, will be able to show neither the

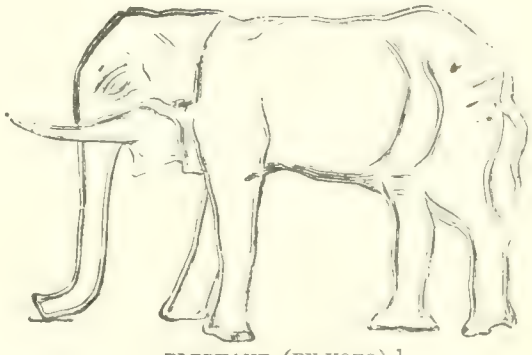
a military people qualities which outside camps are not known. Like the Jews and Tyrians, their brethren, the Carthaginians learnt how to fight only in their last days; but like them also, at the crisis they were heroic.

IV. The Constitution.

Besides, the mercenaries only appeared at periods of decadence, — in Greece, after Alexander; in the Roman Empire, after



POMEGRANATE (EX-VOTO).[1]



ELEPHANT (EX-VOTO).[1]

the Antonines; in Italy, in the Middle Ages, after the Lombard League. When Rome and Carthage met, according to Polybius,[2] the former was in the full force of its robust constitution: the other had reached that senility of states when the enfeebled organization is no longer directed by an energetic will. The assertion of the merits of poverty had disappeared with the declamations on the virtues of the golden age. The poor man is not necessarily a good citizen, and the rich a bad one; but riches as well as indigence can produce mischief. Now there was at

energy of resistance nor the generosity of sacrifice. Repose begets cowardice; among shuttles there is fear of swords; a crowd of virtues belongs to arms."

[1] Taken from a *stele* of the temple of Tanit. The pomegranate being consecrated to Adonis, this representation would indicate some relation between the worship of Tanit and that of Adonis. These two designs show more manual dexterity in the reproduction of animals and plants than is to be found in that of the human figure.

[2] Polyb., vi. 51. [Greeks served for pay from early days, as already mentioned. — *Ed.*]

Carthage too much opulence and too little of that high spirit which raises the soul above fortune. This great city had skilful merchants, bold voyagers, wise counsellors, and incomparable generals; we cannot name a poet, an artist, or a philosopher.[1] It will be quite enough to see the reproduction which we give of some specimens of the three thousand ex-votos found at Carthage, to learn that, true to its origin, this people had no more art than their metropolis. It was active enough, but not thoughtful; and its religion, at once licentious and sanguinary, and for that reason very tenacious, exercised no moral influence on private life, no useful influence on the government; whilst that of the Romans promoted virtuous conduct, and its priests, nearly all magistrates or senators, spoke in the name of Heaven to give sanctions to political wisdom.[3]



EX-VOTO OF THE TEMPLE OF TANIT.[2]

[1] In spite of the luxury of the temples and palaces, art was at Rome, as at Tyre, only a foreign importation. In the temple of Melkart at Tyre, where Herodotus (ii. 44) saw a gold column and one of emerald, there was no image of the god. The same in the temple of Gades:

> . . . *nulla effigies, simulacrave nota deorum*
> *Majestate locum implevere timore.*
>
> SILIUS ITALICUS: *Punica*, iii. 30.

There were some books at Carthage, since the Senate gave them to Masinissa, and Sallust (*Jug.*, p. 17) saw them; but there is no literary work extant but Mago's treatise on agriculture. It has been thought that the sculptor Boethos was a Carthaginian; but the best editions of Pausanias have the reading Χαλκηδόνιος in place of Χαρχηδόνιος, which makes Boethos to be a Greek of Chalcedon (see the Pausanias, ed. Didot, V. xvii. 4). They make Clitomachus also a Carthaginian, one of the chiefs of the New Academy; but he lived a long time at Athens, and there succeeded (in 129 B. C.) Carneades. He was still teaching there in 111 (Cicero, *De Orat.* i. 11), and he is traced there as far as the year 100. He was a Greek, at least in education, as another Carthaginian, Terence, was a Roman.

[2] A pediment somewhat Greek, then two figures of geometrical appearance, and which are, in fact, the rudimentary representation of the sacred cone (Venus of Paphos, Tacit., *Hist.* ii. 3, black stone of Emesa, Cybele, etc.), which was the image of Tanit, of whom the Graeco-Romans have made the *Heavenly Virgin*. "There, indeed, where the Aryan mind sees atmospheric phenomena, the Semite sees persons, who become united and beget others. . . . The open hand seen from the front is the hand of the divinity which blesses." (Berger, *Les Ex-voto du temple de Tanit*, p. 12.)

[3] *Note explanatory of the figures of the plate* (p. 543): No. 1, Attitude of adoration; No. 2, Hand of the goddess blessing, whose power is indicated by the immoderate size of the thumb, on which is graven its image; No. 3, The ears of the god "who hears," and his mouth, "which blesses;" No. 4, Disk of Venus surmounting the globe of the sun, with two *uraei*, symbols of Baal-Hammon, formed by two crowned serpents surrounding the solar disk; No. 5, in the centre



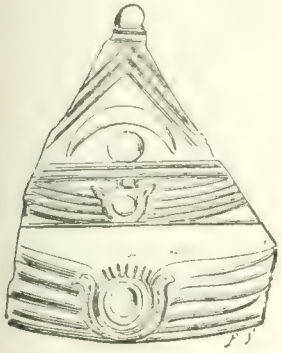
NO. 1. ADORATION.



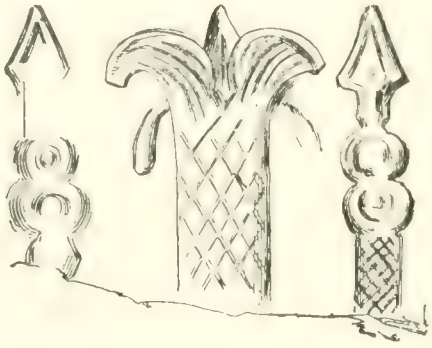
NO. 2. HAND OF A GOD BLESSING.



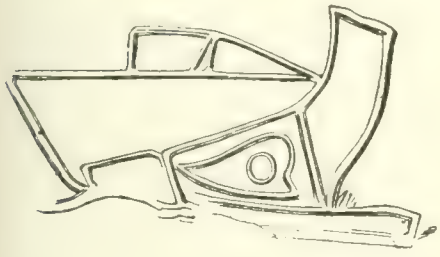
NO. 3. EX VOTO.



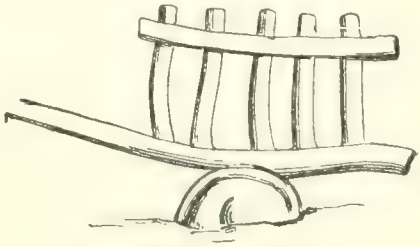
NO. 4. DISK OF VENUS.



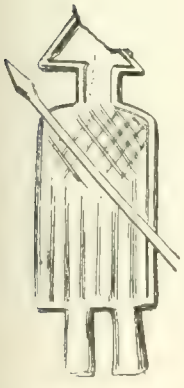
NO. 5. PALM-TREE AND ENSIGNS.



NO. 6. SHIP.



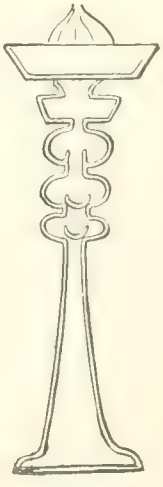
NO. 7. CHARIOT.



NO. 8. TROPHY.



NO. 9. PLOUGH.



NO. 10. CANDELABRUM

REMAINS OF CARTHAGINIAN ART (SEE PAGE 542, NOTE 3).

The Romans pillaged the enemy; they did not pillage the state. At Carthage, in the latter days, all was for sale, and all was sold, principles as well as places. As wealth gave power, honors, and pleasure, no means of acquiring it, whether by force or astuteness, seemed illegitimate. "Among the Carthaginians," says Polybius, "in whatever way riches are acquired, one is never blamed; high places are bought." Aristotle also says that the rich alone held office. Carthage loved gold; she got possession of it, and she utterly ceased to live on the day when she lost it, — *recuperant mercedem suam.*

Nevertheless, Aristotle boasts of the excellence of her government.[1] It was a constitution made up of different elements, — royalty, aristocracy, democracy; but there did not exist among these powers the just balance which is the advantage of this kind of polity: oligarchy was really supreme. Two suffetes (*shophetim*, *i. e.* judges), chosen out of privileged families, and originally appointed for life, by the general assembly, were the highest magistrates of the Republic: some Greek and Latin writers give them the name of kings.[2] After them came the Senate, in which all the great families had representatives. To facilitate the action of the government by concentrating it, there was taken from the Senate the council of the centumviri, or of the hundred and four, according to Aristotle. The latter by degrees usurped the power, so that the suffetes became an annual office, and, being deprived of the command of the armies, were no more than presidents of this council and the religious chiefs of the nation. The centumviri, who recruited themselves by co-option, could call the generals to

a palm-tree with two clusters of dates, to the right and left two pikes representing ensigns; No. 6, Ship's prow; No. 7, Chariot with full wheels; No. 8, Panoply showing that the conical helmet represented is like the conical helmets found at Cannæ, and which, after our drawing, should be considered as Carthaginian; No. 9, Plough; No. 10, Candelabrum (extract from a memoir by Mons. Ph. Berger on *Les Ex-voto du temple de Tanit à Carthage*). Let what precious monuments come from the small town of Pompeii be compared with what the temple of Tanit yields to us, and whatever allowance we may make for profanations and pillage, the thought must strike us that the Carthaginians, in spite of their nearness to Sicily, had only rude forms of art.

[1] Arist., *Polit.* ii. 8. Cicero says also: *Nec tantum Carthago habuisset opum sexcentos fere annos sine consiliis et disciplina.* (*De Rep.* i. fragm. inc. 3.)

[2] Corn. Nepos (*Hannib.* 7). Arist. (*Pol.* ii. 8) compares them to the kings of Sparta, and calls them βασιλεῖς. Livy (xxx. 7) compares them to the consuls; cf. Zon., viii. 8. Gades had two suffetes (Livy, xxviii. 37), and the case was probably the same in all the Phœnician and Carthaginian colonies.

account; they made use of this right to control all the military forces of the Republic. In time the other magistrates and the Senate itself found themselves subjected to their control.[1] As senators, they filled the committees formed in the Senate to control each of the branches of the administration, — the navy, internal police, military affairs, etc., and as centumviri they exercised, moreover, supervision over these committees. Finally, they formed the tribunal before which were brought judicial matters, — perhaps in the committee of the Thirty, whose members were for life,[2] and who seem to have been a privy council.[3] The nomination to offices and the right of intervening, in case of disagreement, between the suffetes and the Senate constituted the sole prerogatives of the public assembly.

We cannot be quite sure that what has just been said is a faithful summary of the Carthaginian constitution. The information of the ancients is insufficient, and on many points contradictory;[4] but they agree in showing the long-continued preponderance in this Republic of the oligarchy, which, to keep away the poor from the government, had made, as at Rome, all public functions unsalaried, and permitted the same citizens to hold several offices at the same time. To select senators and judges Athens consulted the lot, which is very democratic; Carthage consulted wealth only, which is not so.

The Senate, and in the Senate the centumvirs, were for a long time the sole masters of government. If liberty, as the Greeks

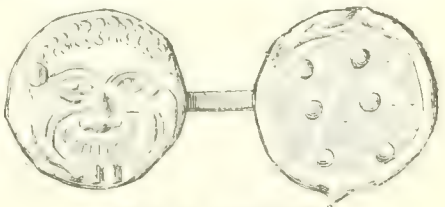
[1] Livy, xxx. 16; xxxiii. 46. The tribunal of the Forty at Venice united also all their powers. (See Daru, bk xxxix.; Arist. (*Pol.* ii. 8) speaks of the *συσσίτια τῶν ἑταιρῶν.*) These associations, where they prepared subjects for deliberation in the Senate, — *in circulis conviciisque celebrata sermonibus res est, deinde in senatu quidam* (Livy, xxxiv. 61), — were an element of strength to the aristocracy, which was besides renewed by the accession of the newly become rich. Observe that the Carthaginians had not family names any more than the Jews.

[2] Justin, xix. 2, 5, and Livy, xxxiii. 46: *res fama vitaque omnium in illorum potestate erat. Qui unum ejus ordinis offendisset, omnes adversos habebat.*

[3] . . . *Triginta seniorum principes: id erat sanctius apud illos, consilium, maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis.* (Livy, xxx. 16.)

[4] The two men who have spoken with the greatest authority respecting the institutions of Carthage, Aristotle and Polybius, are separated by two centuries, since the former died in 322, and the latter in 122. The one knew Carthage in prosperity, and finds its government excellent; the other saw its ruin, and blames its institutions. Both speak truly, though inconsistently; and this difference is explained by the difference of the times when they lived. Yet Aristotle had said: "If ever any great reverse happen to them, if their subjects refuse them obedience, the Carthaginians will find no means in their constitution to save themselves."

of the decadence understood it, suffered, empire profited, for the Carthaginian Senate had the immutable policy belonging to great aristocratic bodies, which, pursuing the same designs with energy and prudence for several generations, do more for the future of states than the often-changing influence of popular assemblies. It maintained during one whole war the same generals in office, — for example, Hannibal,[1] the defender of Agrigentum; Carthalo, the destroyer of the Roman fleet among the rocks of Camarina; Adherbal, the conqueror at Drepanum; Himilco, who for nine years held Lilybaeum; and, above all, Amilcar Barca, over whom for six years all the efforts of his powerful adversaries could not triumph. But it watched their acts and punished their faults, not always their misfortunes; thus he who was conquered at Mylae, being surprised by an unusual manœuvre, did not lose its confidence. It is blamed for some rigorous decisions; it was right to remove from commands the incapable, or to strike ambitious fools, who deserve the extremest severities when they have lost the army or compromised the state. In home affairs it did not, like Athens, give up the tribunals to the people, — that is to say, justice to popular passions; and so well did it defend the civil power against military chiefs and demagogues, that there was not seen to arise, during a space of five hundred years, one of those tyrannies which were so often bred elsewhere from the favor of the army or demagogic excesses.[3] The populace, restrained by a whole system of aristocratic institutions, attached to the



COIN OF CAMARINA.[2]

[1] The following are the meanings, as given by M. de Saulcy, of some Carthaginian names: Hannibal (khanni-Bâal), "Bâal has taken me into favor;" Asdrubal (âazeron-Bâal), "Bâal has protected him," or "protects him;" Amilcar (âbd-Melkart), "the servant of Melkart;" Hannon (khannoun), "the gracious;" Maharbal (mahar-Bâal), "present from Bâal," Bodostor (âbd-Astaroth), "the servant of Astarte;" Bomilcar (âbd-Melkart), "the servant of Melkart."

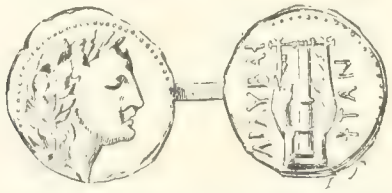
[2] Theatrical mask or head of Medusa; on the reverse, six globules, mark of the ½ lb. (6 ounces). Very ancient bronze coin of Camarina.

[3] Two attempts at usurpation are quoted. Aristotle speaks of a Hanno, whom he compares to Pausanias, and who, in 340, was put to death, after frightful tortures, with his whole family; and, according to Justin (xxi. 4), Bomilcar also attempted, in 308, to cause a revolution.

government by the opulence of the charitable establishments,[1] was also periodically enfeebled by the sending abroad of numerous colonies. Carthage thus got rid of this populace, without native ties and without gods, which collects in great merchant cities, and in which low instincts, brutal passions, hatred, envy, and all covetousness were at work. War stopped this current of emigration, and seditious mobs gathered in Carthage. If we believe the wisest historian of antiquity, the Punic wars, which at Rome consolidated union, modified the constitution for the profit of the multitude. He says, "Among the Carthaginians, it was the people, before the war of Hannibal, who decided all; at Rome it was the Senate. So the Romans, often beaten, triumphed at last by the prudence of their plans."[2] We must attribute, if we follow Polybius, this great fall of Carthage to its demagogues: they have caused that of many other states.

[1] "The Carthaginians have rich establishments, where they take care to place a large number of citizens of the lower class. It is thus that they remedy the fault of their government, and assure tranquillity at home." (Arist., ii. 8.)

[2] Polyb., vi. 51; cf. xv. 30.



HEAD OF APOLLO CROWNED WITH LAUREL; ON THE REVERSE, ΛΙΛΥΒΑΙΤΑΝ AND A LYRE. BRONZE COIN OF LILYBAEUM.

CHAPTER XX.

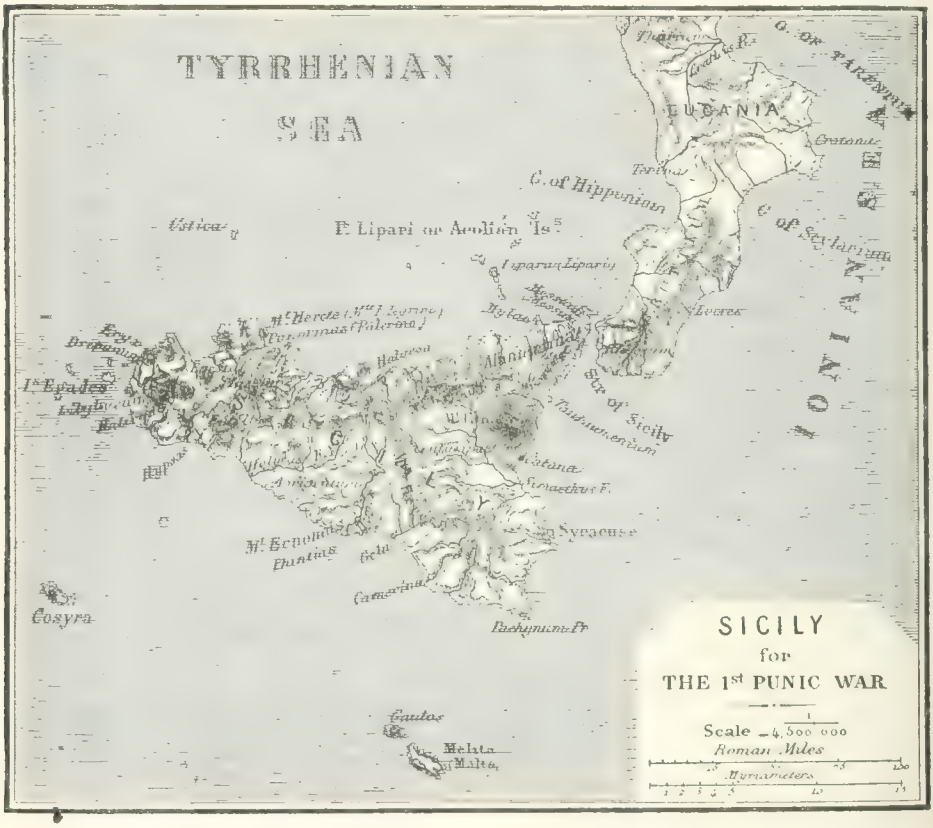
THE FIRST PUNIC WAR (264-241).

I. — The Treaties between Rome and Carthage (509–279).

ROME and Carthage had known each other for a long time; three times they had sealed their alliance by treaties, for they had the same enemies, — the pirates who infested the Tyrrhenian Sea and pillaged the coasts of Latium; later on, the Italiot Greeks and Pyrrhus.

We can still quote these monuments of a very ancient diplomacy; Polybius had read them on tables of bronze preserved in the archives of the aediles. They are doubly interesting, — as regards the history of political events, and that of the law of nations. The most ancient, which is at once a treaty of alliance and of commerce, was negotiated by Tarquin, and concluded by the first consuls of the Republic (509). "Between the Romans and their allies on the one part, the Carthaginians and their allies on the other, there shall be peace and amity on the following conditions: The Romans and their allies shall not sail their war-ships beyond [east of] Cape Bon (Prom. Pulchrum), unless they be driven thither by tempest or chased by their enemies. In that case they shall be permitted to buy there or to take thence what shall be necessary for the repair of the vessels, and for sacrifices to the gods, and they shall undertake to leave in five days. Their merchant-ships shall be able to trade at Carthage; but no bargain shall be valid unless it shall have been made by the medium of the public crier and writer. For everything sold in their presence, the public credit shall be a guaranty as regards the seller. The same shall apply in Africa (on the territory of Carthage), in Sardinia, and in the part of Sicily under the Carthaginians. The Carthaginians shall do no harm to the peoples of Ardea, Antium, Laurentum, Circei,

and Terracina, nor to any other Latin people subject to Rome. They shall abstain from attacking (in that part of Italy) the cities not subjects of the Romans; if they take one, they shall relinquish it to the Romans without doing it damage. They shall not build any forts in Latium, and if they disembark in arms upon Latin territory, they shall not pass the night there."



This treaty shows what degree of power Rome had reached under its kings, how it then protected its subjects and Latin allies, and what advantages it assured their commerce even on the distant shores of Libya, without, however, obtaining from Carthage for their ships free entrance into the Levant.[1]

[1] [Rather from entering the Gulf of Carthage, and proceeding to the rich country about the Lesser Syrtes, Byracium, and Emporia. The genuineness of this treaty, as to age, being attacked by Mommsen, has been recently defended by many scholars, and seems fairly established. Cf. the account in Neumann's *Zeitalter der Pun. Kriege*, pp. 53–58, where the editor (Faltin) cites the recent literature on the subject, especially Nissen in the *Jahrbücher f. Klas. Phil.* for 1867, pp. 321 *seq.* — *Ed.*]

The second treaty is later by more than a century and a half (348 B. C.). Rome had employed the hundred and sixty-two years in recovering that which the setting up of the Republic had cost. Carthage, on the contrary, secure from revolutions under its aristocratic government, had grown in strength and riches. Among its allies it names this time Utica and Tyre, because it now represents all the ambitions of the Phœnician race, united against those Greeks who come into so rude a rivalry with the ancient masters of the Mediterranean, who dispute with them Sicily, and threaten at the same time the Roman coast of Latium and the Punic factories of the Tyrrhenian Sea. So its words are more haughty and its concessions less favorable. By the former treaty it interdicted the Romans from navigating the Eastern Mediterranean; it maintains this prohibition, and adds another, that of not passing the Pillars of Hercules. It takes from them the right of traffic in Sardinia and Africa, and no longer engages not to molest the Latin cities which it might take outside the Roman territory. It still consents, indeed, to give up such towns to its allies, but cleared of gold and captives, which this time it intends to keep.[1]

The third treaty is in the year 279 B. C.[2] Pyrrhus being then in Italy, and disturbing both Carthage and Rome, these two cities renewed their old compact of friendship. They stipulated that neither of the two nations should accept from the King conditions contrary to the alliance, and that if one of the two peoples were attacked by the Epirots, the other should have the right to help it.[3] "Carthage shall furnish transport ships for the voyage out and back, but the auxiliaries shall be paid by the state which sends them. The Carthaginians shall bring help to the Romans on sea, should the latter need it; yet the ships' crews shall not be forced to land if they refuse."

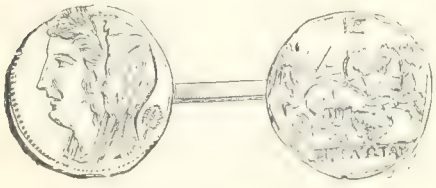
These treaties were confirmed by oaths. The Carthaginians swore by the gods of their fathers; the Romans, in the former

[1] [This treaty was mainly concerned with international limitations of piracy, which, since the fall of the Etruscan and Dionysian naval powers, was restricted by no powerful marine, and was particularly injurious to the Romans, who had no fleet to overcome it. Cf. Livy, vii. 26, and Neumann, *op. cit.* p. 60, *seq.* — *Ed.*]

[2] [Really the fourth. The third was in 306 B. C.; but its terms are unknown. — *Ed.*]

[3] . . . ἵνα ἐξῇ βοηθεῖν ἀλλήλοις. (Polyb., iii. 25.)

treaties by Jupiter Lapis, in the last by Mars and Enyalius.[1] The oath by Jupiter Lapis was thus taken: "The fetial takes a stone in his hand, and, after having sworn by the public faith that the conventions shall be faithfully kept, he adds: 'If I speak the truth, let happiness be mine; if I think differently from what I say, let every one else preserve in peace, in his own country and under its laws, his property, penates, and their tombs; as for myself, let me be cast away as I cast away this stone.' And while saying these words he throws the stone far away."



COIN OF SICILY.[2]

We have seen that the Carthaginians, to fulfil one of the clauses of the treaty, before it had even been requested by Rome, sent to Ostia a hundred and twenty galleys.[3] The Senate did not accept this help; under their refusal was hidden the confidence which the Romans had of conquering alone, or the distrust with which such forward allies inspired them. From Ostia the admiral sailed to Tarentum, and offered his mediation to Pyrrhus.[4] The Carthaginians were evidently very desirous to restore the King to the delights of his Epirot royalty. He, on the contrary, dreamt only of battles; he passed into Sicily, made war there for three years, and when quitting the island exclaimed: "What a fair battle-field we are leaving to the Romans and Carthaginians!"[5]

II. Operations in Sicily (264 B. C.)

Neither Rome nor Carthage could yield to a rival power the fine island situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, which adjoins Italy, and from which Africa is almost visible. If

[1] Enyalius, or the *bellicose*, was at first a surname of Mars; later on they made him a son of that god. He holds probably, in the language of Polybius, the place of Quirinus.

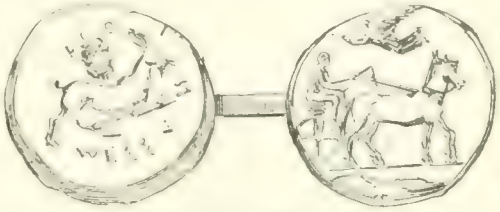
[2] Woman's head (probably the queen Philistis, whom some assign as wife to Hiero II.) veiled and crowned with corn ears; behind, a leaf. On the reverse, ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ and a monogram. Victory in a quadriga. Coin of the Sicilians.

[3] Justin, xviii. 2.

[4] Justin, xviii. 2. Livy tells of presents which Carthage sent in the years 312 and 306 to Rome, in congratulating them on their successes over the Samnites, vii. 38; ix. 43.

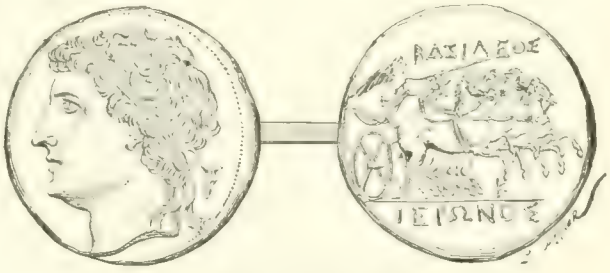
[5] A quarrel had already been near breaking out on the subject of Tarentum. See p. 473.

Carthage were mistress of it, she would shut up the Romans in the peninsula, whose people her intrigues and gold would unceasingly be arousing to revolt. If Rome ruled there, the commerce of Carthage would be intercepted, and a fair wind could in less than a night convey the legions to the foot of her walls.

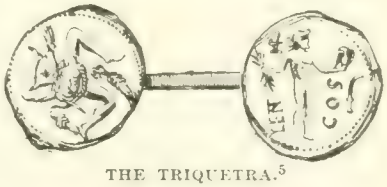


COIN OF MESSINA.[1]

Three powers divided the island between them: Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse since the year 270, the Carthaginians, and the Mamertines, or sons of Mars. The last, who had been mercenaries of Agathocles,[2] had by treason seized Messina, and from this port they infested the whole island.[3] Diodorus represents them pillaging even on the south coast, where they laid waste Gela, which was rising from its ruins. Hiero wished to rid Sicily of them; he beat them, threw them back on Messina, and was going to receive their submission, when the Carthaginian governor of Lipari, Hanno, disputed this conquest with him. The Mamertines then remembered that they were Italians; and preferring a protector at a distance to friends so close at hand, they sent an embassy to Rome.



COIN OF HIERO II.[4]



THE TRIQUETRA.[5]

[1] ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ. Hare running: above, head of Pan; below, a leaf. On the reverse, a figure seated in a biga and crowned by a Victory: below, a leaf. Silver tetradrachma of Messina.

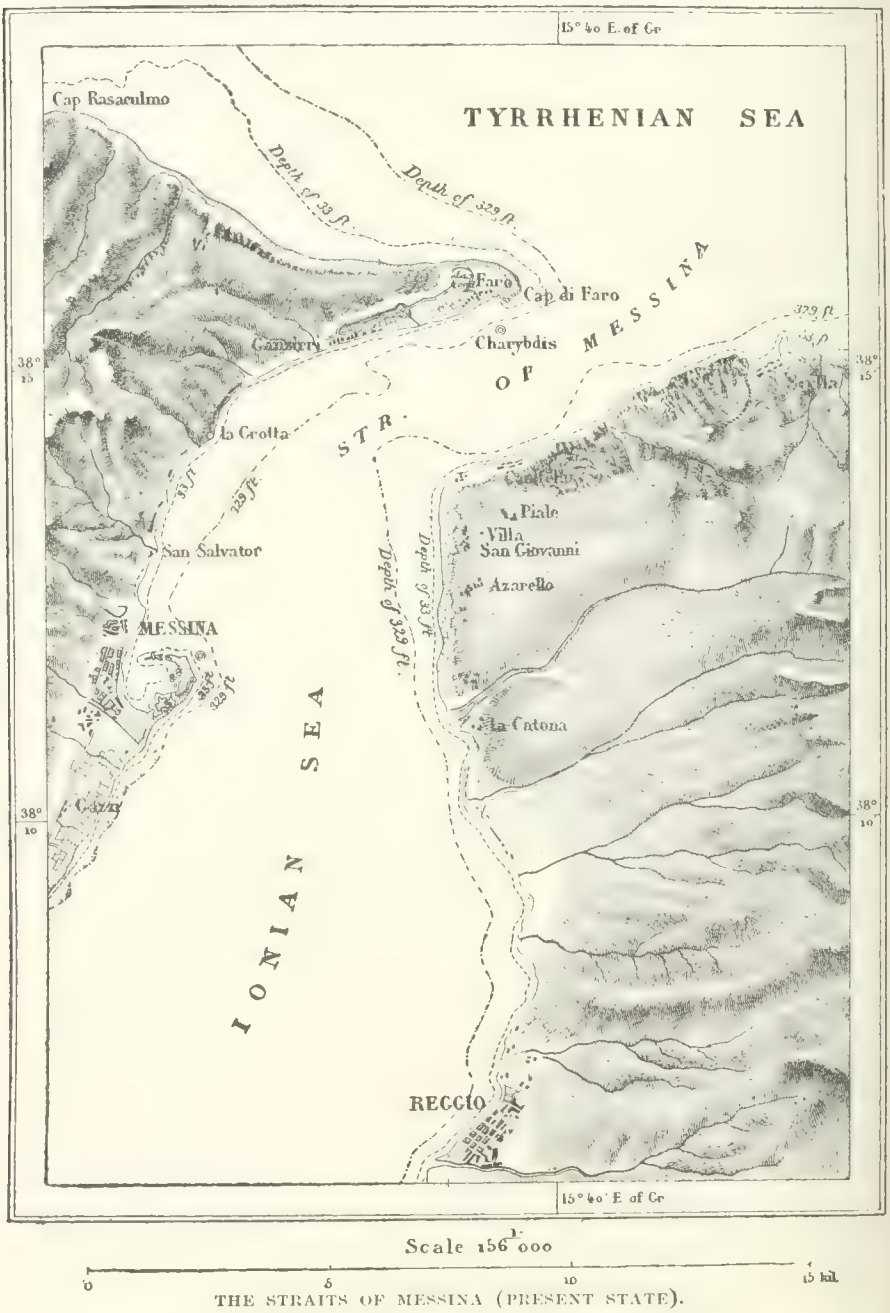
[2] Festus regards them as a sacred spring of the Samnites. See p. 114.

[3] See p. 461.

[4] Head with diadem of Hiero II.; the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ. Victory in a quadriga at a gallop; in the field a star. Silver octodrachma.

[5] The *triquetra*, a symbol of Sicily, the island of three promontories, *Trinacria*: on the reverse, LENT. COS. Jupiter standing, holding a thunderbolt and an eagle; in the field a strigil. Silver penny of the Cornelian family.

The Mamertines were notorious pillagers. What the garrison of Rhegium, so severely punished, had just done on one of the



THE STRAITS OF MESSINA (PRESENT STATE).

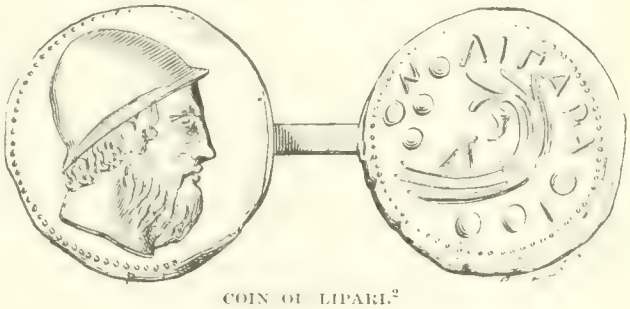
coasts of the Straits, the Mamertines had done, and very much worse, on the other side. The Senate hesitated at undertaking

their defence. The consuls, less scrupulous, carried the matter before the people. They recalled the equivocal conduct of the Carthaginians at Tarentum, and pointed out the establishments of this people in Corsica, in Sardinia, in the Lipari Islands, in Sicily, like a chain which already closed the Tyrrhenian Sea, and which must be broken. The ambition of the Romans was a mixture of pride and avarice. They wished to command, because they considered themselves to be already the greatest people of the earth; they wished to conquer, to satisfy their taste for plunder; Sicily and Carthage were such a rich prey! The people decided that succor should be sent to the Mamertines; the consul despatched in great haste the legionary tribune C. Claudius to Messina.



COIN OF AGATHOCLES.[1]

He was, like all those of his race, an energetic man, who stopped at nothing if he could gain his end. He passed the Straits at the risk of being seized by the enemy, and on his arrival at Messina found Hanno established in the citadel which a faction had delivered to him.[3] Claudius wished to bring over troops, but the Carthaginian vessels closed the Straits. "Not a ship shall pass," said Hanno, "and not one of your soldiers shall ever wash his hands in the waters of Sicily." However, he consented to an interview with the tribune; in the midst of the conference Claudius caused him to be seized, and to obtain his liberty, Hanno surrendered the citadel. On his return to Carthage he was



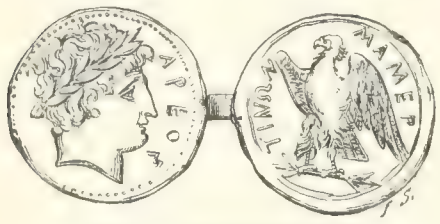
COIN OF LIPARI.[2]

[1] KOPAΣ. Head of a Proserpine: the reverse, Victory setting up a trophy: in the field the *triquetra*. As inscription, ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ. Silver coin of Agathocles, King of Syracuse.

[2] Head of Vulcan; on the reverse, ΛΙΠΑΡΙΟΝ and a prow of a vessel with the *acrostolium*, an ornament which terminates a ship's prow; the six globules are the mark of the ½ denarius. Large-sized bronze money of Lipari.

[3] [No doubt this party argued that the example of Rhegium made the Romans more unsafe allies than the Carthaginians. — *Ed.*]

crucified; but Rome had commenced the period of its great wars by an act of perfidy, which, with many others, was forgotten by her orators when they arraigned "Punic faith" in the Senate and the Forum.



COIN OF THE MAMERTINES.[1]

Hiero and the Carthaginians united in laying siege to Messina. With horrible precaution, the Carthaginians massacred their Italian mercenaries; but as the strait was scarcely more than two miles in the narrowest part, the allies could not prevent the consul Appius Caudex[2] taking advantage of a dark night to send across twenty thousand men on barks and small boats, lent by all the cities on the coast. Appius defeated or cowed the two besieging armies, which were not very considerable, for Polybius does not say that their retreat was the result of a victory by the Romans. The consul pursued Hiero as far as the walls of Syracuse; the place was too strong to be taken by a sudden attack, and the malaria from the marshes of the Anapus forced him to retire (264). He retired to Messina, where he left a garrison.[3] The occupation of this natural and secure harbor, large enough to hold six hundred galleys of the ancients, and deep enough to receive the largest of modern vessels, was worth more to Rome than a victory. She possessed there the port of the island, and she took measures for its safe preservation. This prosperous commencement encouraged the Senate to push on the war vigorously. The two consuls and thirty-six thousand legionaries passed the following year in Sicily, where sixty-seven towns, and amongst them Catana, at the foot of Etna, fell into their power. Segesta, the most ancient ally of Carthage in the island, had



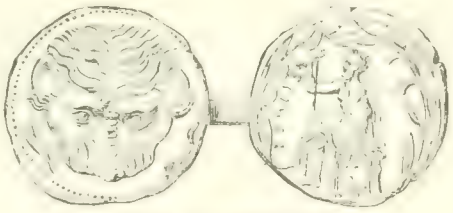
COIN OF GELA.

[1] Laurelled head of young Mars and his Greek name, ΑΡΕΟΣ; on the reverse, ΜΑΜΕΡΤΙΝΩΝ. An eagle on a thunderbolt. Bronze coin of the Mamertines.

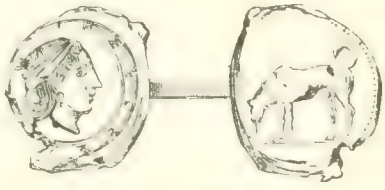
[2] From the name of his transport-ships, *caudicariae*. [Most writers call him Claudius. — *Ed.*]

[3] [Rather he was defeated and driven into Messina, where his siege was raised by the victory of the succeeding consul (Messalla). In this year, too, the first Roman fleet was built. Cf. Neumann, *op. cit.*, p. 86. — *Ed.*]

massacred its Punic garrison, and had pleaded its pretended Trojan descent in order to obtain favorable terms from the Romans. The Senate was not likely to refuse a people, which attracted its nobility by flattering Roman vanity, and which gave such pledges of its relationship. The Segestans were declared *liberi et immunes*. Hiero, dismayed, and reflecting that Syracuse had more to lose, in the matter of its commerce, by siding with Carthage than with Rome, hastened to negotiate; he gave up his prisoners, paid 100 talents,[2] and remained for fifty years the faithful ally of the Romans.

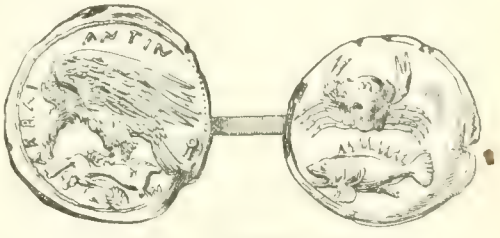


COIN OF RHEGIUM.[1]



COIN OF SEGESTA.[3]

Never was Syracuse in a happier condition. Theocritus was there then cursing the war, and praying the gods to cast into the Sardinian sea the enemies who were destroying the Sicilian cities.[4] We would wish to believe that these idyls were a true picture of the happiness of this little corner of land, while the rest of the world was shaken by the collision of two great nations.



COIN OF AGRIGENTUM.

[1] The head of a lion, with a branch of laurel on the left. On the reverse, the name of the town ΡΕΓΙΝΟΣ, in ancient Greek backwards. Jupiter sitting; an eagle under the seat of the god; the whole surrounded with a wreath of laurel. Tetradrachma of Rhegium.

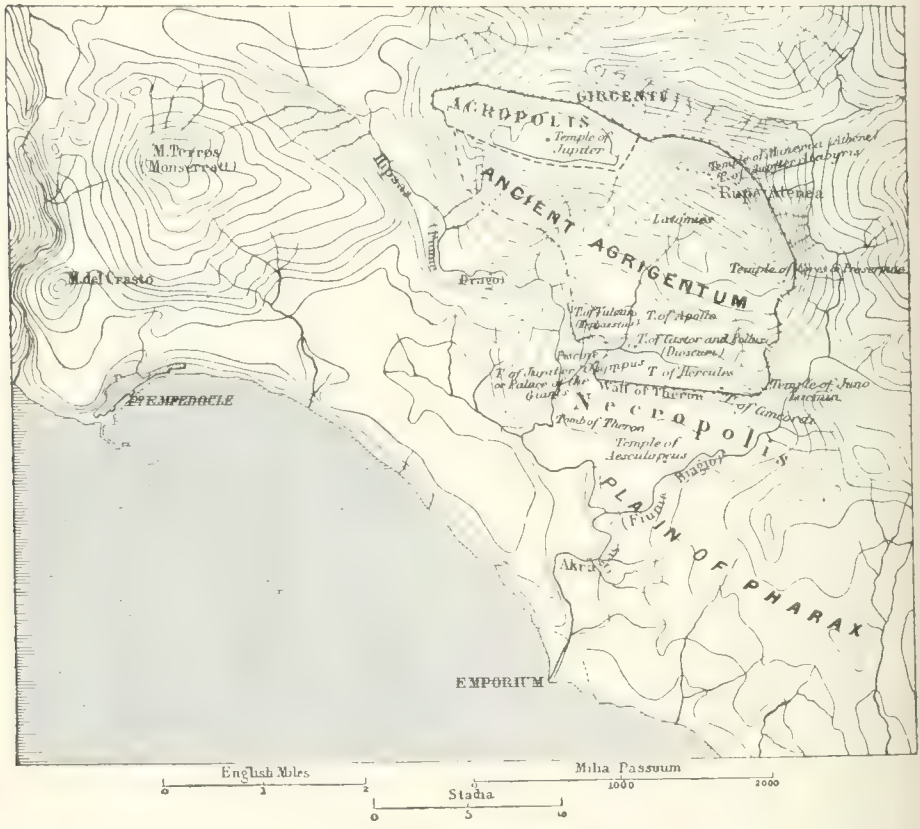
[2] Diodorus (xxiii. 5) said 150,000 drachmas, Polybius 100 talents, Orosius and Eutropius 200. [The prisoners restored were those taken in the defeat of Ap. Claudius. — *Ed.*]

[3] ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑ (boustrophedon, see p. 165, n. 1). Head of a woman with a head-band; on the back, a dog drinking. A silver didrachma of Segesta.

[4] See Idyl xvi., especially lines 82–97: —

ἐχθροὺς ἐκ νάσοιο κακὰ πέμψειεν ἀνάγκα
Σαρδόνιον κατὰ κῦμα . . .
ἄργους δ' ἐργάζοιντο τεθηλότας, αἱ δ' ἀνάριθμοι
μήλων χιλιάδες βοτάνα διαπιανθεῖσαι
ἅμ πεδίον βληχοῖντο, βύες δ' ἀγεληδὸν ἐς αὐλιν
ἀράχνια δ' εἰς ὅπλ' ἀράχναι
λεπτὰ διανήσαιντο, βοᾶς δ' ἔτι μηδ' ὄνομ' εἴη.

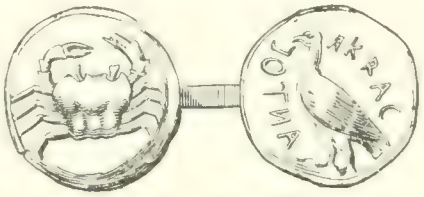
The treaty with Hiero assured to the Romans the alliance of the national party in Sicily, and relieved them from the necessity of sending from Latium provisions and stores, which the enemy's fleet would have been able to intercept. The ambition of the Senate increased, and it resolved to drive out the Carthaginians from the whole island, where the excesses of their barbarous bands for two centuries had made their rule odious.



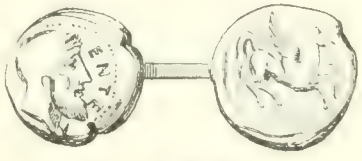
PLAN OF AGRIGENTUM.

Agrigentum, famous among all the Sicilian towns by the number and the colossal proportions of its monuments, was a very strong position, and the Carthaginians had made their arsenal in the island. Built on rocks, of which some, those of the citadel, seemed cut perpendicularly, and surrounded by two watercourses, which, uniting below it, fell together into the sea, *fiume de Girgenti*, it would have been impregnable, if its distance from the shore —

18 stadia, or about 2 miles — had not rendered its re-victualling impossible.[1] The Romans besieged it. Not knowing yet how to take a place by the aid of engines of war, which the Greeks had long since used, they established themselves at the east and west of the town in two camps, which a double line of defences protected against sorties and succors from without. There they stayed for seven months, until famine opened the gates for them. Without Hiero, they would themselves, more than once, have suffered from scarcity. Hannibal, the son of Gisco, defended the place with a strong garrison; the provisions therein diminished the more quickly. Carthage sent an army to succor it under Hanno, who seized on Heraclea and Herbessus, where the two consuls kept their stores; the convoys of Hiero maintained abundance in the Roman camp, and Hanno was compelled to risk a battle, which he lost in spite of his elephants. Since the time of Pyrrhus the legions no longer feared these clumsy engines of war. They killed thirty of them, and took eleven alive. Profiting by the darkness of a winter's night, and by the negligence of the sentinels rendered over-confident by the late victory, Hannibal crossed the Roman lines with a part of his troops. The unfortunate town was sacked by the conquerors, who sold as slaves twenty-five thousand of its inhabitants. These three campaigns and this long siege had already tried the finances of Carthage, and she was for a while compelled to stop the pay of her mercenaries. To get rid of the too-spirited complaints of four thousand Gauls, who threatened to go over to the enemy, a Carthaginian general promised them the pillage of Entella. They hastened thither; but he had secretly warned the Roman general,



COIN OF AGRIGENTUM.



COIN OF ENTELLA.

[1] [The site of Agrigentum is peculiar. It is a great oval plateau, with scarped edges laid on the slope of a hill, and reaching from the summit half way to the sea. Along the lower edge of this plateau there is a splendid row of temples, from which you look over the descending slope to the sea. Syracuse has similar features on its land side, that is to say, at the summit of the slope there is the same kind of steep rock, protecting the city from the land side. Pindar seems to have thought Agrigentum the most beautiful of Greek towns. — *Ed.*]

and the Gauls, having fallen into an ambuscade, were killed almost to a man. The legionaries were also without pay; but not a complaint was heard among the army of citizens. Before Agrigentum, a number of soldiers suffered themselves to be killed at the gates of the camp to give the dispersed legions the time to rally; and if any quarrels arose between them and their allies, it was to obtain the most perilous post in the battle.[1]

From the third year of the war, Carthage possessed only some maritime places in Sicily. But her fleets ravaged the coasts of Italy, closed the Straits, and rendered all conquest precarious.[2] The Senate understood that it must attack the enemy on his own element (261). Thus their object was enlarged as it constantly receded. It was at first to prevent the Carthaginians from getting possession of Messina; then to drive them from the island; now the Senate wished to sweep them from the sea.

III. Maritime Operations; Landing of the Romans in Africa (260–255).

The Romans were not so ignorant of maritime affairs as has been supposed. They were acquainted with the construction and the management of triremes; it must be remembered that the appearance of a Roman fleet in the harbor of Tarentum had provoked the war with Pyrrhus. But they did not like the sea; they distrusted the "treacherous element;" and as their military life was spent on land, they had no permanent fleet, although they elected magistrates, *duumviri navales*,[3] to watch over the maintenance of a fixed naval stock. Also, when they had need of vessels, they demanded them of their Etruscan and Greek subjects. But in the struggle against Carthage they required ships of the line, that is to say, vessels with high bulwarks and five ranks of rowers. A Carthaginian quinquereme, which had foundered on the coast of Italy, served as a model. Such was then the imperfection of this art, which has become so

[1] Polybius, i. 17.

[2] [Hence Pliny (xvi. 192) says they built a fleet in 45 days against Hiero, viz. 263 B.C. — *Ed.*]

[3] [Viz., *duumviri classis ornandae reficiendaeque causa*, in 311 B. C. — *Ed.*]



TEMPLE OF CONCORD (?) AT GIRGENTI

elaborate, that two months sufficed to fell the wood, build and launch one hundred and twenty ships, and to form and train the crews.[1] All these sailors were not novices; the allies had furnished many seamen and experienced pilots. They nevertheless needed courage to make an attack with such a fleet on the first maritime power in the world. The consul Cn. Cornelius Scipio was taken, it is true, with seventeen vessels in an attempt on the Aeolian Islands (Lipari); but his colleague Duillius defeated near Mylae (Milazzo), the Carthaginian fleet (260).



WAR-SHIP WITH A DOUBLE BEAK-HEAD.[2]

In the naval battles of antiquity, the vessels, armed with a ram at the prow, sought to strike each other at the water-line; the lightness of the ship and the activity of the sailors were then, as at present, the first conditions of success, and the galley-slaves did more than the soldiers embarked on board, ordinarily few in number. Athens used to put but ten on their triremes with 200 rowers.[3] After the first campaign the military genius of the Romans invented a new form of tactics. Their vessels, roughly constructed of green timber, were heavy machines, which could, however, by the aid of oars, be forced straight at the enemy. At the bows of the ship Duillius placed a gangway,[4] which, falling upon an enemy's galley, seized it with its grappling-iron, held it fast, and made a bridge for the soldiers. The science of the Carthaginian pilots became useless; it was a mere land battle, in which the legionaries regained their advantage, and Duillius had as many as a hundred and twenty on board each ship.[6] When the Carthaginians saw the Roman



BEAK-HEAD OF A SHIP.[5]

[1] A few months suffice the Carthaginians to open a new outlet to their internal harbor and to build a fleet with the *debris* of their houses. One cannot but be astonished at an art remaining so long in its infancy, which was practised by so many people.

[2] Engraved gem of the Museum of Berlin.

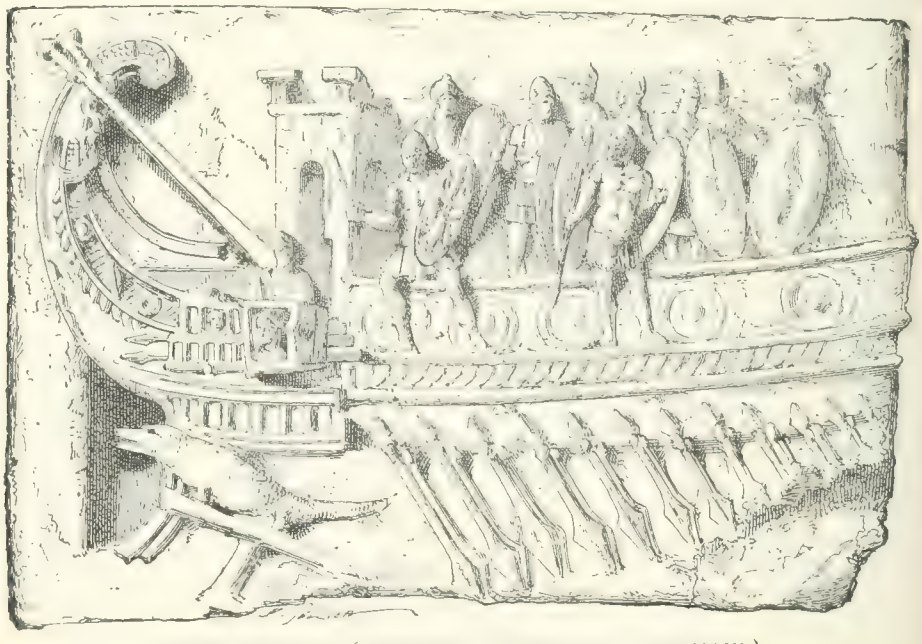
[3] During the Peloponnesian War. Thucyd. ii. 23, 102; iii. 91, 95; and iv. 76, 101. Cf. Boeckh, *Staatsh.* i. 390.

[4] According to the description, a little obscure, of Polybius, this bridge, which was called *corvus*, and which worked all round, was used at the prow, stern, or at the sides.

[5] Reverse of a sextans of bronze of the town of Tuder.

[6] There was less than this number at Ecnomus (Polyb., i. 5). Others give 200 as the number of soldiers Duillius put on board each ship.

fleet advancing, they came on as if to certain victory. Thirty ships, which formed the vanguard, reached it first. Seized by the grapples, not one escaped. The admiral's galley, with seven rows of oars, was itself taken, and Hannibal, the former defender of Agrigentum, who was on board, had but time to escape in a boat. He directed, however, his other galleys to the flank and astern of the Roman vessels. But, despite the rapidity of their evolutions, the formidable grapple was always ready for them. Twenty galleys more were taken; three thousand men were killed, and six thousand

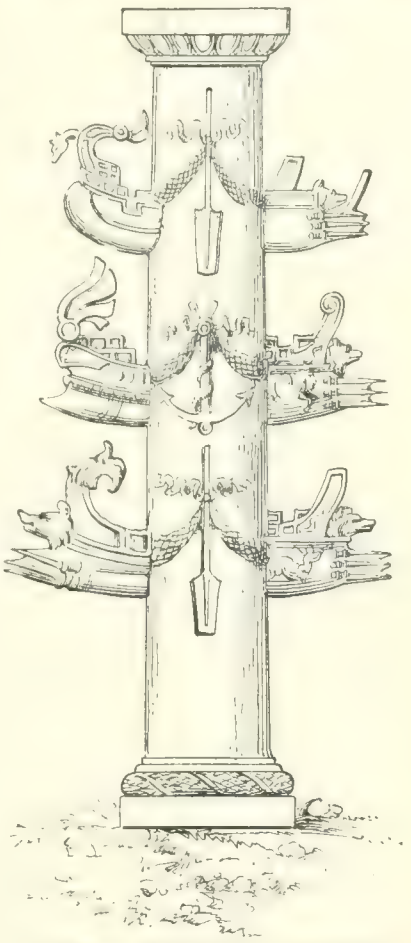


ROMAN GALLEY. (CAST FROM MUSEUM OF S. GERMAIN.)

made prisoners; the rest fled in terror. The land army raised in all haste the siege of Segesta; the troops which were defending Macella allowed the place to be taken by storm; and the Carthaginian general, having retired to Sardinia with some troops, was crucified there by the mutinous mercenaries.

These successes were the material result of the victory; but there was a greater. The prestige of the maritime superiority of Carthage was dispelled; and whatever disasters befell the Roman fleets in the future did not cause the Senate to give up the sea. They knew now that Carthage could be conquered; and the late events made them understand that the conquest

of islands must be accomplished by sea. Already they were directing a fleet against Sardinia, and an attack on Africa was in contemplation. Very unusual honors were given to Duillius. Besides the triumph, he had a column in the Forum, and the right of being escorted home in the evening by torchlight and the sound of flutes. The simplicity of this time knew no better way of honoring the first conqueror of Carthage.[1]



ROSTRAL COLUMN OF DUILLIUS.[2]

After the victory of Mylae, the Romans had divided their forces; while the land army succored Segesta, the consul, L. Corn. Scipio, with a part of the fleet, pursued as far as Sardinia the vessels which had escaped at the first disaster, destroyed them, and commenced the conquest of that island and of Corsica, of which he took the capital, Aleria. Caught, on his return, in a stormy sea, he dedicated a temple to the tempests, and desired that on his tomb there might be preserved the twofold remembrance of his conquest and of the protection with which these peculiar divinities had sheltered him:

"Hic cepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem
Dedit Tempestatibus aedem merito."

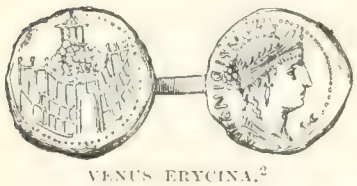
Carthage then sent to Panormus a great general, Amilcar. By skilful manœuvres he enclosed the legions in a defile, whence

[1] Florus, Fl. 2, and Val. Maximus speak of these honors bestowed on himself by Duillius. The inscription of his rostral column would be one of the oldest monuments of the Latin language, if the text which we have had not been repaired towards the middle of the first century of our era, when the monument was restored.

[2] Restoration of Canina, vol. iv. p. 264. This monument of one of the greatest victories of Rome is actually disgraced by a street-lamp!

they were only able to escape through the devotion of Calpurnius Flamma. He was a legionary tribune, who offered to occupy, with four hundred men, a hill, from whence he could cover the retreat and stop the enemy. "I give my life to thee and to the Republic," said he to the consul. All fell except the tribune, who was found alive under a heap of corpses. He received a crown of grass. "At that time," says Pliny, "it was the highest reward."[1] Cato compares him to Leonidas, and complains of the caprice of fortune which has left his name in obscurity. He forgot that it is the end for which we die which gives immortality to the victim. Calpurnius, like so many soldiers in our annals, saved only one legion (258); Leonidas had saved his country, the whole of Greece, and the civilization of the world.

Notwithstanding, the war languished; Amilcar destroyed the town of Eryx, of which he left standing only the temple, built, it was said, in honor of his divine mother, Venus Erycina, whom the Phoenicians confounded with their goddess Astarte. He carried the population to Drepanum, and concentrated his forces in that town and in Lilybaeum, two impregnable places, the approaches to which were protected by the sea and by several cities which the Carthaginians still occupied on the coasts and in the interior.



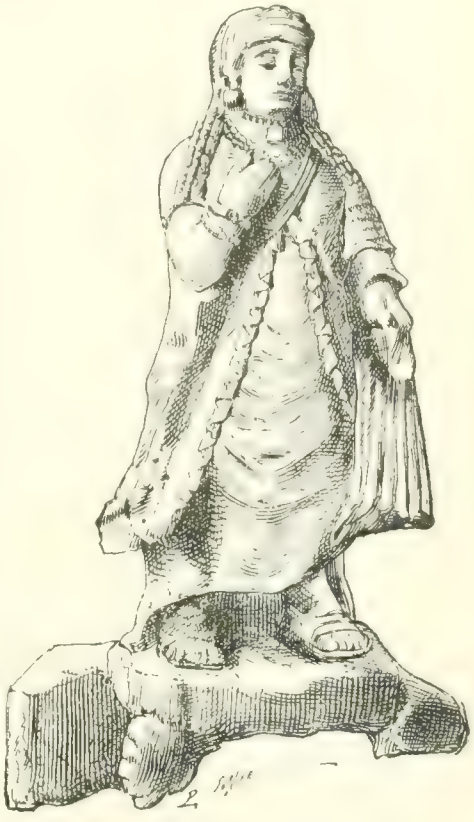
VENUS ERYCINA.[2]

The fortune of Rome seemed declining, and some dangerous defections resulted. In the centre of the island, Enna, the sacred town whose civic divinity, Ceres, was honored throughout Sicily, on the southern coast the great city of Camarina, and even Agrigentum, came round to the Carthaginians. If the legions had returned to Rome at the end of the summer, according to custom, and had not wintered in the island, all would have been lost. But the consul of 258 retook the lost places, putting to death the principal citizens, and selling the rest. It was the custom, and was

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxii. 11; Aul. Gell. (iii. 7) calls him Caecilius, others Laberius.

[2] On the obverse, Venus Erycina, diademed, and crowned with myrtle or laurel, and the inscription, C. CONSIDI. NONIANI. S. C. On the reverse, ERVC, and the temple of Venus. Silver money of the family Considia. The coin represents the temple at the summit of the hill with the deep enclosure which surrounded it, and which the artist, to render his drawing lighter, has represented as open work.

practised on both sides. Among the ancients, when the city fell, the individuals perished. Fortune destroyed, family lost, no home, no household gods; yesterday enjoying the honors of the patriciate, to-morrow in the miseries of slavery: such was the lot of the conquered, when on the day of defeat they had not fallen beneath the sword of the soldier or under the axe of the lictor. By way of compensation the fierce character of war gave to patriotism an energy long since passed away.



ASTARTE.[1]

These successes in the interior of the island, and a fresh naval battle, which the consul Atilius claimed to have gained near Lipari, decided the Senate to the boldest enterprise. Three hundred and thirty vessels were equipped, one hundred thousand seamen and soldiers, and the two consuls, Manlius Vulso and Atilius Regulus, embarked with the determination of passing through the Carthaginian fleet and making an attack on Africa.

The two fleets met off Ecnomus.[2] It was the greatest spectacle

[1] Statuette found in Phoenicia (cf. *Acad. des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 7th series, vol. xix. No. 4, p. 1, fig. 2), and which does not give a very great superiority to the artists of the metropolis over those of Carthage. "The goddess is standing in full dress; on the forehead a rich fillet. The hair falls in many tresses behind and on each side, on the neck two symbolical necklaces; a circle shut by a square bezel, and a triple row of pearls. The bare forearm is ornamented up to the wrists with open bracelets, closing by a clasp, the two ends of which are decorated with heads of antelopes. An upper dress, made of a supple and fine material, opens in front, forming on each side symmetrical little folds. Sleeves with clasps cover the top of the arm. The robe, falling from the neck to the feet, covers the heels, and is provided with a train which the left hand holds, and brings to the front. The bare feet have sandals with straps. The whole of this dress is heavy, and seems strange. The goddess thus resembles the squaw of a Redskin." (Georges Colonna Ceccaldi, *Revue archéol. de janvier*, 1878, p. 16, note 1.)

[2] A mountain between Gela and Agrigentum.

the Mediterranean had yet seen; three hundred thousand men were about to fight on its waves. The Roman vessels, formed into a hollow triangle, with double base, and its point directed towards the enemy's line, advanced steadily, and the Carthaginians, despite a clever manœuvre to draw off the van of the hostile fleet and separate it from its powerful rear-guard, lost ninety-four ships out of three hundred and fifty; twenty-four Roman galleys only were sunk (256).

The remains of the conquered army fled to Carthage. Some vessels were equipped there in all haste, and troops raised to guard the coast. But the greatest confusion still reigned in the town when it was learnt that the Romans, having disembarked near the promontory of Mercury (Cape Bon), were already besieging Clypea. Regulus had only taken sufficient time to repair his disabled ships and to get provisions. The troops began to be afraid of a war in Africa, — that land of monsters, whence such terrible tales reached them, *Africa portentosa*;[1] even a tribune had dared to murmur. Regulus threatened him with the axe, and the army, despite its superstitious fears, set out. Clypea having been taken, and no position, no army, protecting the country, the Romans spread over these rich plains, which, since Agathocles, had not seen an enemy, and whose fertility was secured by a good system of irrigation. In a few days they took twenty thousand prisoners and immense booty.



REGULUS.

The Senate, deceived by its first successes, recalled Manlius and his legions; it was a mistake. Regulus himself, it was said, had requested to return, because the farmer whom he had left to cultivate a field of seven acres, his sole patrimony, had run away and taken the plough and oxen. The Senate replied that all should be re-purchased for him, his field cultivated, and his wife and children kept at the expense of the treasury. He remained in Africa with fifteen thousand men and five hundred horses. These forces were sufficient for him to defeat the enemy on all sides, to

[1] Livy, xxxiv. 62. Such is the suspicious history of the serpent of Bagradas, a hundred and twenty feet long, and whose head, sent to Rome, was still shown there in the time of the Numantian war. (Cf. Flor., ii. 2.) Polybius does not mention it. However, such large serpents now exist in the highlands of Algeria, that it may only have been an exaggerated fact.

take three hundred towns, and seize Tunis, three leagues from Carthage, after a victory near Adys which cost the Carthaginians seventeen thousand killed, five hundred prisoners, and eighteen elephants. The town was hard pressed. From the amount of tribute imposed on Leptis Parva, — a talent a day, — we can understand that the yoke of Carthage was heavy. In consequence of these defeats the subjects revolted, and the Numidians plundered that which had escaped the Romans. A treaty was proposed. Regulus demanded the abandonment of Sicily and Sardinia, an annual tribute, the giving up of the Roman prisoners, the ransom of the Carthaginian captives, the destruction of the whole fleet of war, the promise to make neither alliance nor war without the consent of the Senate, etc.

Such conditions offered no inducement for treating; the war was resumed.[1] The fanaticism of the people was excited by human sacrifices, and vessels laden with gold went to Greece and Spain to buy soldiers. Among the mercenaries who came from Greece was the Lacedaemonian Xanthippus. Carthage had still twelve thousand infantry,[2] four thousand horse, and one hundred elephants. The Lacedaemonian undertook, with this army, which he carefully drilled for some weeks, to fight the enemy. "The question is only," said he, "to find a field of battle which may suit us." Instead of pitching his camp on the heights, where the elephants and cavalry were useless, he descended into the plain; and the legions, disordered by the elephants, and charged by a numerous cavalry, fell into confusion. Two thousand only escaped by reaching Clypea; Regulus and five hundred of the bravest were made prisoners; the rest perished. Xanthippus, richly rewarded, left the town before gratitude had given place to envy.[3]

[1] [This whole campaign shows the extraordinary helplessness of Carthage, owing to the counter-suspicions of its oligarchical factions, and the gross incompetence of Regulus, who, if he had used the Numidian cavalry, ought to have carried the day. Amilcar had been recalled from Sicily, but was only joint commander with two others. Surely such a general was as well able to defeat Regulus as a Greek mercenary. So the demands of Regulus, who had no siege-train, were as severe as those demanded by Scipio at the end of the Second Punic War. Nothing is stranger than that such a man should have been exalted into a national hero. — *Ed.*]

[2] [These numbers are probably lessened, to increase the glory of Xanthippus. — *Ed.*]

[3] The Carthaginians have been accused of having drowned him (Zonaras, viii. 13; Silius Ital., vi. 682); but they had no interest in this crime, contradicted elsewhere by Polybius.

Carthage was saved. However, the victorious army was repulsed at the siege of Clypea, and a Carthaginian fleet was again beaten in sight of this place. But the destruction of the whole of an army, the capture of a consul, and the difficulty of crossing incessantly a stormy sea, in order to re-victual the legions of Clypea, decided the Senate to relinquish Africa. At the same time a frightful disaster closed the way. Two hundred and seventy



FRIEZE OF SELINUS, TAKEN FROM PHOTOGRAPHS, DATING ABOUT 460 B. C.
(SEE PP. 570–572.)

galleys were shattered by a tempest along the coasts of Camarina; it was nearly the whole fleet. The Carthaginians hastened to put down their rebel subjects; the chiefs were crucified; the towns gave 1,000 talents and twenty thousand oxen; then the preparations were pushed forward with vigor for carrying the war again into Sicily (255).

IV. The War is carried back into Sicily (254–241).

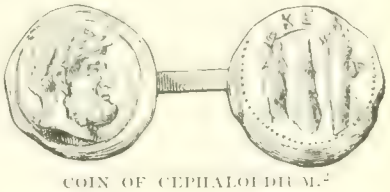
A new fleet, a new army, and one hundred and forty elephants set out from Carthage. Agrigentum was re-taken. On her side, Rome, in three months, built two hundred and twenty galleys, and the consuls, proceeding along the northern coast of Sicily, took by treachery the strong position of Cephaloedium,[1] and that of Panormus, which gave them an excellent port. Those of the inhabitants of Panormus who were unable to pay a ransom of two silver minae (200 drachmas, or nearly eight guineas) were sold as slaves. There were thirteen thousand of them.

The following year the fleet ravaged the coast of Africa; but

[1] It was built on a steep promontory, whence its Greek name signifying head; it is now Cefalu.

a tempest on its return again destroyed one hundred and fifty vessels near Cape Palinurus, on the coast of Lucania (253). These repeated disasters seemed a menace of the gods; the Senate gave up the sea, as it had given up Africa.

The two adversaries, wearied out by the struggle, which had already lasted eleven years, rested on their arms: the Carthaginians, in a strong position, which they occupied at the western extremity of Sicily; the legions, at some distance in the rear, on the heights, from which they watched the enemy. This inaction became detrimental to the Roman discipline. It was necessary at one time to degrade four hundred *equites*, who had refused to obey the consul; at another time to make a military tribune of the illustrious house of Valerius run the gauntlet.[1] Carthage, on her side, occupied without doubt in reconstituting in Africa her rule, which the Roman invasion had shattered, confined herself in Sicily to a prudent defensive. She even made no effort in 252 to prevent Scipio, who was conquered in the first naval action, from taking his revenge at Lipari, by seizing upon this island with the ships lent by the faithful Hiero. The blow was a severe one, for from Lipari her privateers incessantly came forth, ravaging the Italian coasts. Accordingly, the year after, Carthage made a vigorous effort. Hasdrubal, with two hundred vessels, carrying thirty thousand men and one hundred and forty elephants, attempted to retake Panormus. The pro-consul, Metellus, kept his army shut up there; but, by means of his light troops, he challenged the enemy, and drew them to the foot of the wall; and while the elephants, pierced with darts, rushed furiously back on the Carthaginian army, which they threw into disorder, Metellus attacked with all his forces.



COIN OF CEPHALOEDIUM.[2]



COIN COMMEMORATIVE OF THE VICTORY OF METELLUS.[3]

[1] Val. Max., II. ix. 7; Front. Strat., iv. The knights were degraded to the rank of *aerarii*. In 252, Aurelius Pecuniola having, in the absence of the consul, Cotta, his cousin, permitted the burning of a redoubt, and almost lost his camp before Lipari, Cotta had him flogged, and reduced him to the rank of a common soldier. (Val. Max., II. vii. 4.)

[2] Head of Jupiter, crowned with laurel; on the reverse, ΚΕΦΑ. Goatskin, club, and quiver. Bronze money.

[3] METELLUS in a car drawn by elephants, and crowned by Victory. The reverse of a piece of silver money of the Caecilian family.

Twenty thousand Africans perished; one hundred and four elephants were taken; they were conducted to Rome, where they followed the car of the conqueror; and as it was found too expensive to keep them, they were hunted down in the great circus, that the people by familiarity might cease to dread them (251).



METOPE FROM THE LATEST TEMPLE AT SELINUS.[1]

On his return to Carthage, the incapable Hasdrubal was crucified. At Rome Metellus received great honor. He was twice made consul, dictator, sovereign pontiff; and when, in a fire in the temple of Vesta, he lost his eyes in saving the Palladium, the people gave him the right, which none had up to this time obtained, of going in his car to the Senate. In the funeral oration which the son of the conqueror of Panormus delivered in honor of his father, we can see what a Roman of this time esteemed as the sovereign good. "He attained," he said, "and in perfection, ten very great things, which the wise pass their life in seeking. He wished to be the best soldier, the first of orators, the ablest of generals, the most eminent of senators, and he desired to conduct under his auspices the gravest affairs, to attain to the highest magistracies, to supreme political wisdom, and a great fortune acquired by honorable means, and finally to leave behind him many children, and to be the most respected of all his fellow-citizens."[2] This is the ideal of Roman virtue. It is not a very elevated one; but if it did not make sages in the true sense of the word, it made great citizens.

Many noble Carthaginians had been made prisoners before Panormus; others had long been so. The Carthaginians, we are

[1] It represents Heracles fighting an Amazon. The setting of the extant sculptures is the restoration in the Museum at Palermo.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 45.

told, proposed an exchange, and sent Regulus to Rome to support their demand. That general had nobly borne his captivity. He was unwilling to enter the city: "I am no longer a citizen," said he, as Postumius had said after the Caudine Forks; and when he spoke on the proposal, he dissuaded the senators from accepting it. They tried to move him to have pity on himself: "My days are numbered," said he; "they have given me a slow poison;" and he set out on his return, repelling the embraces of his wife, Marcia, and his children.



COIN OF PANORMUS.[1]

Horace has celebrated this mythical story, so dear to Roman pride:

"Then, it is said, he . . .
. . . bent to earth

"In stern humility his manly face,
Till his inflexible persistence fixed
The Senate's wavering will:
And forth, bewept, the glorious exile passed.

"Albeit he knew what the barbarian skill
Of the tormentor for himself prepared,
He motioned from his path
The opposing kindred, the retarding crowd,

"Calmly as if — some client's tedious suit
Closed by his judgment — to Venafrian plains
Or mild Tarentum, built
By antique Spartans, went his pleasant way." [2]

On his return to Carthage he died, it is affirmed, a cruel death.[3] If this tradition be true, in spite of the silence of Polybius, we must not forget either the treatment inflicted by the Romans themselves on hostile chiefs who fell into their power, or that other tradition, according to which two Carthaginian generals were given up to Marcia, and by her cruelly tortured.[5]



COIN OF SELINONTUM.[4]

[1] Double head under a horse. On the reverse, ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙ . . . and an eagle. Bronze coin of Palermo (Panormus).

[2] *Carm.* III. v. [Lord Lytton's Metrical Translation of Horace.]

[3] *Resectis palpebris, illigatum in machina, vigilando, necaverunt.* (Cic., *in Pison.* 18.)

[4] Parsley-leaf. On the reverse, a square hollowed in compartments. Silver coin of Selinus: very ancient.

[5] Diod., *Fragm. de Virt. et Vit.* xxiv.; Aulus Gell., vii. 4; Zonaras, viii. 15, etc.

Polybius reproaches Regulus with not having known how to guard himself against the inconstancy of fortune, with having imposed too severe conditions, etc. No doubt he would have been wiser to restrain himself within bounds; but what general would have acted otherwise? It was by aiming at a very lofty ideal, often even above their powers, that the Romans did such great things. A nation does not become great by merely being always a nation of wise men.



ZEUS AND HERE (SEE P. 568).

The victory of Panormus put an end to the great battles. The Carthaginians once more fell back to the western extremity of the island, to Drepanum and Lilybaeum, whither they transported all the inhabitants of Selinus, after having destroyed their town. Lilybaeum, surrounded on two sides by a sea rendered dangerous, even to the most skilful pilots, by sand-banks, reefs just beneath the surface, and rapid currents, was shut in on the land side by a high wall, and defended by a very wide and deep ditch. In the autumn of the year 250 two consuls, four legions, and two hundred ships of war blockaded the place, and a new siege of Troy began. The Romans at first tried to close the entry to the port by sinking fifteen vessels loaded with stones there; but the current swept them all away. The passage remained open, and fifty vessels, bearing provisions and ten thousand soldiers to Lilybaeum, were able to pass through it under the very eyes of the powerless Roman fleet. On the land side the Romans in several places filled up the ditch and mined the walls; but when their battering-rams had made a breach, they found themselves faced by another wall which Himilco had raised. Some mercenaries plotted the surrender of the town; Himilco discovered the conspiracy, and burned the engines of the Romans in a sortie, thus obliging them to change the siege into a blockade.

When the new consul, P. Claudius, son of Appius the censor, came to take the command, sickness had already carried off many of the soldiers. The Carthaginian fleet was stationed in the neighboring port of Drepanum. Claudius wished to fall upon it by surprise. The omens were sinister; the sacred chickens refused to eat. "Well, let them drink, then," said the consul, and he had



REMAINS OF SELINUS.

them thrown into the sea. The army was beaten beforehand by this impious act, which Claudius could not repair by the cleverest manœuvres:[1] ninety-three vessels taken or sunk, eight thousand men killed, and twenty thousand prisoners. — such were the results of the battle of Drepanum (249). Junius Pullus, the colleague of Claudius, had no better fortune. He was at Syracuse with eight hundred merchant vessels destined for the revictualling of the camp at Lilybaeum. Carthalo, who watched his departure

[1] Polybius knows nothing of this story of the sacred chickens, but Cicero relates it.

from the coast of Agrigentum, first intercepted several convoys, and then by a clever manœuvre drove the whole of Junius's fleet into the midst of the reefs of Camarina, where furious winds broke it up, while he himself, running before the storm, went and sheltered his vessels behind Cape Pachynum. All the transports and a hundred and five galleys had been destroyed. The occupation of the high hill near Drepanum, on which stood the fortified temple of Venus Erycina, was not compensation for so many sad losses.

The disaster of the year 249, the saddest in all the war for Rome, compelled the Senate again to renounce the idea of fleets. Claudius was recalled, and obliged to name a dictator. He chose the son of a freedman, named Claudius Glicia, his client and clerk. The Senate annulled the insulting choice, and a sentence passed by the people severely punished this bold contemner of things human and divine. Junius, accused, like his colleague, of having despised the auspices, killed himself before his condemnation; Claudius had, perhaps, set him the example of a voluntary death. Three years laterwards another sentence struck the haughty race. The sister of Claudius, finding herself one day pressed by the crowd, cried, "Would it might please the gods that my brother should still command the armies of the Republic!" The aediles punished this homicidal wish with a fine.

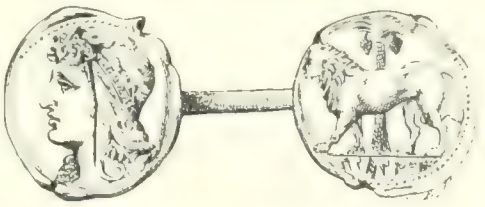


METOPE OF TEMPLE AT SELINUS (NOW AT PALERMO).[1]

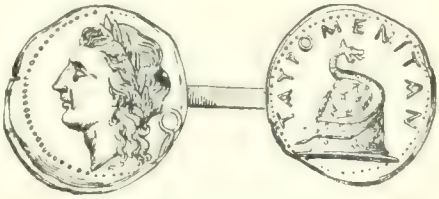
By a singular fatality, at the time when Rome could no longer find any but incapable leaders, Carthage placed able generals at the head of her forces, — Himilco, the defender of Lilybaeum; Hannibal, who had so successfully revictualled that place; Adherbal, the conqueror of Drepanum; Carthalo, who, before destroying

[1] [This very archaic sculpture is one of the most remarkable remains of nascent Greek art, and dates from the 7th century B. C. It represents Heracles carrying off the Kerkopes. — *Ed.*]

Junius' fleet, had burned a part of that before Lilybaeum and ravaged the coasts of Italy; and, finally, the greatest of all, Amilcar, father of Hannibal, surnamed Lightning, *Barca*. Unfortunately, discipline was often wanting in these armies of Carthage, and a violent sedition of the mercenaries had just brought her into the greatest peril. Amilcar found means to satisfy their requirements. He led them to the pillage of Italy. When the booty gained in Bruttium had won him their confidence, he boldly advanced and took possession of Mount Ercte (Monte Pellegrino), near Panormus (247).[2] For six years all the strength of the two republics was concentrated in this corner of Sicily; the Romans were at Panormus, on the summit of Mount Eryx,[4] in the ancient town of that name, and before Lilybaeum and Drepanum. The Carthaginians occupied these two places and Mount Ercte. From the top of this almost inaccessible mountain Amilcar watched all the enemy's movements, and swept quickly down from it to intercept his convoys, cut up his detachments, and carry his ravages to the very heart of the island; or, again, from the port at the foot of his mountain he set sail with a fleet of light vessels and ravaged the Italian coast as far as the middle



COIN OF ERCTE.[1]



COIN OF TAUROMENIUM.[3]

[1] Bust of a woman. On the reverse, a lion before a palm-tree. Below, a Punic legend signifying "of the people of the camp." This was a coin struck for the pay of the troops, *moneta castrensis*. It was struck in Sicily, but engraved by an artist who did not know Punic, for the inscription is written the wrong way. M. de Sauley, who has kindly furnished me with this note, does not believe that this silver tetradrachm, attributed to Ercte by the Duc de Luynes, belonged to that town, or, at least, it was not struck there during Amilcar's occupation.

[2] Mount Ercte, the foot of which is washed by the sea, is protected on its flanks by sharp rocks, and separated from the mountains which run west of Panormus by a broad plain, so that it forms a vast natural fortress, rising above the town to a height of 2,000 feet.

[3] Laurel-crowned head of Apollo. On the reverse, TAYPOMENITAN, and a serpent round a vase, called *cortina*. Silver coin.

[4] Mount Eryx, at 6 miles from Drepanum, is only 2,180 feet high, but its isolated situation makes it appear much loftier. It was a still stronger position than Mount Ercte. On the summit of the mountain was the temple of Venus Erycina. The town was built half way up.

of Campania.[1] For six years there were continual and bloody fights. They were like two athletes of equal strength wrestling on a rock high above the waves.[2]

The armies were but a few stadia apart; they drew still nearer. Amilcar took the town of Eryx by surprise, and placed himself between the two Roman camps established at the base and on



REMAINS OF THE TOWN OF ERYX.[3]

the summit of the mountain. The war advanced none the quicker; an equal tenacity paralyzed every effort. At last the soldiers, weary of useless conflicts, and each side esteeming equally the valor of the other, "plaited," says Polybius,[4] "the sacred crown," which was offered to the gods when the victory remained undecided, and abstained by common accord from fighting.

[1] These cruises obliged the Senate to found several maritime colonies at Alsium, Fregellae, and Brundusium.

[2] Polybius, i. 56, 57.

[3] Taken from *Monum. della Sicilia* of Fr. Cavallari, parte 1ª, tav. 26. There is no more mention of Eryx in Roman history after its destruction by Amilcar.

[4] Polybius, i. 58.

Since the commencement of hostilities the Romans had lost many more galleys than the Carthaginians. But for Rome, a continental power, vessels were but so much wood and iron, which were easily replaced; whereas for Carthage, a maritime and commercial power, they were strength and riches. The one then was like a ship struck in a vital part; the other like a fortress, of which only a few battlements had fallen. This was plainly seen

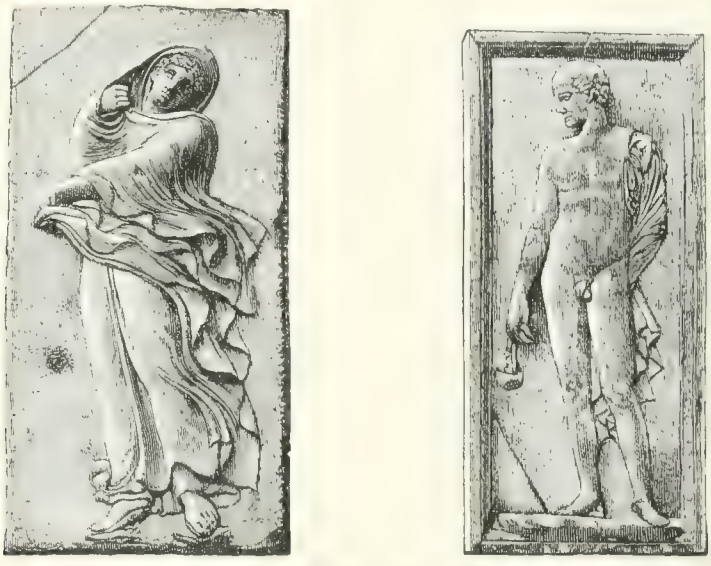


VIEW FROM MOUNT ERYX (MONTE SAN GIULIANO).[1]

when, in 241, the Senate decided upon a fresh effort. In order to avoid expenses which no longer appeared necessary, and to pass them over to their commercial fleets, the merchants of Carthage had disarmed all their remaining war vessels; and leaving Amilcar alone to keep in check from his mountain-top all the forces of Rome, they had resumed their long voyages, their business relations with the whole world. They willingly forgot that devastated island, without industry or commerce, whence there came only

[1] Taken from the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. (See p. 575, n 4.)

troublous sounds of warfare and ceaseless demands for money. The sea remained free, and a Roman fleet reappeared. It had been necessary to make an appeal to the devotion of the citizens to build it. The treasury was empty; patriotism, that wealth which excels all other, replenished it. The rich lent money to the state, or built vessels at their own expense. Many armed privateers.[1] Two hundred vessels were once more launched. Lutatius took the command, and led them to Drepanum. It was near the end of winter. The fleet, which for economical reasons the Carthaginians recalled during that season, had not yet returned,



GREEK TOMB-RELIEFS (NOW IN THE MUSEUM OF PALERMO).

so that Lutatius had no difficulty in making himself master of the port, and closely beleaguering the place. Carthage in all haste sent ships laden with provisions, but with no soldiers, as the admiral was to take on board Amilcar's veterans. In order to reach Erete he had to pass before Drepanum. Lutatius barred the way by placing himself near the Aegates. "Never was fought a more furious naval battle," says Florus. "The Carthaginian vessels were overladen with provisions, arms, and engines of all kinds. The Roman fleet, on the other hand, brisk, active, and light, resembled a land army. It was like a cavalry action. Our ships obeyed the oar as a horse does the bit, and with their movable

[1] Zonar., viii. 16.

beaks darted so well, now against one vessel, now another, that they might have been living creatures." Lutatius sank five of these defenceless ships, and took seventy (10th March, 241). The Romans became undisputed masters of the sea again, and Drepanum, Lilybaeum, and Amilcar could be starved into surrender. Moreover, twenty-four years of war, expense, and sufferings were enough — nay, too much — for these merchants; for the third time they asked to treat for peace. Lutatius required that Amilcar should lay down his arms. "Never," replied the indignant hero, "will I lay down these arms that were given me to fight against you." The consul agreed to allow the Carthaginian army to evacuate Sicily freely. Peace was signed on the following conditions: Carthage should not attack Hiero or his allies; she should abandon Sicily and the Aeolian Islands; should restore all prisoners without ransom, and pay 3,200 Euboic talents (nearly £760,000) within ten years.



ARCHAIC METOPE FROM SELINUS.[1]

"Thus ended the war of the Romans against the Carthaginians regarding Sicily, after lasting twenty-four years without interruption: the longest and most important war of which we have ever heard. . . . Some Greeks assure us that the Romans owe their successes only to fortune. But after having prepared themselves for great enterprises by expeditions of such importance, they had nothing better to do than to propose to themselves the conquest of the world; and this project was likely to be successful."[2] Polybius is right; and if he could have been shown beforehand how

[1] It represents Perseus, aided by Athene, cutting off Medusa's head, and is of the same age as that given on p. 574.

[2] Polybius, i. 63. That historian is the principal source of information concerning this war.

much blood, how many tears, and what ruin were necessary to erect the edifice of Roman greatness, he would doubtless have replied: "Before Rome as much blood had flowed; without her, more would have flowed." Indeed, after her final victory, she allowed none to be shed for centuries.

[1] This African elephant differs from the Asiatic one in height, which is less, and his ears, which are larger, being as much as 4 feet 5 inches in length, and 4 feet in breadth. Livingstone saw a negro shelter himself from the rain beneath this strange cover. The ancient engraver has faithfully reproduced this characteristic feature.



ELEPHANTS (AFRICAN).[1]

CHAPTER XXI.

CONQUESTS OF ROME AND CARTHAGE BETWEEN THE TWO PUNIC WARS (240-219).

I. Expeditions outside of Italy and into Gallia Cisalpina.

ROME had just displayed an admirable constancy; but it seemed as though, after such long efforts, she must be exhausted. The population had, in the space of five years, fallen from 297,797 fighting men to 241,212.[1] Seven hundred war-ships had been destroyed, with an immense number of ships of burden;[2] the treasury was loaded with debts to private persons who had advanced money; and, in order to furnish means for so burdensome a war, the Senate had been obliged to have recourse to the dangerous expedient of debasing the currency. The weight of the *as* had been successively reduced from 12 ounces to 6, 4, 3, and 2; and as the state, on account of its armaments, was the universal debtor, this depreciation of the coinage gave it a profit of five sixths of its debts, or more than 80 per cent., — an operation which, as far as its creditors were concerned, was equivalent to an actual bankruptcy.[4] There was the same diminu-



SILVER DENARIUS OF 16 ASES.[3]

[1] Livy, *Epit.* xviii. and xix. The latter figure — 241,212 — is that of the year 247. The loss of the Romans during this war has been set down at 200,000 men.

[2] Polybius, i. 63.

[3] On the obverse, head of Rome or Pallas; behind, the mark xvi. On the reverse, C.TITINI, and in the exergue, ROMA; Victory in a biga. Silver denarius of the Titinian family.

[4] *Ita quinque partes lucri factae dissolutumque aes alienum.* (Pliny, xxxiii. 13.)

tion of weight in the silver coinage. In 269, forty denarii went to the pound; in 244, seventy-five; in 241, eighty-four; though the denarius always represented ten ases.[1]

But the strength of Rome did not consist in its wealth; as for the populace, the foundation of several colonies, a very liberal distribution of land, and the formation, in 241, of two new tribes, *Velina* and *Quirina*, reconstituted the class of small proprietors, which the war had decimated.[2] Accordingly, Rome soon found herself ready for fresh wars.

The First Punic War had cost Carthage Sicily and the empire of the sea; this was too great a shame and loss to be endured;

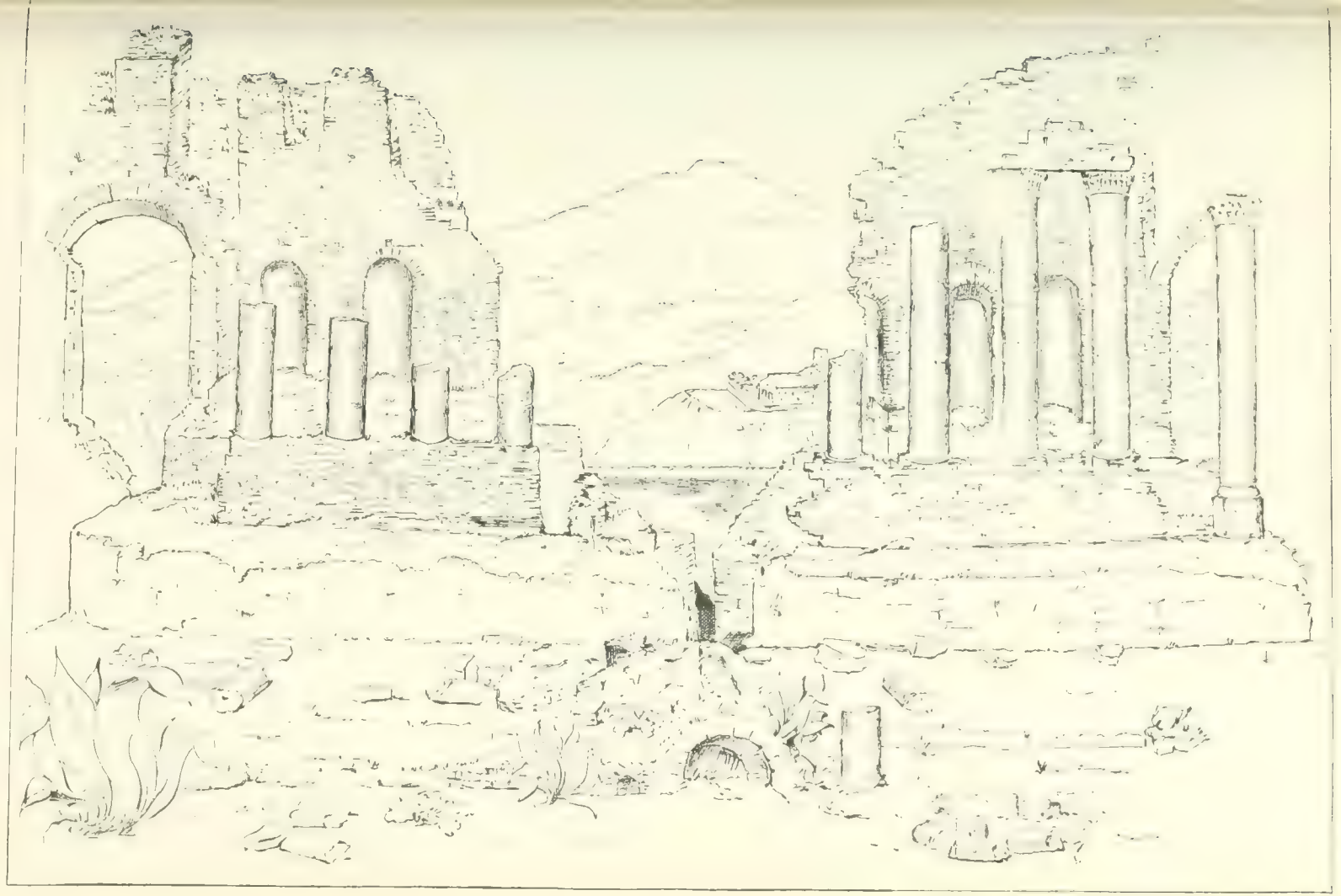


ETNA, FROM TAORMINA.

the peace which had just been signed was, in fact, nothing but a truce. The Senate understood this, and employed the twenty-three years of its duration in fortifying their position in the peninsula by occupying all the points from which it could be menaced, — Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, Cisalpine Gaul, and Illyria. They desired to make Italy a fortress.

[1] But the *as* was then at two ounces. In 216 it is no longer more than one ounce; in 89, half an ounce. Yet during the Republic, though the weight was altered, the name was not, and the coins were almost free from alloy. M. d'Arcet found .983 to be the mean value of the silver coinage. The silver denarius was originally worth 10 pounds of copper, *dena;* hence its name.

[2] This distribution, the date of which is uncertain, but which must have occurred at the end or in the last days of the First Punic War, was so great that fifteen commissioners were needed for the division. Among them Pliny (vii. 45) names L. Metellus, the conqueror of Panormus.



TEATRO GRECO, TAORMINA.

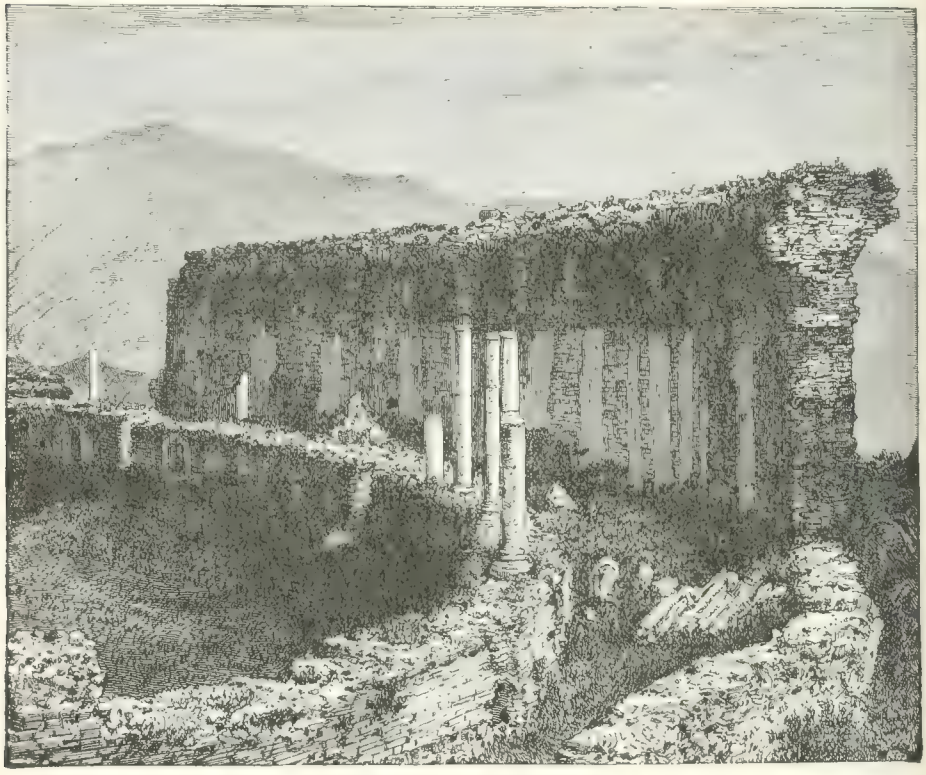
Sicily, the theatre of the First Punic War, had seen her towns by turns taken and retaken, often pillaged, and their inhabitants sold. For twenty-three years she had exhausted her fields to support fleets and armies, which sometimes counted more than two hundred thousand men; but this land, so admirably fertile, soon repaired its losses. The Senate hastened to declare it a Roman *province*;[1] this was a new condition. It was not needful, in point of fact, to employ with the Sicilians the same political caution as the Romans had used with the nations of Italy. Now that the centre of their empire was protected by municipalities, colonies, and allies, there must be outside nothing but subjects liable to taxation and drudgery.[2] Lutatius disarmed all the inhabitants, and made part of it public domain; and two hundred towns only recovered their territory on condition of paying a tribute, to be fixed every year by the Roman censors, and the tithe of all the products of the soil, — often, indeed, the Senate exacted a double tithe. Lutatius also wrote the *formula*, giving the subject cities a uniform organization, in which, following the example of Rome, aristocratic principles predominated. Each year a praetor was sent into the new province with absolute power, from which there was no appeal till after its execution. True to its maxim of never laying an equal yoke on all, the Senate accorded privileges to certain chosen towns, — which were few in number, however, for Sicily was too rich for Rome to deprive herself of the right of despoiling it at leisure. Thus Panormus, Egesta, Centuripa, Halaesa, and Halicyae were free, and exempt from the tribute, but bound to military service; the little republic of Tauromenium and that of the Mamertines remained independent, as was the kingdom of Syracuse; later on, too, there were colonies. Messina owed that favor to the part it played in the First Punic War; Syracuse to the long

[1] Festus derives this word from *provicit*, for *ante vicit*; Niebuhr from *provertus*. In the former case the word province would have reminded men that the Romans claimed to exercise in the provinces all the rights of conquest; in the second, that the provinces, not having the right to possess arms, would serve the sovereign state in an exclusively financial manner. But *provincia* more especially denotes an office which one has engaged upon oath to fulfil, and consequently the object of that office; thus it means the duty of holding elections (Livy, xxxv. 20) to manage the water supply (Cic., *in Vat.* § 5.) The formal organization of the province of Sicily did not take place till 227 B. C.

[2] Livy, xxxi. 31: *civitates stipendiarias ac vectigales*. We will return to the subject of the condition of these provinces later on.

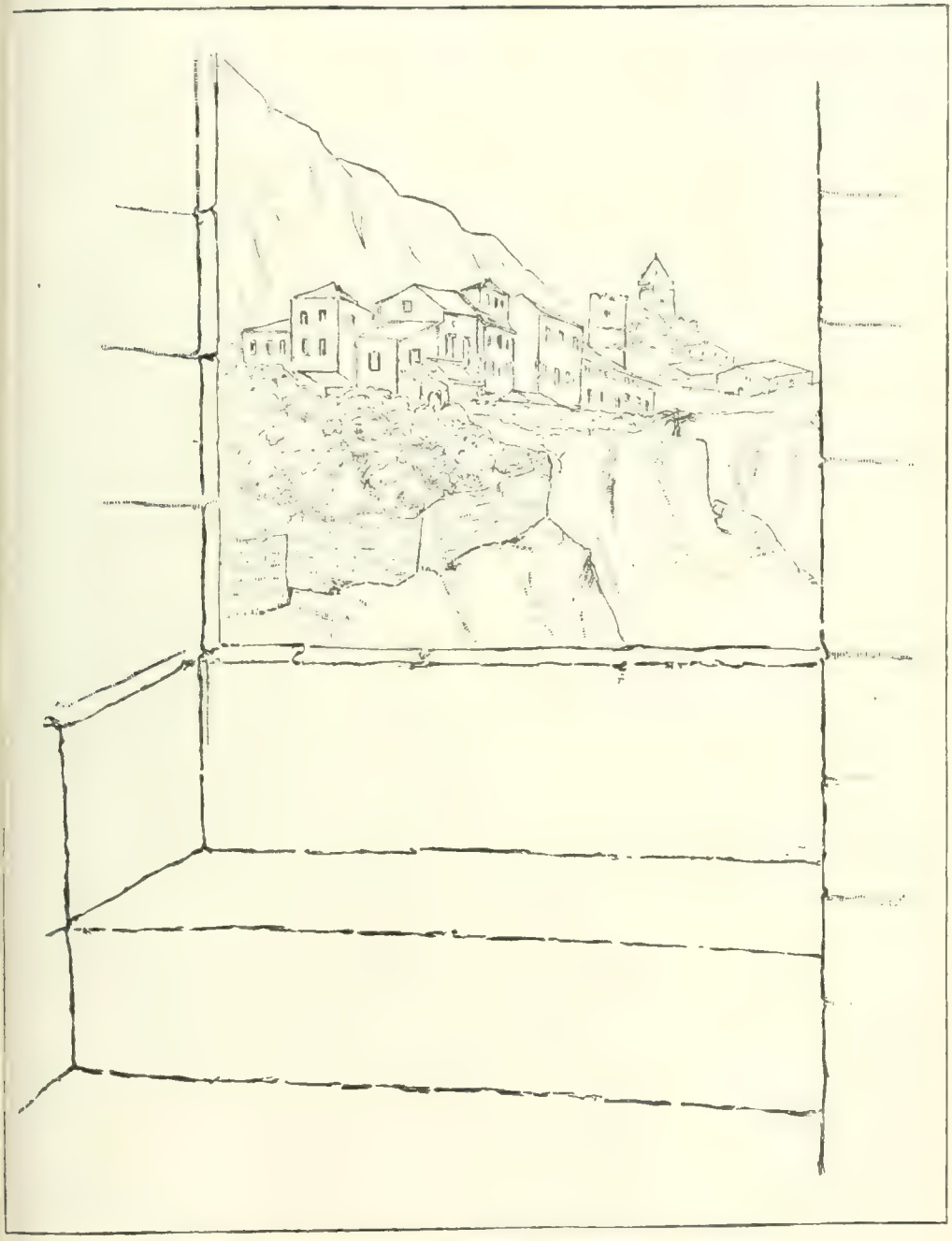
fidelity of Hiero. As for Tauromenium, built on a mountain 900 feet above the sea, and defended by a citadel built 492 feet higher, on an almost inaccessible rock, it had doubtless displayed in those times the sentiments which it manifested in later days to Marcellus, and which gained it the title of *civitas fœderata*.

As had been done for the greater part of the Italians, so here it was forbidden to the inhabitants to acquire any possessions beyond the territory of their cities. Thence there came a great



THEATRE OF TAORMINA.

fall in the price of land, of which the Roman speculators, who could buy anywhere, took advantage to monopolize the best estates. From day to day the number of indigenous proprietors diminished, and Cicero could scarcely find a few in each town. With the small properties, the class of free husbandmen disappeared from the whole island. Immense farms, cultivated for rich Roman knights by an innumerable multitude of slaves; harvests, but no more poets or artists, — such is henceforth the state of Sicily.



TEMPLE OF JUNO MATUTA (RESTORATION OF M. LEFUEL).

Having become the granary of Rome, she saves the people and army from famine more than once. But from her bosom, too, there issue the Servile wars, the cruel expiation of impolitic measures. It is a law of humanity, — evil breeds evil. We have seen it in our own days in Ireland, which has long been, from analogous causes, a thorn in England's side.



Sardinia and Corsica were acquired at the cost of a piece of treachery. At the news that the mercenaries of Carthage, who had been led back from Sicily into Africa, had revolted,[1] those left in Sardinia had massacred their leaders and all the Carthaginians in the island; a rising of the inhabitants against this soldiery

[1] See p. 604.

obliged it to put itself under the protection of Rome. The Senate, which had supported the soldiers in Africa in their revolt by allowing provisions to be taken to them from all the ports of Italy,[1] did not hesitate to take advantage of the embarrassment of their rival to declare that as the rule of Carthage had ceased in the island, they could, without a breach of treaty, take possession of Sardinia. Then, on the report that Carthage was making some preparations, they pretended to think that Italy was threatened, and declared war. Their wrath was appeased by the offer of 1,200 talents and the abandonment of Sardinia. It was still necessary to conquer the Sardinians, whom their old masters probably supported in secret. The Senate employed eight years over it, and two consuls came back thence to triumph. One of these, Pomponius Matho, in order to track the islanders to their remotest retreats, had made use of dogs trained to hunt men, — an expedient which the Spaniards renewed in the New World. This conquest ended, as it had begun, by hateful means.

Corsica shared the fate of the neighboring island; the Senate declared it a Roman province. In reality it preserved that liberty which no enemy dared to spoil, in the depths of its impenetrable coverts.[2] Too wild and too poor to furnish tribute in wheat, like Sardinia, Corsica paid it in the honey of its bees; it promised 100,000 pounds of it.[3] The creation of these two provinces obliged the number of praetors to be raised to four; two, the *praetor urbanus* and the *praetor peregrinus*, remained at Rome; the other two were appointed, one to govern Sicily, the other Sardinia and Corsica (227 B. C.).

Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica being subdued, the Tyrrhenian Sea became a Roman lake. On the other sea the coast was guarded from Rimini to Brundusium by six colonies.[4] But the coast of Illyria, with its numberless islands, has been inhabited in all ages by dangerous pirates. At the time of which we are speaking the Adriatic was infested with them. Nothing

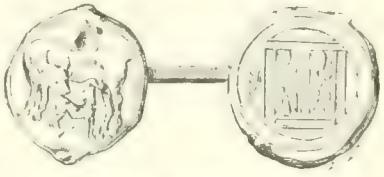
[1] Polybius, i. 83. They forbade it when the mercenaries were on the point of triumphing.

[2] Livy says even of the Sardinians in the time of Augustus: *gente ne nunc quidem pacata.* (xi. 34.)

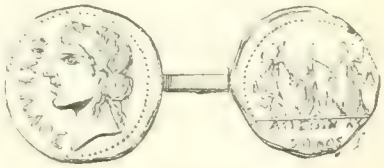
[3] Val. Max., iii. 5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 29.

[4] Ariminum, Sena, Hadria, Castrum Novum, Firmum, Brundusium.

passed without paying toll; the coasts of Greece were ceaselessly devastated, those of Italy threatened.[1] A few years previously they had beaten the Aetolians and Epirotes, taken Phoenice, the richest town in Epirus, pillaged Elis and Messenia, and drawn the Acarnanians into alliance with them. On complaints being raised on all sides, the Senate sent ambassadors to Teuta, the widow of their last king, who governed a port of Illyria in the name of her son Pineus.[2] She proudly replied that it was not the custom of the kings of Illyria to forbid their subjects to cruise for their own profit. At these words the youngest of the deputies, one Coruncanius, replied: "With us, Queen, the custom is never to leave unpunished the wrongs suffered by our fellow-citizens; and we will so do, if it please the gods, that you yourself will set about reforming the customs of the Illyrian kings." Teuta, in irritation, caused the bold youth to be slain, with those who had promoted this Roman embassy, and had the commanders of the vessels which had brought it burned alive. Then the pirating began again with more boldness than before; Corcyra was taken, Epidamnus and Apollonia besieged, and an Achaean fleet beaten.



COIN OF CORCYRA.[3]



COIN OF APOLLONIA.[4]

This was a good opportunity for the Romans to show themselves to the Greeks. The Senate saw what advantage they might derive from these events, and loftily assumed the character of protector of Greece,[5] which they played to the last with so much

[1] Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* iii. 26) calls an Illyrian tribe, the Vardaei, *populatores quondam Italiae.*

[2] Ἄγρων ἦν βασιλεὺς Ἰλλυριῶν μέρους. (Appian, *Illyr.* 7.)

[3] Cow suckling her calf. On the reverse, K backwards, the initial letter of the name of Corcyra. Plan of the gardens of Alcinous, celebrated by Homer. Silver coin of Corcyra.

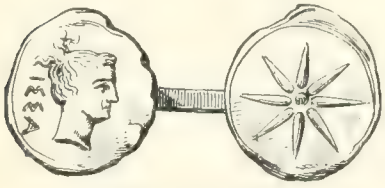
[4] ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ. Head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ ΛΥΣΩΝΟΣ, the names of two magistrates. Three girls dancing; between them we read, ΑΠΟΛ. Silver drachma of Apollonia in Illyria.

[5] Two years later they also took the Greeks of Saguntum under their protection. In the year 267 they had concluded an alliance with the Apollonians (Livy, *Epit.* xv.), and in 237, on the demand of the Acarnanians, they had ordered the Aetolians to respect Acarnania, the only country in all Greece, said their ambassadors, which had not taken part in the Trojan war! (Just., xxviii. 1 and 2.)

success. In order to give a great idea of their power, they sent against these miserable enemies two hundred vessels, twenty thousand legionaries, and the two consuls (229). They had not done so much against Carthage at first. Corcyra was given up by a traitor, Demetrius; the Illyrians were besieging Issa in the island of the same name (Lissa): they were driven from it; and not one of the places that attempted resistance could hold out. Teuta, in affright, yielded all that Rome demanded, — a tribute, the cession of a part of Illyria, a promise not to send more than two vessels to sea beyond the Lissus, and the heads of her chief councillors, in order to appease with the shedding of their blood the irritated manes of the young Coruncanius (228). The Greek towns subdued by the Illyrians, Corcyra and Apollonia, were restored to their independence.[3]



COIN OF ACARNANIA.[1]


COIN OF ISSA.[2]

The consuls hastened to make this treaty known to the Greeks, reminding them that it was for their protection they had crossed the sea. The deputies showed themselves in every town amid the applause of the crowd. At Corinth they were admitted to the Isthmian games, at Athens the citizenship was bestowed on them, and they were initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis. Thus began the first political relations between Rome and Greece.

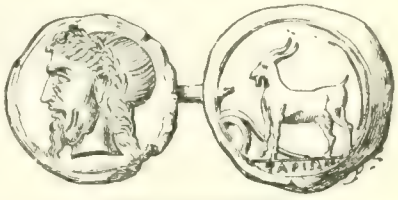
The Romans had given Demetrius the Island of Pharos and some districts of Illyria. Not considering himself sufficiently

[1] ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΩΝ. Head of the River Acheloüs, with two horns, which figure the rapidity of its current, or call to mind that he changed himself into a bull to fight Hercules. The hero tore off one of his horns, which became the horn of plenty, — a pleasing image of the works executed in order to embank the river and restore vast tracts to agriculture; beneath, a serpent, another symbol of the winding course of the stream. On the reverse, the name of a magistrate, ΜΕΝΝΕΙΑΣ, and behind Apollo, who is seated on a rock and holds a bow; in the field, a torch. Silver coin of the Acarnanians.

[2] On the obverse, a woman's head and the name of the town. On the reverse, a star. Bronze coin. Issa was an important island on the Illyrian coast. The Romans, whom it had furnished with the opportunity of acquiring a valuable province, exempted it from all tribute (Livy, xlv. 26), and its inhabitants afterward received the *jus civitatis*. (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 21.)

[3] Polybius, ii. 11; Zonaras, viii. 19. Cf. for this war, Appian, *Illyr.* 7.

recompensed, he joined the corsairs, and led King Pineus into revolt with him. The Gallic war, of which we shall presently speak, was ended, and the Senate, free from all disquietude in Italy, was able to send another consul into Illyria. Demetrius took refuge with the King of Macedonia, whom he soon afterward induced to take arms against the Romans, and Pineus submitted to the conditions of the former treaty (219). Rome thus possessed good ports and a vast province on the Greek mainland, — a kind of outpost, which protected Italy and threatened Macedonia. The Adriatic was pacified like the Tyrrhenian Sea, and the merchant cities of Italy heartily united themselves with the fortune of a Government which gave security and impulse to their commerce.[2]



COIN OF PHAROS.[1]

From Sicily to the northern extremities of Umbria and Etruria the Roman sway was accepted or endured in silence. Beyond the Rubicon and the Apennines all remained free; Cisalpine Gaul, notwithstanding the defeat of the Boii at Lake Vadimon in 283, had not been subjugated. The fertility of these plains, which make Lombardy a garden, astonished Polybius, even after he had seen Sicily and Africa. "Such abundance of grain," says he, "is reaped there when the land is cultivated, that we have seen a measure of wheat at 4 oboli, and one of barley at half that price. A measure of wine is exchanged for an equal measure of barley. Millet grows there in abundance. Numerous woods of oak furnish such quantities of mast that the plains of the Po produce a great part of the pork of which so much is used in Italy, either for the nourishment of the people or the provisioning of the armies. In short, one can satisfy all the needs of life for so small an expenditure, that travellers who stop at the hostelries do not offer a separate price for each thing provided, but pay their reckoning

[1] Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter. On the reverse, ΦΑΡΙΩΝ: goat standing before a serpent. Bronze coin of Pharos.

[2] This commerce was much more considerable than is supposed, and Rome protected it most energetically. The motive of the war declared against Carthage during the mercenary war was the capture of a great number of merchant vessels belonging to Italy; and the piracies of Teuta's subjects on Italian commerce were the first cause of the Illyrian war.

by the head; and it often happens that they settle the whole bill with the fourth part of an obolus." [1]

In this fruitful country the Gallic race had increased with incredible fertility. Cato counted one hundred and two Boian tribes. Polybius, who saw them almost a century after the period to which our story has led us, found them inhabitants of unwalled villages, sleeping on grass or straw, without any furniture, and eating only meat. Warfare was their principal occupation, gold or cattle the only wealth which they esteemed, because they could transport it wherever their adventurous life led them.



COIN OF THE BOII.[2]

Intestine wars, arising from the rivalry of their chiefs, the jealousy of the tribes, the hatred of the Taurini against the Insubres, of the Cenomani against the Boii, of the Venetians against them all, and the lucrative service in the armies of Carthage, which attracted the most restless of these adventurers, had for forty-five years saved the peninsula from the dangers of a Gallic invasion. The repose which the peace of 241 had restored to the world did not suit these campaigners. In 238 two Boian chiefs, supported by the youth of the land, were anxious, in spite of the old men, to drag their nation into a war against Rome. They called in some tribes from the Alps and fell upon Ariminum. But the peace party carried the day; the two chiefs were murdered, their auxiliaries driven away, and calm restored before the legions could reach the frontier.

At this time the expeditions to Sardinia and Illyria had not commenced; the Gauls appeared intimidated, and Carthage was defeated; the Senate closed the temple of Janus, for the first time since Numa. Almost immediately troubles broke out on all sides, and Rome again became the city of Mars.

The Ligurians descended from their mountains and pillaged the Etruscan plains; to drive them back again required six years and the talents of Fabius. This war was only tedious; that against the

[1] Polybius, ii. 15, 17. This picture is to this day partly true. One can live very cheaply in the plain of the Po outside the great hotels, and Bologna sends its sausages all over Europe.

[2] On the obverse, here represented above, an uncertain object. On the reverse, a rainbow above a boat. Gold coin of the Boii.

Boii was dangerous. The Senate had forbidden the sale of arms to them, and the tribune, Flaminius, had proposed the division of the land of the Senones, lying along the frontier, which had remained almost deserted since the war of extermination in 283. This proposition was in accordance with the policy of Rome: it relieved the city of its poor, rewarded the veterans of the Punic war, and placed at



WALLS OF FAESULAE (FIESOLE).[1]

the approaches to Cisalpine Gaul a Roman population, which would act as a living rampart against Gallic invasions. But it deprived the nobles of the pastures which they considered as their property; they violently rejected it, and when Flaminius had it voted by the tribes in the comitia, in spite of the opposition of the Senate, they accused him of having caused the revolt of the Boii. The latter, terrified at the idea of having the Romans for neighbors, joined with the Insubres, and called in from Transalpine Gaul a formidable army of Gaesates, warriors belonging to various tribes, but united by a common taste for adventures. "Never," says Polybius, "had braver soldiers crossed the Alps." Happily the Cenomani and Venetians betrayed the common cause. Rome had

[1] From a print in the *Bibliothèque nationale.*

for a long time come to an understanding with the former; the others had always been hostile to the Cisalpine Gauls. This diversion obliged the confederates to leave a portion of their forces for the protection of their homesteads; the remainder, consisting of 50,000 foot-soldiers and 20,000 horsemen, or soldiers mounted on war-chariots, set out for Rome. The Cisalpines were commanded by Britomar, the Insubrian; the Gaesates, armed with the *gais*, a blunt sword, sharp only on one edge, followed their kings Concolitan and Aneroestus. All had sworn, leaders and soldiers, not to take off their baldrics till they had ascended the Capitol.

Terror was at its height in the town; the Sibylline books were consulted, and demanded the sacrifice of a Gallic man and woman and a Grecian man and woman. They were buried alive in the midst of the Forum Boarium, and the oracle which announced that the Gauls and Greeks should take possession of the Roman soil was thought to be accomplished. But according to the popular belief these unhappy beings might after their death become formidable; so in order to appease their anger, a sacrifice was instituted, which was yearly celebrated "on the Gallic grave." Having thus settled accounts with the gods and the murdered victims, Rome set herself about warding off the danger. Vain terrors did not banish manly resolutions; she trusted to the gods, but especially to herself; and this was what made her so great, in spite of her superstitious spirit.

The Senate declared that there was a *tumultus*, and every man fit to carry a sword took arms, even such of the priests as the law dispensed from service; 150,000 soldiers were drawn up before Rome, and 620,000, furnished by the allies, were held in reserve. The Samnites had promised 70,000 foot and 16,000 horse; the Latins, 80,000 foot and 5,000 horse; the Iapyges and Messapians, 50,000 foot and 16,000 horse; the Lucanians, 30,000 foot and 3,000 horse; the Marsic confederation, 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse. The Romans and Campanians alone could furnish 273,000 men. Thus the whole of Italy rose to defend Rome, and drive back the barbarians.

Two routes led from Upper Italy into the Valley of the Tiber. In order to close them, one of the consuls stationed himself on

the east of the Apennines before Ariminum; a praetor established himself on the west, near Faesulae, with 54,000 Etruscans and Sabines, and the other consular army was recalled in haste from Sardinia, with orders to land at Pisa, and guard the passes of the Apennines in Liguria, if it was not too late. So many precautions and preparations almost turned out useless. The Gauls, crossing the Apennines at a place where the legions did not expect them, left behind them the praetorian army which guarded the mountain passage on the Umbrian side, and arrived within three days' march of Rome. The praetor had followed them; they turned upon him, killed six thousand of his men, and hemmed in the remains of his legion upon a hill. Fortunately the consul Aemilius arrived during the night, having hastened from Ariminum at the news of this bold march. The Gauls, being embarrassed with immense plunder and many captives, were desirous of placing their acquisitions in safety at home, then to return and engage in battle. This resolution was their ruin. They were marching along the coast, followed by Aemilius, in order to reach Liguria, when the consul Atilius, having landed at Pisa with his legions, fell upon their vanguard near Cape Telamon (near the mouth of the Ombrone). The Gauls were caught between three armies. They stationed their chariots on the flanks to protect them, their booty and captives they placed on a hill in their midst; and whilst the Gaesates and Insubres faced Aemilius in the rear, the Boii and Taurisci resisted the consul Atilius in the front. "It was a strange



ETRUSCAN WARRIOR.[1]

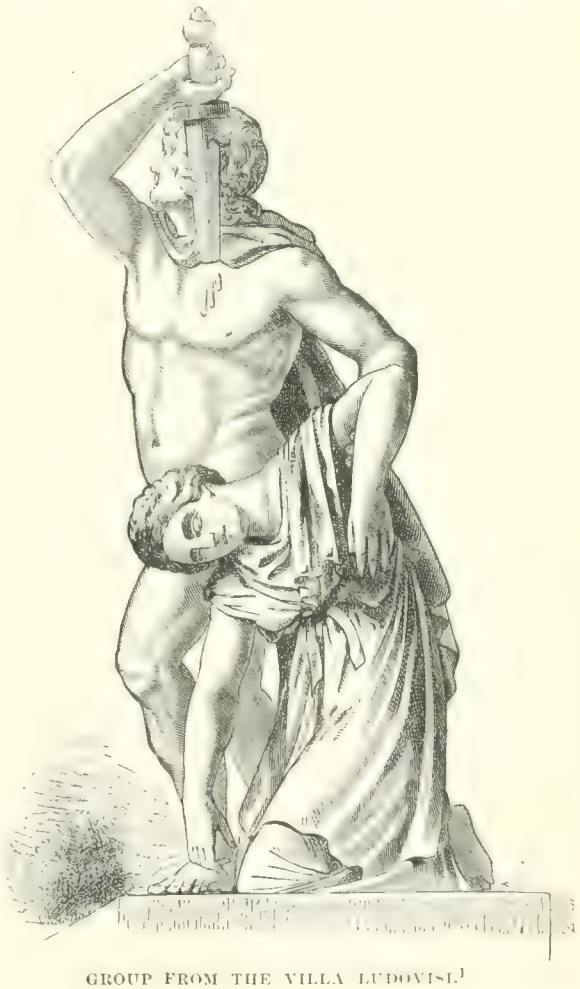
[1] From a bas-relief found at Faesulae. (Micali, pl. ii. fig. 3.)

sight; innumerable trumpets and the war-cries of the barbarians filled the air with fearful noises, which the hills re-echoed, and the great naked figures were seen violently brandishing their arms. But if their shouts caused terror, the golden collars and bracelets which loaded their arms and necks gave hope of a rich booty." The consul Atilius was killed in a cavalry skirmish which preceded the general action. The latter was commenced by the archers of the legions, who showered upon the enemy's line a hail of arrows, not one of which was lost, for the Gaesates, who, with ostentatious courage, and in order to be more free in their movements, had stripped off their clothing down to their belts, could not shelter themselves under their small shields. After the archers the infantry, clad in excellent armor, came on at racing speed, and fell to the attack with their short strong swords well sharpened on each edge and at the point. The Gauls, whose sabres bent at every blow, for some time resisted by their mass and their indomitable courage. "If they had had the weapons of the Romans, they would have gained the victory." And Polybius, in so saying, expressed the opinion of the oldest historian of Rome, Fabius Pictor, who had been present at the battle[1] when the Roman cavalry, breaking through the line of chariots, charged them on the flank, and a frightful confusion broke out in the barbarian army, thus pressed from before, behind, and on the side. Forty thousand barbarians were left on the battle-field: ten thousand were made prisoners. One of the Gallic brenns, Concolitan, was taken; another, Aneroestus, slew with his own hand those of his devoted band who had survived the combat, and stabbed himself (225). The fate of Britomar is not known. The captives kept their oath; they ascended to the Capitol wearing their baldrics, but preceding the triumphal car of Aemilius. Midway they laid them aside to enter the Tullianum, whence none came out alive.

Rome had been frightened. The Senate decided to free Italy from such fears; and in the following year sent the two consuls into Cisalpine Gaul to begin the conquest of it. The Gauls on the south of the Po, enfeebled by the great disaster of Telamon, gave hostages, and delivered up three of their strongholds to the Romans,

[1] . . . *Qui ei bello interfuit.* (Eutrop., iii. 5.)

amongst them Modena (224). But those on the north, the Insubres, met the consuls with vigor when, in the following year, the latter for the first time risked the Roman standards on the north bank of the river. The Romans were glad to accept a treaty which allowed them to retire without fighting. They reached the country of the Cenomani, where a few days, rest and plenty restored strength to their troops; then, forgetting the treaty, they again entered the Insubrian territory at the foot of the Alps. Fifty thousand men marched against them to avenge this perfidy. They had taken from their temples their sacred flags, the *Immovables*, which were never brought out except in the greatest dangers. Flaminius, one of the consuls, was that former tribune so hateful to the nobles on account of his proposition to distribute the lands of the Senones. The Senate, not being able to hinder his election, made the gods speak to annul it; miracles multiplied, and the augurs declared the appointment of Flaminius and his colleague, Furius, illegal. A decree recalled them; Flaminius received it at the moment of commencing the battle, and took no notice of it; he



GROUP FROM THE VILLA LUDOVISI.[1]

[1] It was long thought that this group represented the death of Arria and Paetus; we dare not assert that the artist wished to consecrate the famous remembrance of the suicide of Aneroestus, but it is certainly a barbarian killing his wife and himself after a defeat.

could only escape condemnation by a victory. He impressed the necessity of it upon his soldiers, posting them in front of a deep river, and breaking down the bridges behind them. The swords of the barbarians, badly tempered and pointless, grew blunt and bent easily. After the first blow the soldiers were obliged to press them against the ground and straighten them with their feet. Having observed this at the battle of Cape Telamon, the tribunes distributed the pikes of the *triarii* among the men of the first rank, with orders not to attack with the sword till they saw that the sabres of the Gauls had been bent by striking on the iron of the pike. The Insubres lost eight thousand dead, and ten thousand prisoners (223 B. C.). They asked for peace; and, on the refusal of the Senate, hastily called in from the Transalpine regions thirty thousand Gaesates, commanded by King Virdumar, who came and proudly laid siege to the stronghold of Clastidium, on the south of the Po, which, in the hands of Rome, had become one of the fetters of Cisalpine Gaul. The Roman consul, Marcellus, he who some years later won, against Hannibal, the surname of the *Sword of Rome*, hastened to relieve it. As he was drawing up his line of battle, his horse, frightened by the confused cries of the barbarians, suddenly turned and carried him, in spite of himself, to the rear. With such superstitious soldiers as the Romans were, this natural incident might be taken for a presage of defeat, and might lead to it. Marcellus, on the contrary, turned it to advantage. He pretended to be anxious to accomplish a religious act, made his horse complete the circle, and when he had returned in front of the enemy, worshipped the sun. After that they could fight; it was only one of the ordinary ceremonies of the adoration of the gods. When the King of the Gaesates perceived Marcellus, judging by the splendor of his arms that he must be



TOMB OF THE GENS FURIA.[1]

[1] The Furii appear to have been originally from Tusculum, where the remains of a tomb of that family are seen.

the chief, he spurred his horse out of the ranks, and challenged him to single combat between the two armies.

The consul had just vowed to Jupiter Feretrius the most beautiful arms that should be taken from the enemy. At the sight of this Gaul, whose armor was resplendent with the blaze of gold, silver, and purple, Marcellus had no doubt that these were the promised spoils, and that the gods had sent the barbarian to fall beneath his blows. He rushed straight at him at the full gallop of his horse, and struck him with his lance right on the breast with such force that the cuirass was pierced, and Virdumar fell. Before he could rise, Marcellus dealt him another blow; then sprang to the ground, tore off his arms, and, raising them towards heaven, cried: "Jupiter, receive the spoils which I offer thee, and deign to grant us like fortune in the course of this war." The Romans, excited by the exploit of their leader, fell impetuously on the enemy. After a bloody affray the Gaesates took to flight. Despair seized the Insubres. They yielded themselves to the discretion of the Senate, who made them pay a heavy indemnity, and confiscated a part of their territory, in order to establish colonies there (222).

All that was most magnificent in the arrangements of the Roman festivals was employed to celebrate the victory of Marcellus, — the third who had triumphed with the *spolia opima*. The streets through which the procession[1] was to pass were strewn with flowers, and incense smoked everywhere. A numerous band of musicians led the march; then came the oxen for sacrifice, with their horns gilded, and, after a long string of chariots, bearing the arms taken from the enemy, the Gallic captives, whose high stature and martial bearing struck every eye. A clown, dressed as a woman, and a troop of satyrs, insulted their grief by joyful songs. Finally, amid the smoke of perfumes, there appeared the triumpher, clad in a purple robe embroidered with gold, his head crowned with laurels and his face painted with vermilion like the statues of the gods; on his shoulder he bore the helmet, cuirass, and tunic of Virdumar,

[1] The procession was formed on the Field of Mars, and crossed the Flaminian Circus, the Triumphal Gate, where the senators and magistrates awaited it, then the Circus Maximus, and by the valley which separated the Caelian from the Palatine reached the Via Sacra, and arrived at the Capitol by the *clivus Victoriae*. See the plan of Rome.

arranged round the trunk of an oak. At the sight of this glorious trophy the crowd made the air resound with the cry of "*Triumph! triumph!*" interrupted only by the warrior hymns of the soldiers.

"As the triumphal car began to turn from the Forum towards the Capitol, Marcellus made a sign, and the flower of the Gallic captives were led to a prison, where the executioners were waiting, and axes prepared; then the procession went, according to custom, to wait on the Capitol in the temple of Jupiter till a lictor should bring the news that the barbarians were despatched. Then Marcellus intoned the hymn of praise, and the sacrifice was over. Before leaving the Capitol the triumpher with his own hands planted his trophy in the precincts of the temple. The rest of the day passed in rejoicings and festivities, and on the morrow perhaps some orator of the Senate or people again began the customary declamations against that Gallic race which must be exterminated, because it butchered its prisoners and offered the blood of men to its gods."[1]



MARCELLUS AT THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER FERETRIUS.[2]

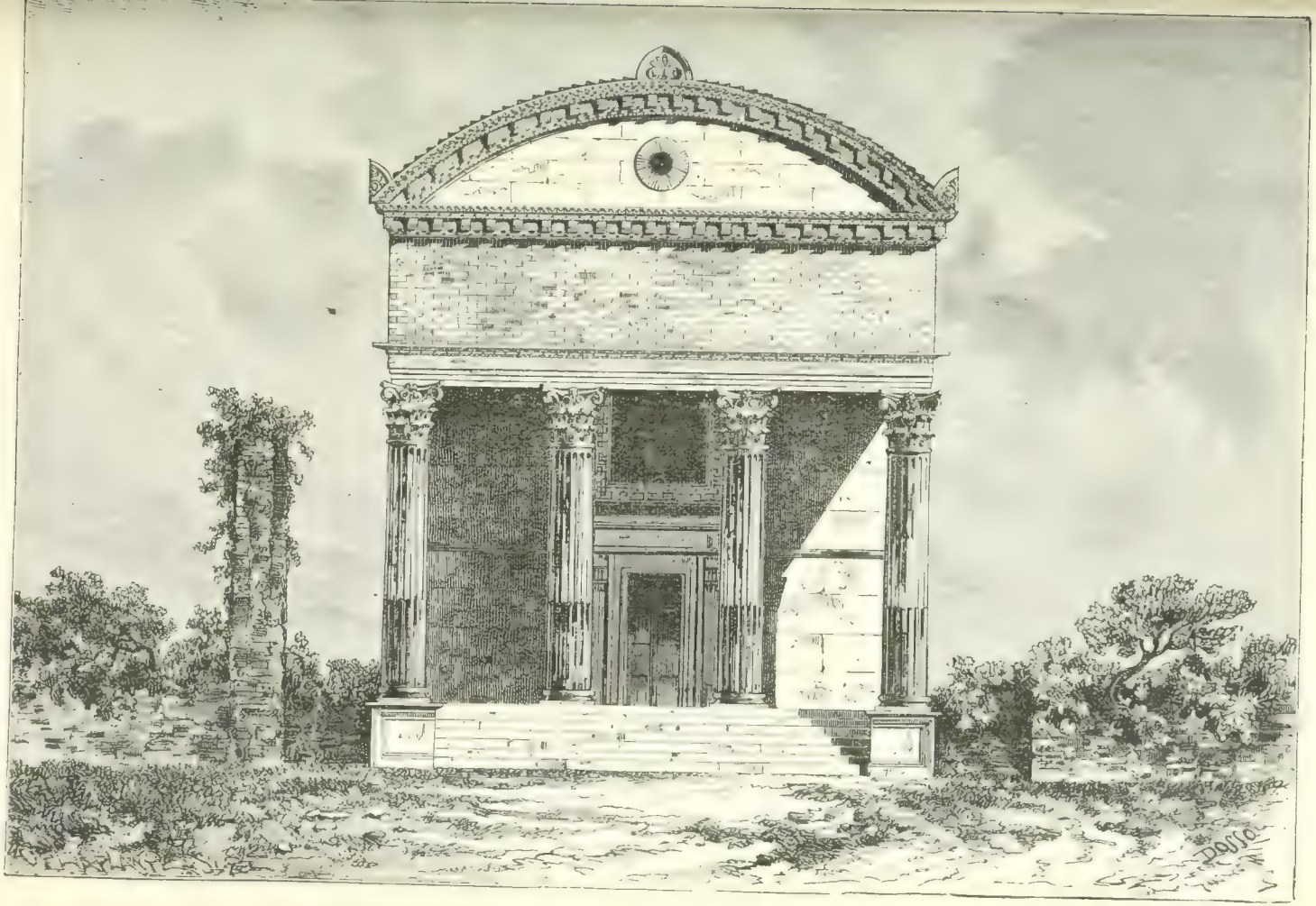
Marcellus had promised on his victory to raise a temple to Honor and Courage. The pontiffs refused to unite the two deities in the same sanctuary. "Should the lightning fall there," said they, "or should some prodigy be manifested, it would be difficult to make the expiations, because it would not be known to which god to offer the sacrifice, and the rites do not permit to immolate the same victim to two deities." Marcellus dedicated the temple to Honor, and built another to Courage, which his son dedicated seventeen years later.[3]

The defeat of the Insubres advanced the conquest of Cisalpine Gaul. In order to consolidate their power there, the Senate, in 218, sent two colonies, each of six thousand Roman families, to Cremona and Placentia; they were to guard the line of the Po, already defended by Tametum, Clastidium, and Modena. The

[1] Amédée Thierry, *Hist. des Gaulois*, i. 257.

[2] MARCELLINVS. Head of Marcellus. Behind, the *triquetra* (see p. 110, note 2). On the reverse, MARCELLVS COS. QVINQ. (consul for the fifth time); Marcellus bearing a trophy to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Silver denarius of the Claudian family.

[3] Livy, xxvii. 25, and xxix. 11.



TEMPLE OF COURAGE (PIRANESI, RACCOLTA DI TEMPII ANTICHI, PL. 2).

military road commenced by the censor Flaminius, leading across the Apennines from Rome as far as the middle of the country of the Senones, was continued in order to connect these advanced posts with the great place of Ariminum.[1] Thus the Roman sway drew near the Alps, — "that bulwark raised by a divine hand," says Cicero, "for the defence of Italy," — and the plough was about to finish the work of the sword in Cisalpine Gaul, when the arrival of Hannibal put a stop to everything.



HONOR AND VIRTUE.[2]

In 221 the Romans had also occupied Istria; there they were masters of one of the gates of Italy, and they established themselves on the north of Macedonia, which they already menaced on the side of Illyria.

Since the defeat of Pyrrhus they had maintained friendly relations with the kings of Egypt. The latter naturally drew near a people who might some day become a formidable adversary to the enemies that the Ptolemies had in Greece. After the First Punic War Euergetes renewed the alliance that his father had concluded with Rome. The Senate offered him troops as auxiliaries against Antiochus of Syria.[4] He refused them, but remained faithful to his friendship with the Romans.


PTOLEMY III., EUERGETES.[3]

II. Carthage: War of the Mercenaries; Conquest of Spain.

During these twenty-three years so well employed by Rome, Carthage had also extended her empire; but only after having passed through a crisis which nearly destroyed her, and which gave her constitution a lasting shock.

[1] Strabo (v. 217) attributes to Aemilius, who was consul in 187, the Aemilian Way, which led from Ariminum to Bononia and Aquileia, going round the marshes, and following the foot of the Alps.

[2] HO. VIR. Laurel-crowned head of Honor, with the helmeted head of Virtue (Valor); beneath, the word KALENI, the surname of the Trufian family, who had this silver coin struck.

[3] Bust of Ptolemy Euergetes, with a sceptre and the aegis. From a gold tetradrachma.

[4] Zonar., viii. 6; Eutrop., iii. 1.

When Amilcar signed the peace with Lutatius, there were in Sicily twenty thousand mercenaries, who had long been paid with nothing but words. When the war was ended they claimed the execution of these promises and their pay. Gisco, the governor of Lilybaeum, sent them back to Carthage by detachments, in order to give the Senate time to satisfy or disperse them. But the treasury was empty. All were allowed to arrive, and when they were assembled the distress of the Republic was pictured to them, and an appeal was made to their disinterestedness; yet gold and silver shone on all sides in this opulent metropolis of Africa. The mercenaries began to pay themselves with their own hands. The Senate feared a pillage; they ordered the officers to lead the army to Sicca, giving each soldier a piece of gold for the most pressing needs. The Carthaginians might have detained their women and children as hostages; but they sent them away, that these foreigners might not be tempted to come back in search of them. Then, closing their gates, they believed themselves to be sheltered from all anger behind their high walls.

The mercenaries, says Polybius, whose account we are abridging, met at Sicca. For such troops idleness is an evil counsellor. They began to reckon and to exaggerate what was owing to them, and what had been promised them in hours of danger; and in those greedy souls there sprang up vast desires.

Hanno was sent to them; who, instead of bringing gold, asked for sacrifices, speaking humbly of the destitution of the Republic. Citizens might have understood this language. The mercenaries grew irritated, and sedition broke out. First the men of each nation gathered together, then all the nations united. They could not understand each other, but they all agreed in hurling a thousand imprecations. Hanno essayed to speak to the soldiers through their leaders; the leaders repeated quite different things from what was said to them, and the anger of the crowd increased. "Why, too," asked the mercenaries, "had there been sent them, instead of the generals who had seen them at work, and who knew what was due to them, Hanno, who knew nothing about them?" They struck their camp, marched upon Carthage, and stopped at a hundred and twenty stadia from the town, at the place called Tunis.

Carthage had neither soldiers to drive off these barbarians, nor hostages to stay them. She tried to appease them; she sent them provisions, the price of which they themselves fixed, and deputies who promised that all they might demand should be granted. These proofs of cowardice increased their boldness. They had held their own against the Romans in Sicily: who then would dare to look them in the face? Certainly not the Carthaginians. . . . And every day they invented new demands, laying claims, besides their pay, to the price of their horses that had been killed, and requiring that they should be paid for the provisions owing to them at the exorbitant price they had reached during the war. To put an end to this, Gisco, one of their generals in Sicily, was sent to them, who had always had their interests at heart, and who came with a large quantity of gold. He took the leaders aside, and then assembled each nation separately to give them their pay. An arrangement was almost arrived at; but there was in the army a certain Spendius, a Campanian, formerly a slave at Rome, who feared lest he should be delivered up to his master, and an African named Matho, the principal author of these troubles; they both expected, if an agreement was made, to pay for all. Matho pointed out to the Libyans that when the other nations were gone away, Carthage would let all the weight of her wrath fall on them, and chastise them in such a manner as to frighten their compatriots. A great agitation followed this discourse, and as



CARTHAGINIAN WARRIOR (?).[1]

[1] Bearded warrior, standing, clad in a cuirass, found in Sicily in 1762. He held in his right hand a sword, of which only the hilt remains. Caylus calls it a Carthaginian soldier. Statuette in bronze, 5 inches in height. *Cabinet de France*: No. 2,976 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

Gisco put off till another time the payment for provisions and horses, the Libyans assembled tumultuously. They would hear only Spendius and Matho; if any other orator attempted to speak, he was immediately stoned. A single word was understood by all these barbarians: Strike! As soon as any one said Strike! they all struck, and so quickly, that it was impossible to escape. Many soldiers, and even leaders, thus perished; and at length Spendius and Matho were chosen generals.

Gisco knew that if once these ferocious beasts were let loose, Carthage would be lost. At the peril of his life he remained in the camp, trying to bring back the leaders to reason. But one day, when the Africans, who had not received their pay, insolently demanded it, he told them to address themselves to Matho. At these words they fell upon the money, seized Gisco and his companions, and loaded them with chains.

Carthage was in terror. All bruised and bleeding yet from her defeats in Sicily, she had hoped, when peace was once made with Rome, for a little rest and safety, and here was a war breaking out more terrible than ever; for it was no longer a question of Sicily, but of the safety and even the existence of the country. She had neither army nor fleet; her granaries were empty, her treasury exhausted, her allies indifferent or hostile. Her sway over the nations of Africa had been cruel. In the last war she had exacted from the inhabitants of the country half their incomes, and doubled the taxes in the towns; Leptis Parva owed her a talent a day. The poorest could hope for neither grace nor mercy from the Carthaginian governors; for to be popular at Carthage it was necessary to be pitiless towards her subjects, and extract large sums of money from them.

Accordingly, as soon as Matho had stirred up the towns of Africa to revolt, the very women, who had so often seen their husbands and kindred dragged to prison for the payment of the tax, swore among themselves to hide none of their effects; they gave all they had in the way of furniture and ornaments, and money abounded in the camp of the mercenaries. Their troops were augmented by numerous auxiliaries, the army rose to seventy thousand men, with whom they laid siege to Utica and Hippo, the only two towns which had not responded to their appeal.

The Carthaginians at first confided the conduct of the war to Hanno; but he twice let slip an occasion to destroy the enemy. Amilcar was put in his place. With ten thousand men and seventy-five elephants he managed to make the mercenaries raise the siege of Utica, free the approaches of Carthage, and gain a second battle against Spendius. Then the Numidians went over to him, he found himself master of the country, and the mercenaries began to lack provisions. At the same time he showed much mildness with regard to his prisoners. The chiefs feared defections; in order to prevent them, they assembled the army, and brought forward a man who they pretended had just arrived from Sardinia with a letter, in which their friends invited them to keep a close watch upon Gisco and the other prisoners, to mistrust the secret practices going on in the camp in favor of the Carthaginians. Spendius then addressed them, pointing out the perfidious mildness of Amilcar, and the danger of sending back Gisco. He was still speaking, when a fresh messenger, who said he had arrived from Tunis, brought another letter in similar terms to the first. Autaritus, chief of the Gauls, declared that there was no safety except in a rupture beyond reparation with the Carthaginians, that all those who spoke otherwise were traitors, and that in order to avoid all agreement it was necessary to slay Gisco and the other prisoners. . . . This Autaritus had the advantage of speaking Phoenician, and thus making himself understood by the greatest number; for the length of the war gradually made Phoenician the common language, and the soldiers generally saluted in that language.

After Autaritus, men of every nation spoke who had obligations towards Gisco, and who demanded that he should be at least spared torture; as they all spoke together, and each in his own language, nothing they said could be understood; but as soon as it was perceived what they wished to say, and some one cried, Kill! kill! these unhappy intercessors were struck down with stones. Then Gisco was taken with his companions, to the number of seven hundred; they were led out of the camp, their hands and ears cut off, their legs broken, and they were thrown alive into a ditch. When Amilcar sent to demand at least their corpses, the barbarians declared that the deputies should be treated in the same manner, and proclaimed as law that every Carthaginian

prisoner should perish by torture, and that every ally of Carthage should be sent back with his hands cut off; and this law was rigorously observed. Amilcar in reprisal threw all his prisoners before the elephants.

The affairs of the Carthaginians were assuming a favorable aspect, when sudden reverses threw them back into their earlier state. Sardinia revolted; a tempest sank a great convoy of provisions; Hippo and Utica revolted and murdered their garrisons; and Matho already dreamt of leading his mercenaries to the foot of the walls of Carthage. But Hiero, whom the final victory of this barbarian army would have menaced, afforded all the help that the Carthaginians demanded; even Rome [now] showed herself favorable. The Senate restored what remained of the prisoners taken in Sicily, allowed Italian merchants to bear them provisions, and refused the offer of the inhabitants of Utica to give themselves to the Romans. A second time Amilcar drove the mercenaries from the neighborhood of Carthage, and, with his Numidian cavalry, forced them into the mountains, where he succeeded in enclosing one of their two armies in the defiles of the Axe. There, unable to fight or flee, they found themselves reduced to eating one another. The prisoners and slaves went first; when this resource failed, Spendius, Autaritus, and the other leaders, threatened by the multitude, were obliged to ask for a safe-conduct to go in search of Amilcar. He did not refuse it, and made an agreement with them that, with the exception of ten men whom he should choose, he would send away the others, leaving each of them a coat. When the treaty was concluded, Amilcar said to the envoys: "*You are among the ten!*" and he detained them. The mercenaries, on learning the arrest of their leaders, thought they were betrayed, and rushed to arms; they were so surrounded, that of forty thousand not one escaped. Meanwhile Matho, who was besieged in Tunis, offered an energetic resistance; in a sortie he captured Hannibal, the colleague of Amilcar, and bound him to the cross of Spendius. Thirty of the principal Carthaginians perished in fearful tortures; but, being drawn into the level country, he was overcome in a great battle, led to Carthage, and given up to the people for their sport.

The *inexpiable war*, as it was called, had lasted three years and four months. "I know not," says Polybius, "that in any other barbarity and impiety have been carried so far." Man had fallen, as he often does, below the wild beast, which kills to live, but does not torture.

In a commercial republic which allows itself to be drawn into long wars, there is necessarily formed a military party, whose importance grows with their services, and who end by sacrificing the liberties of the country to their chief. Thus perished the Dutch republic,[1] thus Carthage was to end. Moreover, a constitution must be firmly rooted in a country, not to be shaken by an unsuccessful war. The Carthaginian oligarchy bore the penalty of the disasters of the First Punic War, and the necessity of arming the citizens to resist the mercenaries had still further enfeebled it, by strengthening the popular element. If the inner life of Carthage were better known to us, we should find therein some curious revelations about the two great parties which divided it, and of which historians scarcely give us a glimpse. Perhaps Hanno and his friends, who are represented to us as sold to Rome, or basely jealous of Amilcar and his son, would appear as citizens justly alarmed at the growing favor among the populace and soldiers of a family, which appeared to be invested by hereditary right with the command of the armies, and who threatened Carthage with a military dictatorship. In the First Punic War Amilcar had rendered immense services; yet Hanno was appointed against the mercenaries. When his incapacity had obliged the Senate to yield Amilcar to the desires of the army, another Hanno was appointed as his colleague. But the soldiers drove him away,[2] and Amilcar replaced him by a general called Hannibal, and probably of his faction. When he was dead the Senate hastened to send Hanno again, with thirty senators, to reconcile the two leaders, and keep watch over Amilcar. The hero was compelled to share with his rival the glory of terminating this war. The savior of Carthage deserved brilliant rewards; he was humiliated by shameful

[1] Hannibal was the future statholder of Carthage; the Hannos were its De Witts. It was the same at Syracuse, in all the Greek republics of Sicily, and in all those of Italy in the Middle Ages.

[2] Polyb., i. 82 . . . Βάρκας δὲ παραλαβὼν Ἀννίβαν τὸν στρατηγὸν . . . ἐπεὶ τὸν Ἄννωνα τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔκρινε δεῖν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

accusations.[1] The army and the people were for him; but, either through patriotism, or a consciousness of the strength which the party which insulted him still retained, or a desire to increase his renown and the influence of his party by fresh victories, he allowed himself to be exiled with his victorious troops, and set out to subdue for Carthage the coasts of Africa and Spain. This conquest would, it was thought, be a compensation for the loss of Corsica and Sardinia.[2]

Amilcar spent there nine years, during which, says Polybius, he subdued a great number of nations by arms and by treaties, till he perished in a battle against the Lusitanians, on the banks of the Guadiana. The booty won in Spain had served to buy the people and a part of the Senate.[3] The Barcine faction increased; and as its principal support was in the people, it favored the encroachments of the popular assembly, which by degrees came to preponderate in the Government.[4] Accordingly, Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Amilcar, and favorite of the people at Carthage, succeeded to his father-in-law's command, in spite of the Senate.[5] He continued his conquests with an army of fifty-six thousand soldiers and two hundred elephants, pushed on as far as the Ebro, where the Romans, frightened at his progress, stopped him by a treaty (227); and, in order to consolidate his power, founded Carthagena[6] in a well-chosen position, in the middle of the Spanish coast, facing Africa, at a large harbor, and near mines which daily yielded him 300 pounds' weight of silver. Immense works made a great town of it in a few years; it was, as it were, the capital of the future states of the Barcine house.[7]

[1] Corn. Nepos, *Amilcar.*

[2] According to Appian, he set out, in spite of the Senate, for Spain, where Carthage already had some possessions and commercial relations.

[3] . . . *pecunia totam locupletavit Africam.* (Corn. Nep., *Amilcar*, 4.)

[4] . . . τὴν πλείστην δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς διαβουλίοις . . . ὁ δῆμος ἤδη μετειλήφει (Polyb., vi. 51; cf. Appian, vi. 5; see p. 526). The First Punic War, by staying the course of emigration, which periodically removed a part of the poor from the towns, augmented the influence of the people.

[5] *Factionis Barcinae opibus, quae apud milites plebemque plus quam modicae erant, haud sane voluntate principum, in imperio potitus.* (Livy, xxi. 2.) According to Cornelius Nepos (*Amilcar*, 3): *largitione vetustos pervertit mores.*

[6] Gades was the Phœnician capital of Spain; but the Barcas desired a new town. Gades, moreover, occupied too eccentric a position, and preserved the bitter regret of its independence, which Hasdrubal had suppressed.

[7] Hanno, in opposing himself to Hannibal's being sent to Hasdrubal, said: *An hoc timemus, ne . . . nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat . . .?* And he adds in

Hasdrubal was, however, assassinated by a Gallic slave, who avenged on him the death of his master, slain by treason. The soldiers elected in his place Hannibal, the son of their ancient commander, who had fought in their ranks for three years. The people confirmed,[1] and the Senate accepted the new king. Spain and the army were, in fact, no longer anything but a heritage of the Barcas.[2]

Such was, in 219, the situation at Carthage. Everything announced a coming transformation in that ancient republic. But Hannibal, like Cæsar two centuries later, needed soldiers and victories to enable him to re-enter his fatherland as its master. Cæsar won the dictatorship in Gaul; Hannibal sought it in this Second Punic War, which his father had bequeathed him.

speaking of Amilcar: *cujus regis . . .* ; and of the army: *hereditarii exercitus . . .* (Livy, xxi. 3.) These speeches of Hanno are made by Livy, but they represent the opinion which the Romans held, and which, according to all indications, we must ourselves hold, of the ambition of the Barcas. A military chief, Malchus, had already led his army against Carthage, and taken the town, — without, however, proclaiming himself king. But he was condemned, and put to death on the accusation of having aspired to the tyranny. (Justin., xviii. 7.)

[1] Polybius, iii. 13.

[2] The historian Fabius, a contemporary of Amilcar and senator of Rome, expressly said that Hasdrubal, after having tried to seize the tyranny of Carthage: . . . *εἰς μοναρχίαν περιστῆσαι τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν Καρχηδονίων*, had behaved in Spain as if the country belonged to him: . . . *τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβερίαν χειρίζειν κατὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ προαίρεσιν, οὐ προσέχοντα τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων.* (Polyb., iii. 8.) Polybius himself says (x. 10) of Hasdrubal, that he had built a kingly palace at Carthagena: *βασίλεια κατεσκεύασται πολυτελῶς, ἃ φασιν . . . ποιῆσαι, μοναρχικῆς ὀρεγόμενον ἐξουσίας.*

CHAPTER XXII.

INTERNAL STATE OF ROME IN THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE TWO PUNIC WARS.

I. Commencement of Roman Literature; Popular Games and Festivals.

TO furnish Italy with her natural adjuncts, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and make these islands the outposts of the new Empire, to protect her commerce against the pirates of Illyria, her quiet and fortune against the land-pirates settled in Cisalpine Gaul, Rome had fought numerous battles and set immortal lessons of perseverance. From these terrible struggles she had issued with an assurance of her own strength and of the fidelity of her subjects: this is the golden age of her republican existence.[1]

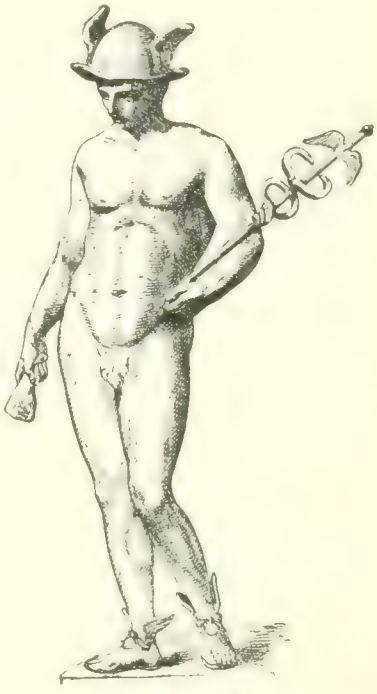
Meanwhile, since the Samnite War, everything, — manners, religion, and political organization, — had made a step in advance. The riches found in the pillage of industrious commercial cities, the tribute paid by Sicily and Carthage, the ideas acquired by contact with so many men and things, produced novelties to which the Romans insensibly grew accustomed. In less than three quarters of a century Rome is no longer in Rome. Let us follow these slow infiltrations of foreign ideas and customs, which are about to modify so profoundly the Latino-Sabine society of early times. In the study of these inevitable transformations lies the interest and profit of history.

The Latin language, that sonorous but imperfect instrument, preserved the commanding majesty which is so clearly marked

[1] Polybius says of this government (vi. 57): *Ἦν καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ τέλειον ἐν τοῖς Ἀννιβιακοῖς καιροῖς.*

in the Twelve Tables, and which, after the flowing eloquence of Cicero and Livy, it again resumes in the masculine terseness of Tacitus and the great lawyers of the Empire. It was always unfit for the rendering of abstract ideas, — which, indeed, this people did not possess; Aristotle and Plato would have found difficulty in using it.

By the very fact of being used, however, it grew more supple, and lost its asperities. In the Forum and in the Curia Rome had orators of note. In the camp, and even on the field of battle, generals harangued their troops to convince before commanding them.[1] And it could not be otherwise in a republican state, in which speech is as powerful as the sword in the good and evil it can effect. Eloquence had even its tutelary god, Mercury, whose statue, erected in the public place of the towns, there presided at once over commerce and deliberations.



MERCURY.[3]

The custom of funeral orations was very ancient. We have cited a fragment of that which Q. Metellus consecrated to the victor of Panormus.[2] It is a fashion which rises rapidly to perfection; in the following generation Q. Fabius pronounced before all the people over the bier of his son a harangue which Plutarch ventures to compare with those of Thucydides.

Another branch of literature also commenced, which develops till it becomes one of the purest glories of Rome. The first

[1] [It is, however, certain that the great majority, if not all, the speeches of this kind reported in our Roman histories are the invention of rhetorical historians copying the fashions of Greek historiography. The whole tenor of Roman military discipline seems foreign to such speech-making. — *Ed.*]

[2] *Life of Fabius*, initio.

[3] Mercury, with the travelling cap and winged shoes, holding a purse in his right hand and his caduceus in his left. Bronze figure found at Arles. See, p. 196, the Mercury Agoreus of Praeneste. Collection of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,996 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

plebeian high pontiff (254), Coruncanius, had just opened a school of jurisprudence,[1] that is to say, for explaining the law to all who presented themselves, instead of admitting, like his predecessors, only those patricians who counted upon canvassing for a place in the college of pontiffs. These schools multiplied, and therein was formed the only science which the Romans created, — jurisprudence.

Oral tradition preserved many things, but intellectual needs were so limited that the recitals of the atrium and the hearth[2] sufficed for a curiosity which was seldom stimulated. Rome existed for five hundred years without making a book or a poem, or even one of those soldier-songs, one of those warrior lays, which are found among all nations. The first play of Livius Andronicus, the Tarentine, who had been set free by a man of consular rank, was represented in 240, at the celebration of the Roman games; that of the Campanian Naevius appears to belong to 231; and in the interval between the two Punic wars, Fabius Pictor began his books of Annals.[4] They opened with the arrival of Aeneas in Latium, and the soldier of Thrasimene continued them down to the events which he himself had witnessed.[5] Polybius,



COIN OF F. PICTOR.[3]

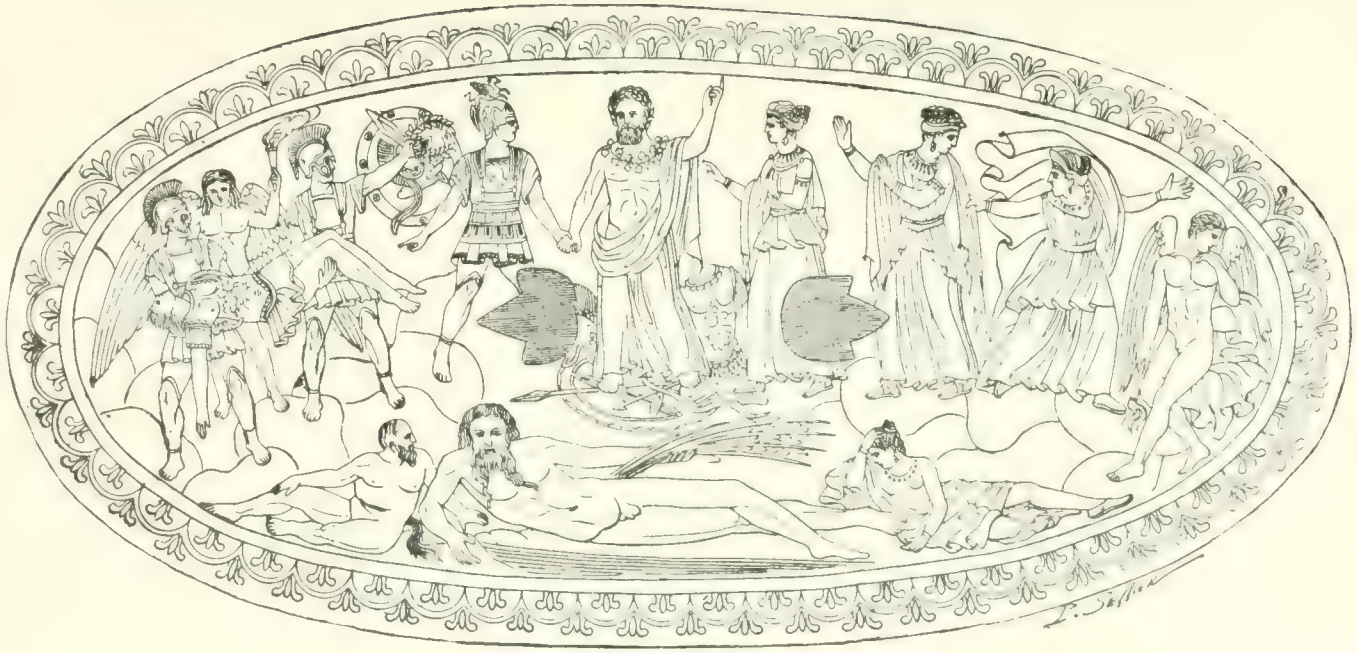
[1] Dig. i. 2, 8, § 35.

[2] Cato, however, says that the guests used to sing in round, to the sound of flutes, the exploits and virtues of their ancestors. (Cic., *Tusc.* iv. 2, and Val. Max., II. i. 10.) Horace bears witness that this was an ancient custom, *more patrum* (*Carm.* IV. xv. 26–33). There were also *Neniae*, or funeral wailings. But tradition, usually so tenacious in preserving popular songs, has retained nothing of these rude poems of Rome, which leads us to think that they never stirred the national spirit very deeply.

[3] On the obverse, a head of Pallas, which we do not give. On the reverse, Rome holding an *apex* and a spear; behind her, a shield, with the word QUIRINUS, and the legend, FABIUS PICTOR. It is not certain that this coin is our historian's; it belongs at least to some one of his family.

[4] After the battle of Cannae, F. Pictor was sent to Delphi to consult the oracle of Apollo. Polybius calls him a senator.

[5] About the time of Pyrrhus the belief in the Trojan origin of Rome was already established, and at the end of the First Punic War the Romans claimed, on the strength of it, a right to intervene in Greece in favor of the Acarnanians. (Dionys., i. 52; Just., xxviii. 1.) Naevius, Ennius, and Fabius Pictor had no doubt about it. On a box lately found at Praeneste, with all its contents, an Italian artist, inspired by Greek art, has depicted this legend and the combats of Turnus and Aeneas, a century and a half before Vergil. As the upper part of the cist no longer exists, only one half of the fight and the combatants is seen (see p. 480); but the lid represents the last scene. Aeneas had demanded the hand of Lavinia, the daughter of Latimus and Amata, but the latter, who had promised her to Turnus, refuses. Aeneas wounds Turnus mortally; Amata kills herself; and Lavinia marries Aeneas, who makes peace with Latinus.



LID OF THE PRAENESTE BOX.

Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Dion Cassius made much of his work, which was lacking in art, but in which a vast quantity of precious information on the subject of institutions was found. He wrote it in Greek, in contempt for the vulgar idiom. It is believed, however, that he made a Latin translation of it.[1]

It is not our duty to study these early writings more closely; literary history is only of interest here as an expression of the state of mind and manners. It will be sufficient to remark that the period at which we have now arrived is that in which, under the influence of the great events which take place, and by the influence of Greece, which gradually gains ground, Latin genius is at last awaking to intellectual things.

Why this long slumber, and why these beginnings of literature due to foreigners? It is because this people loves above all things strength and practical talent, and that, having no leaning towards the ideal, nor the imagination which leads thereto, they only see the reality of things, and know not how to clothe it in graceful fictions. They will have none of the art of Aeschylus or Sophocles and the religious terrors of the Athenian theatre; they are only moved in the face of real pangs, of life-blood issuing from deadly wounds. Were the comedies of Menander offered them they would hasten away to the floral games and the Atellane farces, to coarseness and obscenity. What the Greeks told with poetic anger or enveloped in a religious myth they would put in action on the stage. — Leda, for instance, and the swan, or Pasiphaë, who was represented in the theatres of the Empire.

These are the last acts of the drama represented on the lid. Aeneas has the body of Turnus borne before Latinus; on the other side, Amata, in despair, flies to put herself to death, whilst Lavinia refuses to follow her. The third woman represented is no doubt a nymph, a sibyl, or some other fortune-telling female, an interpreter and revealer of future destinies. Latinus is taking Aeneas' hand, and with the other swearing peace, while his feet trample on arms and shields. The two winged figures are Sleep and Death, or genii represented by an artist who no longer understands the old theology, or, perhaps, the *Dirae* of Vergil (*Aen.* xii. 845), "daughters of dark night." Both are of the male sex. One is about to carry off Turnus; the other still slumbers, but will awake when Amata has accomplished her design. The figures placed below the principal scene do not enter into its action. One is a corpulent Silenus; the other, the River Numicius; the female is the fountain of Juturna, sad at losing itself in the deep river (Vergil, *ibid.* xii. 885–886): —

Caput glauco contexit amictu,
Multa gemens et se fluvio dea condidit alto.

H. Brunn (*Ann. du Bull. archéol.*, 1864, p. 367) fixes the date of this cist in the sixth century of Rome, about the end of the Second Punic War, or shortly afterward.

[1] Cf. Peter, *Rell. Hist. Rom.* p. lxxvi, who refers the Latin history to a later Fabius.

The Romans certainly had many very solemn festivals, and in their religious processions choirs of boys and maidens sang pious hymns that every ear might hear. Livy mentions several of them,[1] and Catullus has preserved us one, — which is, however, the poet's own [adapted from Sappho].

"We who have vowed ourselves to the worship of Diana, maidens and boys of pure hearts, we celebrate her praises.

"O mighty daughter of Jupiter! Thou who reignest over the mountain and the green forests, the mysterious groves and resounding billows;

"Thou whom women invoke in the pangs of labor; thou, too, mighty Hecate, to whom the sun lends his light;

"Who in thy monthly course tracest the circle of the year, and fillest with an abundant harvest the barn of the rustic husbandman;

"O most holy! By whatever name it may please thee to be invoked, be, as thou ever wast, helpful to the ancient race of Romulus." [3]



DIANA, OR THE MOON.[2]

But these people, who were so pious and habitually grave, were at the same time very coarse. They loved at once the solemn and the grotesque. Amid the triumphal pomp which we picture to ourselves, with the triple majesty of the Senate, the people, and the army, advancing between two rows of temples towards the Capitol of the hundred steps, there marched gigantic dancing figures and masks, *Lamiae* with pointed teeth, a kind of vampire, out of which were taken alive the children whom they had devoured,[4] and *Manducus*, a colossal bogy, which advanced "with large, broad, and horrible jaws, well provided with teeth, above as well as below, which by means of a little hidden cord were made to click one against the other in a terrible

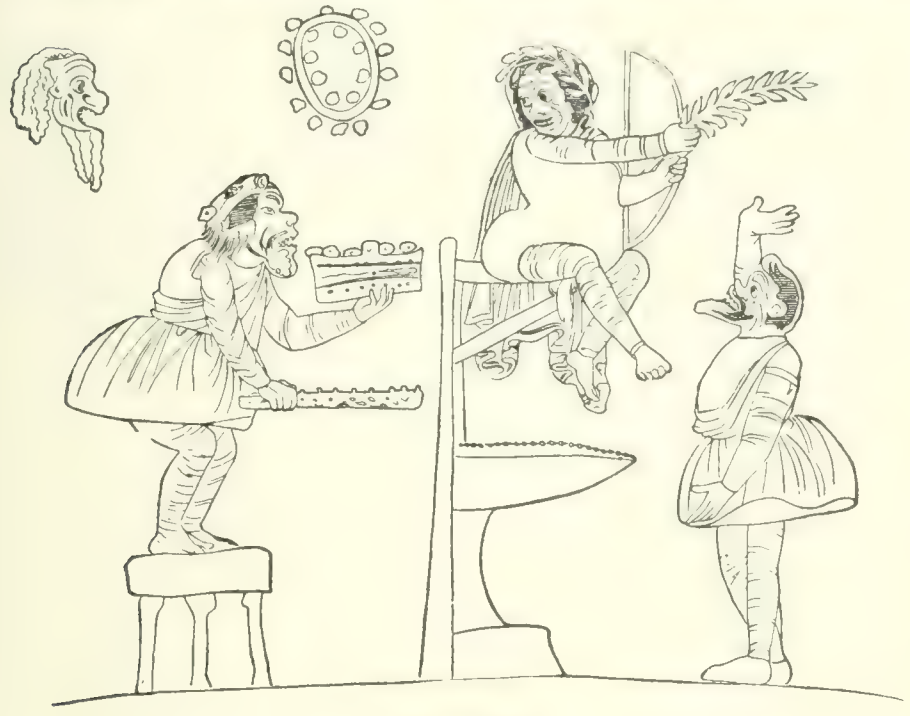
[1] Livius Andronicus composed one, P. Licinius Tegula another, at the commencement of the war against Macedonia in 200, to avert evil presages. (Livy, xxxi. 12.)

[2] Diana, or the moon, in a car, drawn by two horses, which she herself drives. The goddess has her hair bound up with a diadem, and is clad in a long robe. Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*.

[3] *Carm.* xxxiv.

[4] . . . *pransae Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo.* (Hor., *Ars Poet.* 340.)

manner."[1] The monstrous machines made the children cry, the women shriek, and the men laugh, and the feast was complete. We like the soldier who, behind the triumphal car, makes his general pay with keen sarcasms the ransom of his glory, and who, in order to be more free in his railing verse, hides himself in



COMIC SCENE.[2]

a buck's skin and covers his head with a tuft of bristly fur.[3] We love, too, to hear the slave appointed to hold the golden crown over the triumpher's head murmur in his ear, "Remember that thou art a man."[4] But Petreia, the drunken old woman who leads the procession, is only disgusting; and the remarks which Citeria, the gossip with the sharp tongue, throws at the spectators as she passes, would not amuse us.[5]

[1] Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, iv. 59.

[2] Taken, as is also the engraving on the following page, from two Etruscan vases. (*Atlas du Bull. archéol.*, vol. vi.-vii. pl. 34.)

[3] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, vii. 74.

[4] Tertull., *Apol.* 33.

[5] Festus, *s. v.* These two women were two masks. We know that each great town in Italy has still its own, — Pulcinello at Naples; Pasquino at Rome; Stenterello at Florence;

They afforded great amusement to the Romans, who, the moment they ceased to be serious, desired coarse laughter, sharp words, and biting epigrams. The refined Horace disliked these bold and ribald improvisations, which, expressed in the freest of verse, the Saturnian, assumed an appearance of literature, — a very low literature, it is true, but so national in Italy that it is still the delight of the masses, sometimes even that of men of letters. "The husbandmen of former times," says he, "robust and easily



COMIC SCENE.

contented, recreated themselves, when the harvest was gathered, by feasts. With their slaves, children, and wives they offered a hog to the earth, milk to Silvanus, and flowers and wine to the genius of the hearth. The Fescennine license springing from these festivals poured out its rustic sarcasms in dialogue. At first it was only a gay pastime; but this jesting ended by becoming spiteful, and assailed the most honorable families. Those whom this cruel tooth had wounded obtained the passing of the law[1] which forbade, under pain of chastisement, any personal attack. The custom was changed for fear of the rod."[2] But the rod

Arlequino at Bergamo; Pantalone at Venice, etc. We have seen, on p. 437, that the *Tubicines* on certain days ran through the streets in all sorts of costumes, even in women's clothes, uttering a thousand buffooneries, — such, no doubt, as are still heard during the Roman carnival. Cf. Censor, *De Die Nat.* 12, 1.

[1] In the Twelve Tables.

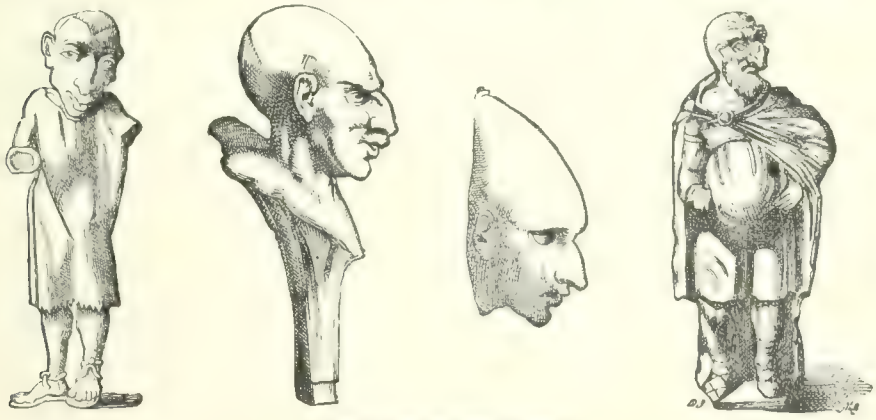
[2] Horace, *Ep.* II. i. 139, *seq.*

was not always called in. In fact, when Pasquino, who is so old at Rome, reformed, the nobility perhaps gained by it, but not the public taste; for centuries, maidens, on the day of their espousals, had to listen to Fescennine verses.



MACCUS.[1]

The inhabitants of Atella, in Campania, took pleasure in coarse farces, lazzi and grimaces, blows and kicks, very vulgar, and sometimes very acute, jokes, allusions to the events of the day, and domestic mishaps, — the whole sphere, in short, of the *Commedia dell' arte* of modern Italians, the hero of which, "the very sprightly Signor Pulcinella," is descended in a direct line from Maccus, the jolly gossip of ancient Campania. When the jesters of Atella, who travelled through Italy, arrived at Rome, Roman gravity unbent so far that the citizens, who left the representation of the serious plays of Livius Andronicus to actors, played in masks the *Fabulae Atellanae*, in which everything was



ATELLANE PERSONAGES.[2]

laughed at. "It was settled," says Livy, "that a man might play in them without being excluded from his tribe or the legions."[3]

[1] Maccus, or the ancient Punch. Mask with an enormous crooked nose, and wearing a sort of cap. Bronze figure from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,096, in the Chabouillet catalogue.

[2] See, in the *Dict. des Antiq. grecques et rom.*, figures 593–597, and on p. 513 and the following ones, M. Boissier's article, *Atellanae fabulae*.

[3] vii. 2.

The grand period of the Atellane farces comes later than the time of which we are now speaking, but the personages already had their traditional costume and character. Maccus was the good-for-nothing, whom his gluttony and luxury were always getting into scrapes; Bucco, the parasite, the impudent and clever glutton, who always managed to find a dinner; Pappus, the old miser, in search of his wife and his money, which he had been robbed of; and Dossennus, a philosopher, who afforded great laughter by the contrast between his conduct and his speeches. Fescennine verse and Atellane farces mingled in the scenic games. In 364 a pestilence desolated Rome. They had recourse to the gods, who turned a deaf ear; then to the Etruscans, who had the reputation of being able to avert plagues. They replied that the gods would be satisfied if they were honored by scenic games, and, that the Romans might be able to celebrate these games, they sent them at the same time actors, who executed religious dances to the sound of the flute. As the pestilence then ended, the remedy appeared efficacious, and the counsel was followed. Young Romans learned the dances introduced from Etruria, and marked the rhythm of them by songs, often improvised, which ended by being accompanied with action.[2] Roman comedy was discovered; but it recalled the fact that it had sprung from the plays of mountebanks, till the day when a poet of genius, Plautus, took possession of it, or rather, turned it into the streets, by producing in the theatre Greek comedy, — which he made sufficiently Roman for us to find the manners of the Romans here and there.



COMIC ACTOR.[1]

The floral games date from the present epoch. They were instituted in 238 in order to induce Flora, the goddess of Spring, to grant that all the flowers wherewith the fields were covered on the days of her festival[3] should bring forth fruit.[4]

[1] Figure found at Rome, No. 3,093, in the Chabouillet catalogue.

[2] This mixture of music, words, and dancing was called a *satura*. The *satura*, which must not be confounded with the *satire*, long remained the true Roman drama. The actors who afforded this diversion were paid by the aediles.

[3] From the 28th of April to the 3rd of May.

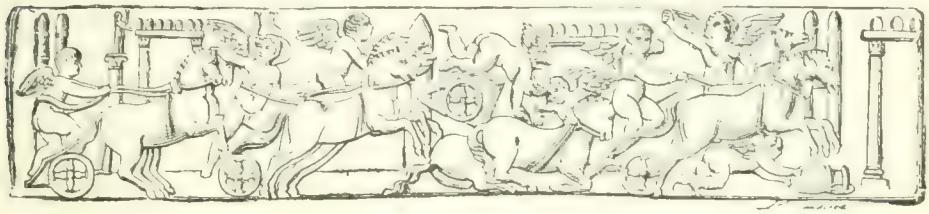
[4] *Ut omnia bene deflorescerent.* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 69.)

Goddess of joyous fruitfulness, Flora inspired no grave thoughts; her games were celebrated with noisy magnificence, and a liberty which presently passed into all license. In the following century the dancing-girls of Flora appear unveiled before the spectators, and Cato the censor, in order to avoid placing any restraint on the pleasures of the people, who would not dare to demand these *tableaux vivants* before so grave a personage, leaves the theatre before the dancers showed themselves.[2] The postures and words of the *mimes* were as bad as the ballet-dancing, and later on even worse.



FLORA.[1]

The festivals of Anna Perenna, the goddess of life, were an occasion for joyous gatherings in the meadows which the Tiber washes with his eternal waters (*perennes*). In these festivities, to drink till they lost their reason, and to call to mind in the freest verse the mistakes of Mars in taking a decrepit goddess for the beautiful Minerva, were looked upon as pious works, and the care of singing this story fell to young maidens.[3]



GENII OF THE CHARIOT-RACES.[4]

The native modesty of woman no doubt protested in some cases, but the ancients understood this sentiment otherwise than

[1] Silver coin of the Servilian family, presenting on the obverse, to the right, the legend FLORIAL (ia) PRIMVS (*fecit*, understood). Head of Flora crowned with flowers; behind, the *lituus* or augural rod. After being suspended during the long woes of the Second Punic War, these games were re-established, after a bad harvest, in 173, on the order of the Senate, by the aedile C. Servilius.

[2] Val. Max. II. x. 8; Mart., i. pr.

[3] Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 675–676: —

Nunc mihi, cur cantent, superest, obscena puellae,
Dicere; nam coëunt, certaque probra canunt.

[4] Bas-relief in the Louvre, No. 449, Clarac catalogue. We have explained on p. 128 the doctrine of the genii which the Romans of later ages developed. But in this bas-relief, as in many paintings at Pompeii, the artist has only employed Cupids for the object of a graceful,

we; they did not place it in the "blessed ignorance" of the maiden, but in the fidelity of the wife. Lucretia was the model of matrons, and single marriages gained the name of chastity for the *univira* woman.[1] The basis of paganism being the worship of life, to transmit it became a duty and a quasi-religious act. Everywhere was seen the expressive symbol, and the allusions made to it were listened to without virtue being troubled thereby; as in the time of the Trouvères and of Rabelais, of Molière and La Fontaine, our grandmothers heard many things which would shock us now.



VICTORIOUS ATHLETE.[3]

The great Roman games were more ancient; the institution of them was referred to the first Tarquin. They consisted of chariot-races and pugilistic contests, and were celebrated in the Circus Maximus, between the Aventine and the Palatine, in honor of the three civic deities of Rome, — Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The citizens were present at them; but, unlike the Greeks, did not descend into the arena, which was given up to paid grooms and professional coachmen.[2]

It is well to notice this origin of the public games of Rome, which were all established with a view of appeasing the gods or of gaining their favor;[4] and it must be borne in mind, in order to understand how, even at the period of the greatest excesses, they always preserved the character of national and religious festivals.

theme for decoration. We recognize the different details of the circus, — the statue of Diana, the dolphins half hidden by one of the runners, the boundaries, *metasque imitata cupressus* (Ovid, *Met.* x. 106), placed at either extremity of the *spina*, which divided the circus in two, and finally, the columns supporting the seven *ova* which served to mark the number of times that the chariots had made the circuit of the *spina*.

[1] . . . *Corona pudicitiae honorabantur.* (Val. Max., II. i. 3.)

[2] The citizens only took part in the *consualia*, — races celebrated in honor of the god Consus, who afterward became the equestrian Neptune. The *Equiriae* (Festus, s. v. *Equiria*, and Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 13) were probably races of free horses, like those of the *barberi* in the modern Corso.

[3] Statue found in the ruins of the Forum, *Archemorium.* Louvre Museum, No. 702 in the Clarac catalogue.

[4] *Ludorum primum initium . . . procurandis religionibus datum.* (Livy, vii. 3.)

"Varro," says St. Augustine, "ranks theatrical things with things divine."[1]

The combats of gladiators themselves came from the religious idea that the Manes loved blood, — an old belief, which was general in ancient times, and which still holds amongst barbarous nations. The Greeks, who immolated captives and slaves on the tombs of their heroes, renounced that custom, which they replaced by sham-fights and a warlike dance, the Pyrrhic; the Etruscans preserved it, and transmitted it to the Romans. The first combat of gladiators seen at Rome was that which the two sons of Brutus gave at the funeral ceremonies of their father, in the same year in which the Punic War began (264).



GLADIATOR.[2]

II. Changes in Manners, Religion, and Constitution.

Rome, having become rich and powerful, desired to beautify herself without sacrificing too much to the Graces. The Colossus of Carvilius, the Wolf of the Capitol,[3] placed by the aediles on the Palatine Hill near the Ruminal fig-tree in 296, and the paintings of Fabius Pictor in the Temple of Safety (302), show that, until the Punic wars, art had remained sacerdotal, — I mean that it had served more especially for the ornamentation of temples. The Romans, who adopted everything from their neighbors, were very slow in adopting the fair dalliance of art. They carried off statues from Veii, Volsinii, and Syracuse, but they themselves made none. When, in order to recall patriotic memories, they set up, in the fifth century, the statue of Hermodorus, who had aided the decemvirs, with his counsel, and those of the Roman ambassadors slain at Fidenae, and in the fourth and fifth those of the augur Navius, Horatius Cocles and of Clelia, of the kings of Rome and of Brutus, Greek or Etruscan artists must have carved these images, for

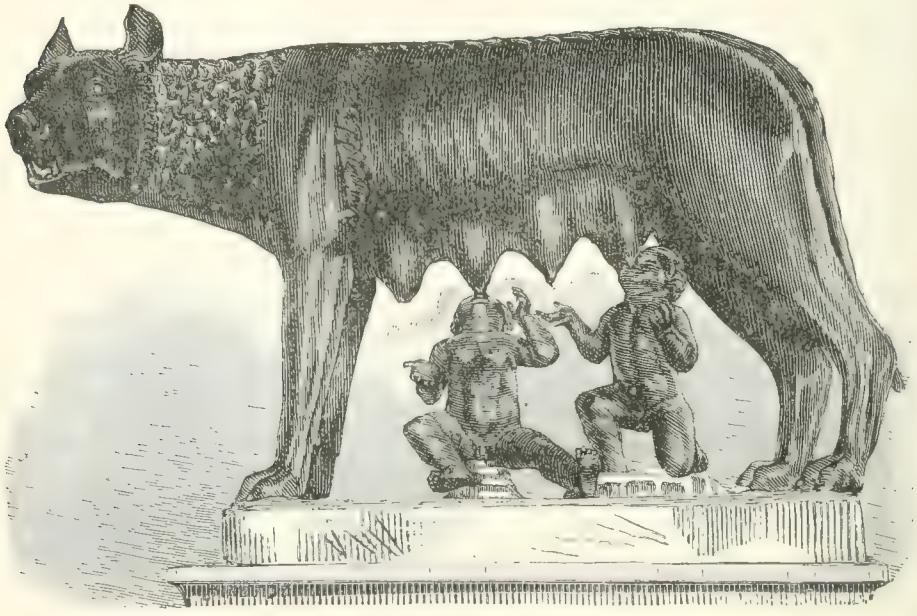
[1] *De Civ. Dei*, iv. 1.

[2] Gladiator (*mirmillo*) fully armed, sword in hand, shield on arm. Rarely represented on intaglios. Engraved gem for the *Cabinet de France*, double the actual size, No. 1,876 in the Chabouillet catalogue.

[3] This group is still in existence; it is an Etruscan work. The twins appear to be of a later date. See next page.

Romulus and Tatius were represented without any clothing, as the Greek heroes always were.

With the product of the fines the aediles widened the streets of ancient Rome, which were so narrow that the vestals and matrons alone had the right to pass through them in chariots to attend religious solemnities, and, after the example set by Appius,[1] the bold constructor of the Appian Way and of the first Roman



SHE-WOLF OF THE CAPITOL.

aqueduct, a part of the state resources was employed in the completion of great works of public utility. Manius Curius had, after the second war of Pyrrhus, constructed a second aqueduct; and Flaminius, after the defeat of the Insubres, commenced a second military road, the *via Flaminia*, which started from Rome and reached beyond the Apennines to Ariminum, the Adriatic, and Gallia Cisalpina, as the *via Appia* would lead across the Apennines on the south to Beneventum, Brundusium, and the Ionian Sea.[2] In time, both were bordered with magnificent tombs, and the

[1] See p. 407.

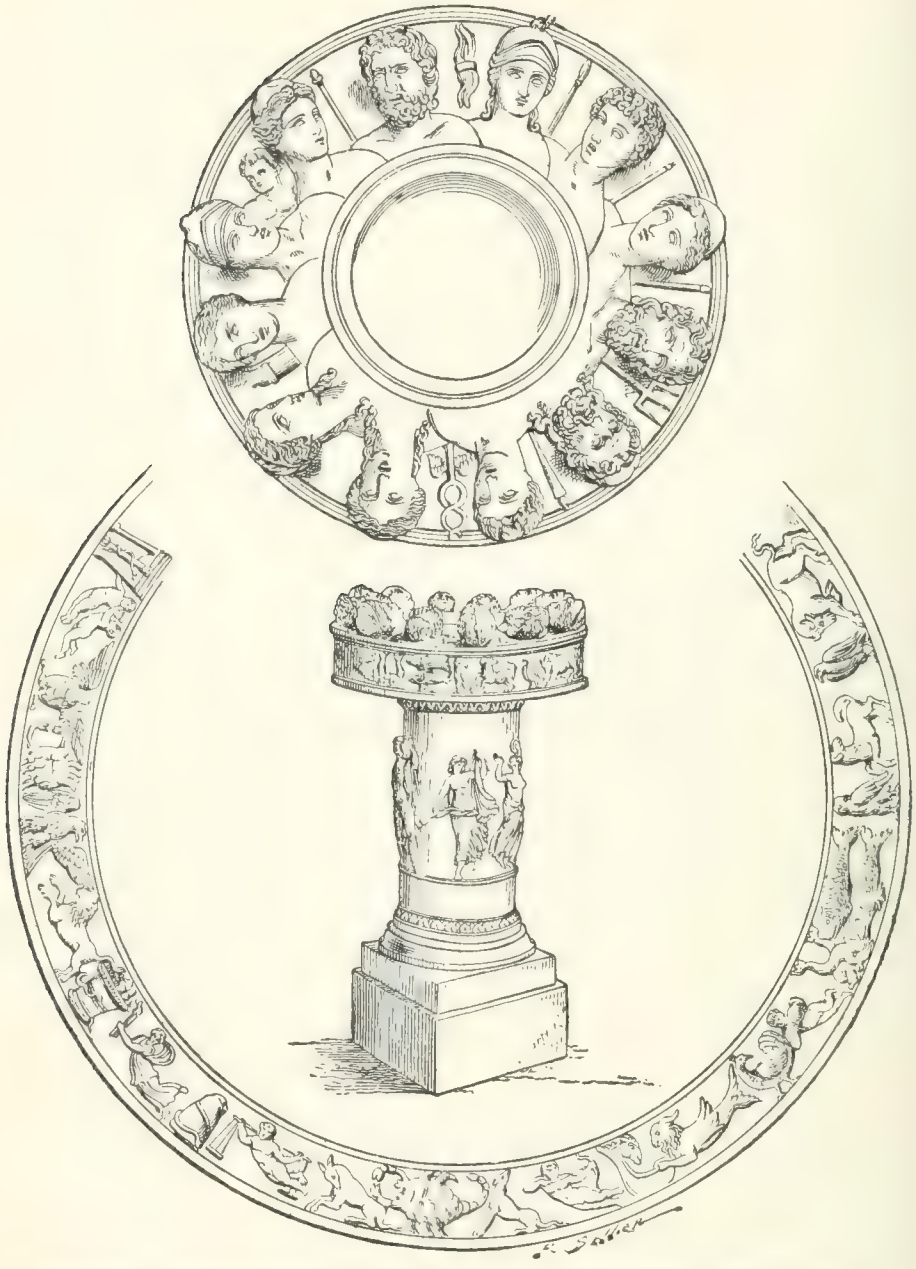
[2] Flaminius also built at Rome the circus which bears his name, and procured the means necessary for these great works by rigorously gathering in the taxes which the holders of state forests, pasture-lands, and mines owed to the treasury, and which, by the connivance of the Senate, they sometimes forgot to pay.

traveller arriving from the smiling cities of Campania met the great dead of Rome before seeing her consuls and her emperors. The tombs of the Flaminian Road have been replaced by the prosaic houses of the Corso, but the Appian Way retains some of those upon it; and before these ruins, to which the majestic horizon of the Latin mountains forms so fine a frame, we forget the vulgar side of Rome's manners to contemplate the solemnity of her spirit.

The temples also multiplied; all consuls were not like the parsimonious Papirius, who, on the day of the battle of Aquilonia, promised Jupiter a cup of good wine if the legions were victorious, — "an offering," says Livy gravely, "which was well received by the god."[1] Each time that a general found himself in a difficulty he promised some deity to build him a sanctuary on condition that he gave him the victory. Rome, the city of the three hundred and sixty-five churches, possessed almost as many temples when Jupiter reigned there. The pagans had enough gods at their disposition for dedications, and when any were wanting appropriate to the circumstances, an epithet added to the name made a new god of an old one. Jupiter, Juno, Fortune, etc., had thus an infinity of surnames. I do not know whether piety gained much thereby, but family vanity found an advantage in it. These monuments, which ceaselessly recalled the glory of those who had raised them, prepared favorable elections for themselves and their children. When there were no longer any comitia at Rome, to decorate one's town with a temple or a divine image was still, in the towns of the Upper Empire, the surest means of gaining public favor.

Private individuals sought for themselves that luxury which was formerly only displayed for the gods. Greek art gained entrance into Rome, where it decorated the vast tomb which the Scipios had raised to themselves, and some houses, says Florus, already showed gold, purple, statues, and all the refinements of the luxury of Tarentum. The words temples and statues must not, however, give us the idea of a town in which civilization had already obtained its citizenship. In the first place, there never was a Roman art,

[1] *Id votum diis cordi fuit* (x. 12). Papirius judged of Jupiter's tastes by his own: he was accused of loving wine; and Livy says of him: . . . *ferunt cibi cinique capacissimum* (ix. 16; Dion., fr. 92).



SUN-DIAL OR ASTROLOGICAL ALTAR OF GABII.[1] (MUSEUM OF THE LOUVRE.)

although there were, at a later date, magnificent monuments inspired by the genius of Rome. It is a singular thing that

[1] A monument unique of its kind, found at Gabii in 1792. It is composed of two independent parts, — first, a *patella* (hollow plate), around which are carved the heads of the twelve

Christian Rome was no more fruitful in artists;[1] but in them both what statesmen! But certain facts still prove great want of cultivation. The introduction into Rome, about the year 300, of the custom which the Greeks had of shaving their beards has no significance. But we see Papirius Cursor shortly afterwards bring back thither as a triumphal object a sun-dial, which he placed on the walls of the temple of Quirinus.[2] It was much admired there. Unfortunately this *solarium*, not having been constructed for the latitude of Rome, did not mark the true hour, and it was half a century before they could make a more exact one. They waited still longer, until the year 159, to have a public clepsydra [water clock], which marked the hour by night as well as by day.[3] In 219 a Greek doctor named Archagathos came and settled at Rome. At first he was welcomed there, received the citizenship, and induced the Senate to buy him with the public money a house, in which he could treat the sick and dress their wounds. He was only applied to in cases of fracture or sores, for internal maladies belonged to the province of the quacks and the gods. Accordingly he was called *vulnerarius*, the doctor for wounds. For some time he was the fashion; then, as his therapeutics consisted chiefly in burning the sores and cutting off broken limbs, he was at last set down as a butcher, and the whole town declared doctors useless. This was the opinion of Cato the Elder, who believed in old women's remedies, and has left us a number of recipes that our latest village sorcerers would not have disowned. In his advices to his son he says: "The Greek race is very vicious; and, believe this as the voice of an oracle, with its literature it will spoil everything at Rome: it will be far worse still if it sends us its doctors. They have sworn among themselves to kill all the

deities of Olympus; second, this *patella* is placed in the centre of a table of circular form, the edge of which bears the twelve signs of the zodiac, with the emblem of the divinity who presides over each month of the year. The cavity in the middle of the table served as a sun-dial; the traces of the needles which marked the hours symbolized by the twelve divinities are still visible. It is certain that this monument was made for Rome, since the god Mars is thereon represented by a wolf, and the diameter of the *patella* is a *cubitus* (17.47 inches), a Roman measure of length. The deities are placed in the following order: Jupiter, Venus, Mars (between Venus and Mars a Cupid), Diana, Ceres, Vesta, Mercury, Vulcan, Neptune, Juno, Apollo, and Minerva. See Frohner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée national du Louvre*, i. 9–14.

[1] It has only produced Giulio Romano.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 60.

[3] *Ibid.* and Censor., *de Die nat.* 23.

barbarians with their medicines; they make us pay dearly for obtaining our confidence, and poison us the more easily. My son, remember that I forbid thee doctors." "He thought," adds Pliny, "that medical services ought to be gratuitous; and that is why, though they invited Aesculapius to Rome, the Romans relegated him to a temple built outside the gates, on the Tiberine island."[1]



JUNO MONETA.[2]

Needs were felt which had formerly been unknown, and which showed that the economic conditions of society were changing. In 268 silver money had been coined; in 207 gold money is required.[3] The dictator Furius (350) had vowed a temple to Juno Moneta, and had built it on the Capitol, on the place where the house of Manlius had been razed.[4] During the war with Pyrrhus there was added to it a mint,[5] and "the good counsellor" became the protectress of coiners, — which causes no surprise in a country where Jupiter Hercius, the protector of property, also took the surname of *Pecunia*, the god of gain.[7] Finally, the *argentarii* had long encumbered the Forum; and, another sign of the times, the nobles had so completely forgotten the ancient prejudices against commerce, that a law had just been



ARGENTARII.[6]

[1] *Nat. Hist.* xxix. 6–8. The form of a vessel had been given to that island, and there may still be seen sculptured on its stone prow the staff of Aesculapius and the serpent twisted round it. As for the temple, there were found in the ruins a quantity of hands, feet, etc., that is to say, *ex-voto* offerings, as certain of our churches have.

[2] MONETA. Head of Juno Moneta. On the reverse, T. CARISIVS. Laurelled coin, with anvil between a pair of pincers and a hammer. Silver coin of the Carisian family.

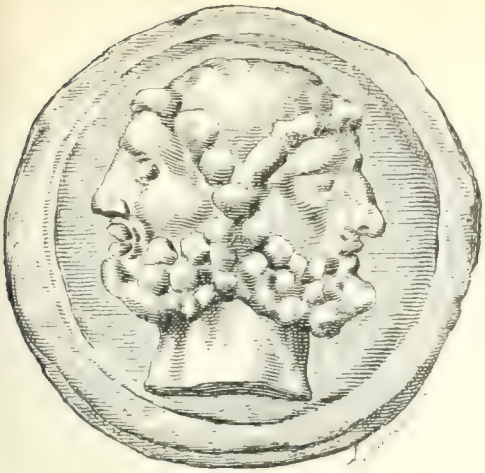
[3] Pliny, *ibid.* xxxiii. 3. The silver denarii struck in 268 were worth 10 *ases* of bronze of a pound each. See, pages 631 and 632, the series of gold and silver coins.

[4] Livy, vii. 28.

[5] We give here the tables of the series of gold and silver coins struck at this period.

[6] Bottom of a painted vase. A changer seated near a table covered with pieces of money; a man standing in front of him offers others on a tray; behind, bags on which are inscribed the amounts of the sums they contain.

[7] St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vii. 12.



AS (CAST).



SEMIS (CAST).



AS (STRUCK).



TRIENS (CAST).



SEMIS (STRUCK).



TRIENS (STRUCK).



QUADRANS (CAST).



OUNCE (CAST).



SEXTANS (CAST).



QUADRANS (STRUCK).



OUNCE (STRUCK).



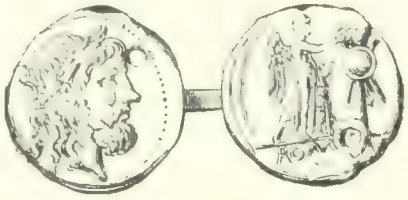
SEXTANS (STRUCK).

TABLE OF BRONZE COINS.

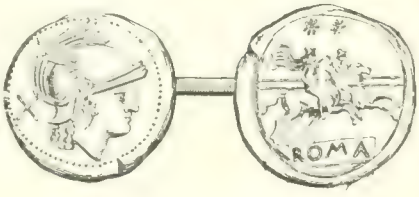
Double denarius. On the obverse, double head, beardless; on the reverse, Jupiter in a quadriga, in the exergue, ROMA in sunk letters. Value, 20 *ases*. Double of the denarius (No. 3), if not in size, at least in weight.



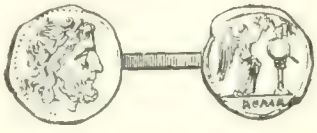
Double victoriatus, the equivalent of a denarius. Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter; on the reverse, ROMA, and winged Victory crowning a trophy. Unique coin in the *Cabinet de France*. Mean weight of the known victoriati, 58 grains troy.



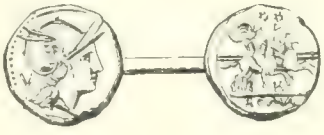
Denarius. On the obverse, Pallas or Rome; behind, X (the mark of the denarius or ten *ases*); on the reverse, the Dioscuri on horseback and the legend ROMA. Mean weight, 60.64 grains troy.



Victoriatus, the equivalent of a quinarius, thus called on account of the figure of Victory.



Quinarius. Head of Pallas; behind, V (the mark of the quinarius, or five *ases*); on the reverse, the Dioscuri, designated by two stars, and ROMA, as on the denarius. The letter H is a mark of issue or of the monetary tribune. Mean weight 27.7 grains troy.



Demi-victoriatus. Laurel-crowned head of Apollo; on the reverse, ROMA and the letter D between Victory and the trophy she is crowning. Same value as the sesterce. The victoriatus was coined about 228, the demi-victoriatus about 104 B. C.



Sestertius. Head of Pallas and the mark of the sesterce (or two and a half *ases*) HIS. Same reverse as the two preceding pieces.



SERIES OF SILVER COINS.



Golden denarius (aureus, 25 den., or 100 sest.). Head of Jupiter; on the reverse, CN. LENTVL. Eagle on a thunderbolt. Aureus of the Cornelian family, weighing only 119.139 grains troy, whereas an aureus of the Cornufician family, a drawing of which we give later on, weighs 122.997 grains troy. The difference may depend upon the extraordinary preservation of the latter.



Golden quinarius or demi-aureus. On the obverse, a bust of Victory and the legend, C. CAES. DIC. TER.; on the reverse, L. PLANC. PRAEF. VRB. round the sacrificial vase. Golden quinarius of the Munctian family.



Sixty sestertii. On the obverse, a head of Mars and the figure VX; on the reverse, ROMA. Eagle on a thunderbolt. A piece of Campanian manufacture; period of the first workmanship in gold.



Forty sestertii. Helmeted head of Mars and the figure XXXX; on the reverse, an eagle on a thunderbolt, with the legend ROMA. Also a piece of Campanian make, and of the same period as the preceding one.



Twenty sestertii. Mars and XX (twenty); same emblems and same origin as the two preceding pieces.

made to forbid senators to have at sea a ship of more than three hundred *amphoræ* in freight. This prohibition served the purpose of the freedmen and *aerarii*, who could then monopolize all the commerce of the Republic. Since shame had attached to usury, it was they especially who lived by this lucrative trade. Formerly the indebted proprietor remained in his class; after the Poetelian law (326) the creditor had inscribed to his account the property which he had received as security, so that he gained at once both the interest of his money and public consideration, since his social condition rose in proportion as his debtor's sank. The great wars in which Rome now found herself engaged increased the influence of business men; they instituted themselves army-contractors, and by an agreement among themselves formed an order dreaded even by the Senate. We shall see later on the insolence of the commissary, Postumius of Pyrgi, and the circumspection of the senators, *qui ordinem publicanorum offensum nolebant*.[2]



ARGENTARII.[1]

Grievous symptoms revealed the dangers to which the conquest of the world would expose Roman manners. Thirteen senators had been degraded by the censors of the year 252; and a general, Papirius Matho, to whom the Senate had refused an ovation for his victories in Sardinia, went to have his triumph on the Alban Mount, before other gods than those of the Capitol.[3] Some patricians renounced the severe formalities of marriage by *confarreatio* in favor of the union concluded by purchase, *coemptio*; it was in some sort civil marriage replacing religious marriage. Valerius Maximus asserts that the divorce of Carvilius Ruga (233) caused great indignation. There is no reason for seeing in this any symptom of a weakening of customs. Carvilius had sworn before the censors that in repudiating his sterile wife he had no

[1] Bas-relief from the Vatican. Changer seated behind a counter. On his left a wire grating very similar to those still employed in establishments of that kind. On the right a heap of money, and a figure carrying a bag.

[2] xxv. 3.

[3] Livy, *Epit.* xviii.; Val. Max. iii. 6.

other motive than that of furnishing the Republic with citizens.[1] Many others before him had repeated to their wives the form of repudiation: "Take what belongs to thee, and give up the keys;" for in a society in which the husband had the right of life and death over his wife, he must necessarily have also the right of divorce, — which, indeed, the Twelve Tables recognized.[2] It was long after the period at which we have arrived that divorces, by their multiplication, introduced disorder into families. Finally, the severities of Camillus against celibacy, which were renewed by the censors of this same year, were less a measure of moral than of military order.

Religion preserved its character of interested worship. It created neither a body of doctrines nor moral teaching,[3] and had always one single aim, — to know the will of the gods, in order to try and bend them. But since the auguries, abandoned to the plebeians, had ceased to be a political instrument, they had lost much of their authority. The gods had so often deceived the hopes of their worshippers, that some already doubted, and the priests sought to avert the effects of this doubt by mitigations of the ancient severity. The ritual prescribed the cessation of all work on ferial days, on pain of profanation. This rigor was avoided by clever interpretations. "What is it permitted to do on a feast-day?" was asked of the high pontiff, Scaevola. "All that cannot be neglected without harm." The pious Vergil says: "Nothing hinders from washing the bleating flock in the wholesome water of the river;" and Varro: "In war there is no need to make any distinction between *dies fasti* and *nefasti*."[4] In fact Fabius Cunctator declares that everything serviceable to the Republic is accomplished under good auspices: everything that is contrary to it[5] under evil auspices; and Flaminius boldly braves them.

The *signs* had been a continual cause of preoccupation and terror; Marcellus, who became five times consul, and who was

[1] *Id.* ii. 1; Aul. Gell., iv. 3.

[2] Cic., *Phil.* ii. 28. The Scantinian law, to repress shocking vices, is of unknown date: it existed in the time of Cicero (*ad Fam.* viii. 12): but I do not think it existed two centuries earlier.

[3] *Sacra minus ad homines meliores faciendos quam ad voluntatem deorum conciliandam spectabant.* (Holtius, *Hist. jur. Rom. lineam.* p. 12.)

[4] Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 16.

[5] Cic., *de Senect.* 4.

then already augur, once saved his sacerdotal character by saying: "When I meditate an enterprise, I close my litter, so as not to see contrary auspices."[1] The theologians of Rome, who had become as complaisant as others have been for us, decided that where a sign had not been asked of the gods, one was at liberty to take no notice of it;[2] and Pliny considered that this liberty was the greatest favor that the gods had granted to man.[3] Since the time of Pascal we give a particular name to this manner of interpreting religious laws: it belongs to all ages, because it is inherent in human nature.

Certainly many believers might still be counted; the high pontiff, Metellus, had just lost his sight in saving the Palladium from the flames,[4] — an act which was, however, still more political than religious. But what we wish to point out is that there were the incredulous, like that Claudius who had the sacred chickens thrown into the sea, and his colleague, Junius, who disdained to consult them. Ennius dared to say this much: "No doubt I believe that the gods exist, but they scarcely trouble themselves about this world;" and many applauded.[5] There were also indifferent men, like the Potitii, who left to their slaves the care of the sacrifices to Hercules, and the old rites were abandoned. "In the time of the Second Punic War," says Livy, "public or domestic sacrifices were no longer performed according to the ancient custom, but only in foreign fashion."[6] As the old Italiot deities lost their credit, piety turned towards new gods. In the period of the decemvirs Apollo, a Greek divinity, had been introduced at Rome, not as the inspirer of the Muses, — the Romans did not look so high, — but as a useful god who kept off diseases. In 429 a temple was consecrated to him, on the occasion of a pestilence which had desolated the city,[7] and at the time of the greatest perils in the Second Punic War, the surest means of ruining Hannibal was

[1] Cic., *de Div.* ii. 36. [2] Servius, *ad Aeneid.* xii. 259.

[3] . . . *Quo munere divinae indulgentiae majus nullum est.* (*Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 4.)

[4] Livy, *Epit.* xxix.

[5] Cicero, *de Div.* ii. 50: . . . *Magno plausu assentiente populo.*

[6] Livy, xxv. 1. In 212 the Senate itself decreed that sacrifice should be made to Apollo, *graeco ritu.* (*Ibid.* 12.) They sent to Delphi to consult the oracle several times.

[7] Apollo being then a foreign god, his temple was built without the walls, near the Carmental Gate, as that of Aesculapius was relegated to the Tiberine island.

thought to be the dedicating of Apollinarian games to the "god who saves," *deus sospitalis*. In 293, after a violent pestilence, ambassadors had gone to Epidaurus to demand the serpent of Aesculapius,[1] which was at once both the image and the genius of the god who appeared to be incarnate in him. "Our vigilant pontiffs on consulting the Sibylline books," says Valerius Maximus,[2] "found that the only means of restoring health in Rome was to bring Aesculapius himself from Epidaurus. The Republic, whose authority was already immense throughout the world, was persuaded that she would obtain by an embassy the only remedy indicated by the Fates. Success answered this attempt. As soon as they arrived, the deputies were led by the Epidaurians into the temple of Aesculapius, which is situated five miles from their town, and invited them to take therefrom all that they thought would be useful to the health of their country. The god ratified the words of the mortals; for the serpent, which rarely appeared to the Epidaurians, but always to announce some good



PRIEST OF APOLLO.[3]

1 The serpent, which silently glides under the grass, and after its winter sleep strips off its skin to assume a new one, was in the eyes of the ancients a wise creature, which knew the simples whence healing juices are taken, and the symbol of renewed life after illness or death.

2 Livy, I. viii. 2.

3 From the base of a tripod which is in the Louvre Museum, No. 89 in the Fröhner catalogue. The quindecemvirs, *sacris faciundis*, who were undoubtedly only raised from ten to fifteen by Sulla, were the priests of Apollo, whose festival they celebrated from the 4th to the 15th of July. They wore the Greek costume, with a crown made of the foliage of the tree sacred to Apollo, the laurel. Each of them had in his house a bronze tripod on which every morning he burned incense and called upon his god. (Servius, *ad Aeneid.* iii. 352.)

fortune to them, and which they worshipped as Aesculapius began to pass through the most frequented quarters of the town. After having thus for three days offered himself to the religious admiration of the crowd, he directed his course towards the Roman galley, testifying by joyous movements the desire which he had for a more glorious residence. He entered the vessel in the presence of the affrighted sailors, reached the cabin of the ambassador, Q. Ogulnius, and, rolling himself into numerous folds, he remained there in profound tranquillity. The ambassadors, having obtained their utmost wishes, returned thanksgivings to the gods; and after having learned the manner of paying honor to the serpent, hastened to leave Epidaurus. A fortunate voyage soon landed them at Antium. There the serpent left the vessel, and took his way towards the vestibule of the temple of Aesculapius, where stood a palm-tree, the crest of which rose majestically above a bushy myrtle. He rolled himself round the trunk of the tree, and remained there three days, during which time food was brought to him. The ambassadors feared that he would not again return into the galley; but, quitting the hospitable lodging of the temple, he went and resumed his former place, to be carried to Rome. Finally, the deputies had scarcely set foot on the banks of the Tiber, when he swam to the island, where a temple was afterward dedicated to him, and his arrival removed the horrible scourge against which his aid had been employed."



COIN OF COMMODUS.[1]

On the island of the Tiber there was already a sanctuary of Faunus,[2] who, like Aesculapius, gave oracles by sending dreams; and the oracles of the ancient Latin deity could only have been recipes for curing man and beast. The residence of the god of Epidaurus was thus settled beforehand; but popular imagination could not allow that he had entered Rome in a simple manner; hence, the

[1] This coin represents the arrival of Aesculapius on the island of the Tiber in the form of a serpent.

[2] See later on a double Hermes in the *Cabinet de France*, representing on one side the head of Faunus, and on the other that of Tutanus Mutinus.

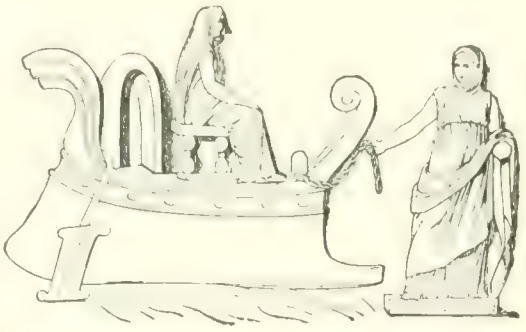
marvellous circumstances which we have just related. This account forms part of Roman history, and even of the history of the human mind; for the spectacle of this strange superstition among a people so wise in council, so resolute in action, who left nothing to chance, — that is to say, to the providence of their gods, and who appeared to demand everything of them, — shows that there is no age of the world in which man's mind cannot associate opposites, — the most resolute thinking and most puerile credulity.

The Senate gave another proof of this at the moment when there was about to take place the greatest event in Rome's history, and a pledge of the conquest of the world. In 203, on the eve of Zama and of the fall of Carthage, they sent, by the order of the Sibylline oracles, to seek in Asia Minor a Phrygian divinity held in great renown among the nations of the peninsula.

This singular goddess, difficult to comprehend, who was originally, no doubt, a representation of the earth, and whom the Greeks had made the mother of the gods, could not enter Rome in a manner less miraculous than Aesculapius. She also received the honor of a legend. "Five of the noblest persons in the Republic being sent to Delphi, they received this answer: 'King Attalus will cause the Romans to obtain what they desire, and the goddess, transported to Rome, must receive hospitality there from the most virtuous of the citizens!' The King of Pergamus, who was at war with Philip of Macedonia, had need of the friendship of the Romans; it did not seem to this sceptical Greek that he would pay too dearly for it at the price of a sacrilege, and he persuaded the priests of Pessinus to give up the image of their divinity, the 'Idaean Mother.'" These priests formed a rich corporation, whose chief was a sort of sovereign. But, surrounded by Gauls, who claimed to make Pessinus one of their capitals, they could refuse nothing to a prince who was himself the enemy of the Galatians, and whose protection was so necessary to them. They gave the idol, and made arrangements to persuade the devotees that Cybele, although she had set out for the banks of the Tiber, remained on those of the Sangarius.

At Rome it remained to appoint the most virtuous man in the Republic, that he might receive the goddess. Many competitors

arose; men of consular rank, former dictators, canvassed for this honor. It was assigned to a patrician, Publius Scipio, a young man scarcely of the age for quaestorship, and a near relative of the general who had just now arrived before Carthage, thus drawing Hannibal away from Italy. The clever people who sat in the Senate flattered the liberator of Rome by this choice, and at the same time avoided giving offence to those who, by reason of their age and dignities, could not be jealous of an entirely political favor done to a young man who was still in obscurity.



CLAUDIA DRAGGING THE VESSEL OF CYBELE.[1]

When the vessel arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, P. Scipio went on board and received the goddess from the hands of the priests. But the ship stranded on a shoal, and all efforts were powerless to get it off again. One of the noblest ladies, Claudia Quinta, whose conduct slander had attacked, stood forth from among the matrons, implored Cybele, and asked her to bear witness to her virtue by yielding, "she, the chaste goddess, to chaste hands." Claudia tied her girdle to the ship and dragged it along, and Rome possessed a titular divinity and one more miracle. Livy dared not relate this story, which Ovid gives at full length. But Cicero, and even Pliny, believed in it, and the statue of Claudia, which was placed in the vestibule of Cybele's temple, did not permit a Roman to doubt it.[3]



THE BLACK STONE.[2]

Cybele was venerated under the form of a black stone, which was, no doubt, an aerolite,[4] and her orgiastic worship contrasted

[1] Bass-relief in the Pio Clementino Museum.

[2] Altar on which is the Black Stone, surmounted by a stag's head. Reverse of a bronze coin of Augustus, struck at Pessinus.

[3] Livy, xxix. 11 and 14; Ovid, *Fasti*, 298 *seq.* Cicero, *de Harusp. resp.* 13; Pliny, *Nat Hist.* vii. 35.

[4] Aerolite, or thunder-stone, as the Turkish peasants say, who attribute to meteors healing virtues in certain sicknesses. The Black Stone of Pessinus might also have been only a piece

strangely with the gravity of Roman solemnities. Accordingly, although the Roman Pantheon opened to this foreign divinity, the patricians did not open their ranks to her priests, and refused to be her pontiffs. A citizen would have been dishonored by the mutilation to which the Phrygian Galli condemned themselves; the latter remained the ministers of their divinity. Each year Cybele took a mystic bath at the junction of the Anio and the Tiber. A priest clothed in purple washed the sacred stone therein, while the Galli made a great noise with flutes and tambourines, uttered effeminate shrieks, and scourged themselves with whips furnished with knuckle-bones.



AN ARCHI-GALLUS.[1]

Augustus allowed the shapeless image of the Idean Mother to be placed upon one of his coins; Hadrian, better advised, borrowed the type of the Greeks, who represented the goddess seated on a throne with a mural crown on her brow and lions couched at her feet.

After the Grecian and Phrygian gods came those of the Punic

of lava: almost the whole of Phrygia is of volcanic origin. Arnobius (*Adv. gentes*, 8), who saw it, says that it was small, smooth, and of blackish color. It was placed before the mouth of the statue of Cybele.

[1] Bas-relief in the Capitoline Museum. Notice should be taken of the effeminate character of this priest-eunuch, whose ears are loaded with pearls. On his head he wears three medals, one of Idaean Jupiter and two of Atys, that Phrygian shepherd of matchless beauty whom Cybele had consecrated to her worship, and to whom mythographers have attributed tragic adventures which make him an involuntary hero of chastity. On the priest's breast again is hung the image of Atys, with the Persian mitre on his head. In his right hand he holds olive-branches; in the left, a basket of fruit, from which issues the whip furnished with knuckle-bones; on the wall, cymbals, a drum, two flutes, and the mystic cist.

race. In 217 the erection of a temple to Venus Erycina was decreed, who was then for the first time admitted to a seat among the great Latin gods at the religious repast of the *lectisternium*. This Venus was the Celestial Virgin of Carthage and Tyre; but at Cyprus she had become Queen of Paphos and of Love; at Rome, too, she was soon made goddess of voluptuousness.



CYBELE.[1]

We have just spoken of the *lectisternium*. This custom, like so many other ancient ones, astonishes us; but by sacrifices the faithful entered into communion with the god, to whom they offered a part of the victim. In funeral repasts offerings were made to the dead; in domestic ones libations were poured out to the Lares; on great occasions the whole town, or the senators, as its representatives, communed with the civic divinities by a public feast. It was a religious act, and it was thought necessary to the safety of the city that it should be accomplished.[2] We shall again find this usage commanded by religion in the funeral assemblies of the Empire and in the love-feasts of the early Christians.

All this shows that the religion of the state was tottering, and that the Oriental religions, which were to prove fatal to the Latin spirit, were already making an effort to invade the city of Janus. But the terrors of the Second Punic War again strengthened the ancient worship. The nearer Hannibal approaches to Rome, the more do omens multiply, and the more does faith revive. Later on we shall see what victory, safety, and new spiritual needs make of it.

In the new political organization a great change had also taken place. The people had effaced from the constitution the timocratic principle which Servius had introduced into it. The centuries of knights had been preserved, but the classes were abolished, and the assembly of centuries differed from the assembly of tribes only by a division which the hereditary respect of all Romans for age and experience imposed (*centuriae juniorum et*

[1] Cybele on a lion, holding a sceptre and the *tympanon*, or drum of the priests. Reverse of a bronze coin of Sabina, the wife of Hadrian.

[2] Σωτήρια τῶν πόλεων σύνδειπνα. (Athen., *Deipnos.* v. 186 *a*.)

seniorum).[1] This was the definite triumph of the principle of equality, in the name of which the tribunes had always fought.

[1] The united texts of Livy, Cicero, and Dionysius unfortunately only throw partial light on the transformation of the assemblies of centuries. They say enough, however, to place it beyond doubt. (Cf. Livy, i. 43, xxiv. 7, xxvi. 22, xxvii. 6; Cic., *de Leg. agr.* ii. 2, *Pro Planc.* 20, *De Leg.* iii. 4, and every page of the *Demand of the cons.;* Dionysius, iv. 21; Polybius, vi. 4, etc.) But it seems that two attempts were made to effect this change. During the war with Hannibal and up to the year 179, — a time at which he speaks of a great change in the suffrage, — Livy frequently (xxiv. 7, xxvi. 22, xxvii. 6) gives to the centuries the name of tribes. In the election of 211 each tribe appears divided into two centuries, one of *juniores*, and one of *seniores*, — which confirms the passage in Livy (i. 43): *tribus numero earum duplicato, centuriis juniorum et seniorum.* At what period did this change take place? Necessarily after the Hortensian law, and according to Livy, *post expletas quinque et triginta tribus.* Perhaps in 220, during the censorship of Flaminius, by whom, says the 20th *Epitome*, *libertini in quatuor tribus redacti sunt, quum antea* [since 304] *dispersi per omnes fuissent.* All the German writers differ on this date, because they do not see that there might have been two changes at different times. Franke gives 495; Walter and Peter, 450; Niebuhr, 305; Nobbe, 288; Ihne, 241; Goettling and Gerlach, 220; Schulze, 181. It seems to me, however, that we cannot go far wrong in placing this change in the interval between the two Punic wars. The number of thirty-five tribes was only completed in 241, and in 215 centuries of tribes are already seen. At this time of republican equality, of poverty and heroism, the timocratic principle of the census must necessarily have been effaced. It had already disappeared from the legions, whose organization no longer depended on the division into classes established by Servius; the plebeians, who had lately won equality on all points, could easily cause it to disappear from the Forum too. Moreover, by the depreciation of the *as*, then reduced to the sixth of the value which it had still had before the First Punic War (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 13; Varro, *de Re rust.*, i. 10), 100,000 *ases* represented in 240 only 16,666 of the ancient ones, to which the rise in the price of commodities gave an infinitely smaller value than in the time of Servius. The result of this was that the same fortune which under Servius would have admitted a man into the fifth class, raised him in 240 to the first. In fact, the classes no longer existed, since an immense majority of the citizens found themselves in the first; there was, therefore, no need of a revolution to abolish them, and their suppression passed unnoticed. Without classes there could be no centuries. The old division, known and loved by the people, into *juniores* and *seniores*, was, however, preserved.

But the dangers of the Second Punic War invested the Senate with a kind of dictatorship, which they were unwilling to give up after having exercised it for fifteen years; the nobility was re-organized, acquired confidence in itself, and, in order to fortify its growing power, was desirous of re-establishing the categories of fortunes. Livy says of the censors of the year 179: *Mutarunt suffragia, regionatimque generibus hominum, causis et quaestibus, tribus descripserunt* (xl. 51); and thenceforth the classes — which indeed had always existed on the censors' books, since the tax was proportional to fortune — resumed their political character. In 169 he speaks of the centuries of knights and of many centuries of the first class. At the election of Dolabella Cicero (*Phil.* ii. 33) cites the prerogative century, the vote of the first, second, and remaining classes. In all his speeches he mentions nothing but classes, though he looks upon the tribes as the fundamental division of the Roman people. It is these tribes that he subdivides into classes and centuries: *censores partes populi in tribus describunto, exin pecunias, aevitates, ordines partiunto* (*de Leg.* iii. 3); and numerous testimonies confirm these words. (Cf. Dionys., v. 21; Sallust, *de Ord. rep.* ii. 8; Aulus Gellius, vii. 13, on the subject of the Voconian law and the figurative expression, to belong to the fifth class, in Cic., *Acad.* ii. 23.) In the two last centuries of the Republic, then, the centuries and classes existed as they had formerly done, and rested on the same principle as the ancient division of Servius. Dionysius accordingly says: "The assembly by centuries is not destroyed, but modified; it has become more

The constitution became, then, more democratic. This is seen in the nomination of Flaminius and Varro, who were raised to the highest offices in spite of the Senate and the omens, and in that of Minucius and of the adventurers to whom the people intrusted armies against Hannibal. Moreover, the ancient and popular assembly of the tribes still existed, and when the tribunes resumed their revolutionary *rôle*, it served their designs.

But a century still separates us from the Gracchi, and the

democratic" (iv. 21). No doubt of it, because there was no longer the same disproportion in the number of centuries as in the past. The passage in Livy (xliii. 16), where he only mentions twelve centuries of knights, instead of eighteen, would be a proof of this.

I think, then, that since 241 the great assembly of the Roman people had been that of the tribes, each divided into two centuries, of *seniores* and *juniores*: that in 179, as equality sank daily more out of sight, the categories of fortune were re-established, — in a more democratic form, however, than by Servius: these changes being, moreover, in perfect accord with the history of those times — ought, it seems to me, to be admitted without dispute. What now follows is merely hypothesis.

Thus each tribe contained classes, according to the passage in Livy for the year 179 and the texts indicated above, probably five, as of old, and as is expressly stated in the work *de Ord. rep.* ii. 8, and the *Academica* of Cicero. Each class was divided into *juniores* and *seniores*, as was each tribe before 179, as was each class after Servius, and as is proved by twenty passages in Cicero: *omnium aetatum atque ordinum* (*Att.* iv. 1; *pro Flacco*, 7, etc.). There were, then, 35 tribes, containing 175 classes, subdivided into 350 centuries, together with 18 centuries of knights. Thus all the classes having the same number of centuries had the same number of votes. The small number of the wealthy did not overpower the crowd of the poor. Moreover the lot decided (since C. Gracchus) which should be the prerogative century, whose vote, which was looked on as an omen, was generally followed by the others. These modifications, then, gave, as Dionysius affirms (iv. 21), a more democratic character to the assembly of centuries. Let us note, however, that the fate of an election or a law was really in the hands of the middle class, who, by siding below or above, gave the majority to the rich or the poor. But the real assembly by tribes was not destroyed. The Gracchi made use of it to pass their laws, in spite of the rich. As for the census of each class, it is difficult to determine. According to Livy (xxvi. 1) we might fix it thus: the first class, above 1,000,000 *ases;* the second, from a million to 300,000; the third, from 300,000 to 100,000; the fourth, from 100,000 to 50,000; the fifth, from 50,000 to 4,000.

These figures may be disputed, because our texts are deficient; but the principle of the new organization appears beyond a doubt: it is the fundamental principle of the Roman constitution, — *ne plurimum valeant plurimi;* that is to say, the poor, who form the greatest number, must not have the preponderance. The tribunes, who now enter the Senate and form part of the new nobility, are no longer party men, but statesmen: accordingly they willingly accept the organization which prevents Rome becoming a frightful demagogy; for as the number of new citizens increased daily, it was necessary to establish at any price an order which would insure a certain preponderance to the old Romans. If the assembly by centuries had absorbed the assembly of tribes, Rome would have been an oligarchy, suspicious and tyrannical, like Venice. If the comitia by tribes had absorbed the comitia by centuries, Rome would have been a senseless democracy, like the Athens of Cleon. By the existence of the two kinds of assemblies, the nobility and the people, the rich and the poor, preserved a balance till the day when the Empire became too great, and it was necessary to sacrifice liberty to power.

aristocracy had advanced so far in manners, that even at the time when equality was proclaimed as the principle of Roman society, a new nobility rose on the ruins of that which the laws of Licinius, Publ. Philo, and Hortensius had destroyed. If there were still any patricians, the patriciate no longer existed as a political body. In the Senate and in high offices plebeians were now more numerous than the descendants of the patrician families. In 205 the two consuls were plebeians; but these new men had only entered one after another into the Senate; far from modifying the spirit of it, they had yielded to its influence and accepted that ancient policy which kept the public within the wise limits of a moderate democracy. Community of interest led to family alliances, which united the new nobility with the old; and the Roman aristocracy found itself not destroyed, but renewed by all these popular laws.

Those whose ancestors had striven most vigorously for equality hastened to raise a barrier between themselves and the people, by using the *jus imaginum* which every curule office gave. "When some person of high rank dies at Rome," says Polybius, "he is solemnly borne to the Forum with the images of his ancestors, preceded by the fasces and axes, and covered with a praetexta, a robe of purple or gold cloth, according as he had held the consulship or the praetorship, the censorship, or had the triumph. At the foot of the orators' platform they are placed on ivory seats, and the son of the dead man relates his exploits, and then those of his ancestors. Thus the reputation of great citizens is ever renewed; their glory becomes immortal, and the people cannot forget it." The cold Polybius himself grows animated at the sight. "It is the most exciting scene," cries he. It was also the surest means for the nobles to justify their ambition, even in the eyes of the people, by ceaselessly reminding them of their services. Jealous as the patriciate had formerly been of keeping new men from honors, they had decided since the First Punic War that the aediles, and not the treasury, should henceforth bear all the expenses of the public games. Now it was necessary to pass through the aedileship before attaining the high offices. It was thus closing the access to them against all who had not a sufficient fortune to dare to canvass for this onerous magistracy.

To the ascendency which fortune, birth, the habit of command, and the exclusive knowledge of the formulae of law[1] gave them, there was added, for a great number, the patronship of the allies. Every free nation of Italy had at Rome a patron who represented its interests, and in case of need defended it before the Senate or the people. The Senate had, it is true, reserved the right of judgment on differences between the towns, of deciding on the complaints of citizens against their city, on crimes against Rome, on internal discords, etc.; but, generally speaking, they left this care to the patrons,[2] who were always chosen from influential families. This clientship of a city or of a whole people increased the consideration and the power of the nobles in a manner dangerous to liberty. Accordingly, in 234, a *praetor peregrinus* was created, who extended his jurisdiction over foreigners, and who, being placed between them and the nobles, restrained the patronage of the allies within limits in which it could only be useful to the Republic.

From another point of view this institution had grave social consequences. The *praetor peregrinus*, not being able to accord to foreigners the benefits of the civil laws of Rome, was obliged to seek, among the rules of right or principles of natural equity, common to many nations, which constituted a new juridical domain, that of the right of nations. Thenceforth the *jus gentium* did not cease to make inroads upon the *jus civile*, or peculiar right of Rome, the narrow enclosure of which it finally carried by storm, and with it fell the privileges of the Quirites.

Thus, since the laws of Hortensius, the constitution had become more democratic, and still the aristocracy had been reorganized. The patriciate had been destroyed as a privileged caste; the nobility was allowed to continue as a class invested with honorable distinction.[3] In a word, the laws were democratic, the customs were not; and this contrast, far from being a cause

[1] After Flavius (p. 409) the nobles had invented new formulae; but they were divulged about 200, *jus Aemilianum*. (Pomponius, on the *Dig.* I. ii. 2, § 7.)

[2] Claudii became the patrons of the inhabitants of Messina; Minutianus of fifteen Umbrian tribes; the Marcelli of the Sicilians; the Fabii of the Allobroges; the Gracchi of the Spaniards; Cato of the Cappadocians and Cypriotes, etc.: . . . *tum plebem, socios, regna colere et coli licitum.* (Tac., *Ann.* iii. 55.)

[3] These distinctions, says Polybius, are a great encouragement to virtue (vi. 53). This was Napoleon's thought when he destroyed the feudal nobility and created the Legion of Honor.

of weakness to Rome, gave her great strength, since it thus united the advantages of a popular government with those of an aristocratic state, without the inconveniences occasioned by the exclusive predominance of one or other of these political forms. If, however, the early tribunes had been unable to pluck the aristocracy out of the heart of Roman society; if, deserting the people, they themselves had gone over to the hostile camp, — they had successors in the tribuneship who continued their work. They had abolished classes, and had only left the nobles that influence which everywhere attaches to great names and to great fortunes. At the same time the censors had driven back the freedmen[1] into the four city tribes. The nobility and the foreign masses were thus restrained, and the true Roman people ruled masterfully in the Forum, faithful to its gods, its manners, and its discipline, because these new needs, this growing love of luxury, this contempt of ancient customs and ancient beliefs, which we have spoken of above, had not yet descended to the heart of the nation. This middle class which had conquered the Samnites, Pyrrhus, and Carthage, was still as devoted, as brave, and even as numerous. For if the agrarian law was not faithfully observed, at least the watchfulness and the fines of the aediles prevented the concentration of property, whilst the distributions of land multiplied small heritages and formed that nursery of Roman soldiers whence Rome soon draws twenty-three legions.

This period is the best age of Roman liberty. But it must be well understood that this liberty was not like that which we love; for the Roman citizen, whom we picture to ourselves so proud of his rights, was not sure of his social rank, which at each lustrum the censor might deprive him of without trial, or of the independence of a private life into which the same magistrate penetrated, armed with the severities of his irresponsible magistracy. This republican was the serf of the state, and every-

[1] Livy, *Epit.* xx. The wealth amassed by the *aerarii*, and their constant efforts to spread themselves through all the tribes, no doubt contributed to the abolition of the classes. Men saw the necessity of restricting the exercise of political rights to the plebeian proprietors and agriculturs, who in that quality were interested in the preservation of the state and of liberty; but the *aerarii* ceaselessly strove against this limitation, which was renewed in vain in 304, in 220, probably in 181, and in 168. Clodius wished to distribute them through all the tribes. Under Nero they filled the equestrian order and the Senate. (Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 26, 27.)

thing, — liberty, justice, morality, — yielded at need to the maxim that the safety of the state is the supreme law, — an excellent maxim when the citizen understands it as an obligation for him to devote his fortune and his life to his country, but a maxim which may become detestable when it is the government that decides what is required for the safety of the state.



CYBELE. REVERSE OF A LITTLE BRONZE OF CADIZ IN PHRYGIA.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR UP TO THE BATTLE OF CANNAE (218-216).

I. Hannibal in Spain.

IF the Senate, in answer to the appeal of Utica and the mercenaries during the revolt of the armies of Carthage, had sent them two legions, it would have been all over with the great African city; Amilcar would not have undertaken the conquest of Spain, Hannibal would not have attempted that of Italy, and infinite ills would have been spared to numberless populations. Rome lacked boldness. It was not respect for good faith which stayed her; her priests and augurs would easily have found the means to set at rest a conscience that was not over scrupulous. But on the morrow of the Punic War she had to bind up her wounds; and as she dared not risk a great iniquity, she contented herself with a small one, — the indirect help given to the mercenaries in Africa and the seizure of Sardinia. Amilcar had time to save Carthage and to double her empire.[1]

In the year 218, on the eve of the Second Punic War, the possessions of the Carthaginians were dispersed from the Cyrenaica to the mouths of the Tagus and Douro, on a line of from eight to nine hundred leagues, but narrow, without depth, and liable at any moment to be cut, either by the African nomads in their rapid incursions, or by an enemy who could always find means to land on this immense stretch of coast. The Roman Republic, on the

[1] For the Carthaginian names I now follow the usual orthography. If Hannibal, Hasdrubal, Amilcar were obscure personages, it would be needful to call them by their true names, which are given in Punic inscriptions, Hannibaal, Azroubaal, and Ahmilcar or Abmilcar, — the Latin form, Amilcar, answering to two different names, one of which signifies brother (*ah*), the other servant (*abd*), of Melkart. To write Hasdrubal and Hamilcar is a real mistake, for the aspiration in these two names is too feeble to be marked by an *h*: on the other hand, it is very strong in Hannibal, which ought to have one. (Note by M. de Saulcy.)

contrary, presented the aspect of a regularly constituted empire. — Rome placed in the middle of the peninsula; the peninsula itself, protected by three seas; and, beyond these three seas, like so many outposts guarding the approaches of Italy, — Illyria, whence the legions kept watch over Macedonia and Greece; Sicily, whence they observed Africa; and Corsica and Sardinia, in the middle of the road to Spain or Gaul, and commanding the navigation of the Tyrrhenian Sea.

What added force to this rule was that throughout the greatest part of Italy it was accepted, if not with love, at least with resignation.[1] Poor and warlike nations prefer to pay tribute with blood rather than with gold; and Rome only asked soldiers of the Italians. In exchange for their stormy independence she had given them peace,[2] which favored the development of population, agriculture, and commerce. They were no longer in dread lest some night a hostile troop should come and reap their fields, strip their vines and fruit-trees, carry off their flocks, burn their villages, and lead their women and children into slavery. Rome had put an end to these evils and terrors, which before her time had been daily renewed at many points in Italy. Her censors covered the peninsula with roads, drained the marshes, built bridges over the rivers, and erected temples, porticos, and sewers in the Italian cities, so that Rome was not the only one to benefit by the spoils of the world.[3] To defend the coasts against the descents of

[1] Livy says of the allies before Cannae: . . . *justo et moderato regebantur imperio: nec abnuebant, quod unum concilium pleb. est, magistratibus parere* (xxii. 13), and Polybius, speaking of Hannibal's ravages, extended as far as Campania without a single town going over to him, says: Ἐξ ὧν καὶ παρασημήναιτ' ἄν τις τὴν κατάπληξιν καὶ καταξίωσιν παρὰ τοις συμμάχοις τοῦ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεύματος (iii. 90). See in Livy the conduct of Naples and Paestum after Thrasimene; of Canusium, Venusia, Nuceria, and Acerrae after Cannae; of Petelia, Consentia, and Cortona after the defection of Bruttium: the heroic resistance of the soldiers of Praeneste and Perugia in Casilinum, and the courage of a cohort of Pelignians, who were the first to enter the camp of Hanno. In Sicily and in Sardinia, when the praetors demand money and provisions for their soldiers, the Senate reply that they have nothing to send them, and the allies hasten to furnish all that is necessary. (Livy, xxxiii. 22.) For Petelia, compare especially Polybius, vii. fr. 1. It resisted for eleven months, and the inhabitants ate even leather and the bark of trees. It was two squadrons of Samnites (Livy, xxvii. 11) who led the messengers of Hasdrubal to Nero, and that general in his march from Canusium to the Metaurus was able to show his soldiers *quo concursu, qua admiratione, quo favore hominum iter suum celebratur.* All along the route numerous volunteers joined him. Finally, we know that an army and a fleet were furnished to Scipio by the allies.

[2] By forbidding wars between town and town.

[3] The consulship of Corn. Cethegus was passed in draining a part of the Pontine marshes

enemies or pirates, the Senate had lately lined them with maritime colonies; to protect the Italian merchants they had declared war against the Illyrians and Carthage.[1] Some among the nobles made a noble use of their title of patrons of towns to carry out immense works for the profit of the allies. Thus Curius had become the protector of Reate by cutting a canal through the rock of a mountain to lead into the Nera the overflow of Lake Velinus.[2] If we still possessed the second Decade of Livy, we should no doubt find there many facts similar to these, which would prove that this domination, though established by force, and sometimes even by violence and perfidy, was excusable by the benefits it conferred.

The glory of Rome, moreover, was reflected upon the Italians, as that of Athens and Sparta had been an honor to Greece. All, in spite of the differences of their condition, closed round her at the news of a Gallic invasion, and we shall see the victorious Hannibal remaining two years in the midst of Italy without finding a single ally there. Time had cemented the edifice constructed by the Senate during the Samnite war, and had united all the Italian nations into a compact and immovable mass. In the last countries subdued, however, there still lingered among the populace, whose patriotism is often more disinterested than that of the great, regrets for lost liberty.[3] But everywhere the nobility had freely rallied round the Romans, as at Volsinii, Capua, Nola, Tarentum, and in Lucania; family alliances between this Italian nobility and that of Rome drew these ties closer. At Venice the nobles of the Golden Book scorned those of the mainland; but at Rome Ap. Claudius took

. . . *siccatae, agerque ex iis factus.* (Livy, *Epit.* xlvi.) For a later epoch see the works of Aem. Scaurus in Cisalpine Gaul during his censorship (Strabo, V. i. 11), and in Livy (xli. 27) the long enumeration of constructions made in Rome and in several towns of Italy by the censors of the year 174.

[1] During the war of the mercenaries. Later, in 179, as Tarentum and Brundusium complained of the Illyrian pirates, the Senate armed a fleet; they did the same for the Massaliotes, whose commerce was troubled by the Ligurian pirates. (Livy, xl. 18.)

[2] Cic., *ad Att.* iv. 15. See pages 454 and 457. The Romans had also lowered the level of the Lake of Alba, which frequently threatened to inundate Latium.

[3] *Unus velut morbus invaserat omnes Italiae civitates, ut plebes ab optumatibus dissentirent senatus Romanis fareret, et plebs ad Poenos rem traheret.* (Livy, xxiv. 2.) At Capua, during the revolt, it was men of the lower class who governed. The author of the movement was, it is true, a noble, but before the siege one hundred and twelve knights passed over to the Romans.

a Campanian for his son-in-law, and the ex-consul Livius married the daughter of a senator of Capua.[1]

It was needful, then, that the empire of the Carthaginians, so colossal in appearance, should rest on equally firm supports. The enormous contributions levied on their subjects, and the atrocities of the Inexpiable War, had doubtless not done much to reconcile them with the Africans. Utica, indeed, and Hippo-Zaryta had been desirous of giving themselves to the Romans. On the coasts of Numidia and Mauritania, some posts, at great distances apart, and surrounded by barbarians, were scarcely sufficient to afford aid to ships in the dangerous crossing from Spain. In Spain itself the authority of Carthage, or rather of Hannibal, was securely established only in Baetica. In the rest of the country, as far as the Ebro, the



VASE OF NOLA.[2]

[1] Livy, xxiii. 4. He adds for Capua: . . . *connubium vetustum multas familias claras ac potentis Romanis miscuerat.*

[2] This beautiful vase with three handles, of Nolan manufacture, represents Jupiter and Aegina, painted in red on a black ground. Collection of the *Cabinet de France*. No. 3,330 in the Chabouillet Catalogue.

tribes had been conquered, but not subdued; and the Roman generals could make an appearance there as liberators of the peninsula much more easily than Hannibal in Italy.[1]

Hamilcar had brought up his sons in hatred of Rome. "These are four lions' whelps," said he, pointing to them, "who will grow up for her ruin;" and Hannibal in his old age used to tell King Antiochus that before setting out for Spain, his father, in the midst of a solemn sacrifice, had made him swear eternal hatred to the Romans. "From the time of his arrival in the camp of Hasdrubal," says Livy, "he drew all eyes towards him. Old soldiers thought they saw Hamilcar in his youth again: there was on his face the same expression of energy, the same fire in his glance. He presently needed no remembrance of his father to gain their favor. Never was there a mind more fitted for two opposite things, to obey and to command; so that it would have been difficult to decide which cherished him more, the general or the army. Hasdrubal never chose any other leader when there was some vigorous blow to be struck; and under no other did the soldiers show more confidence. Incredibly bold in confronting danger, he retained marvellous prudence in peril. No labor wearied his body or prostrated his spirit. He supported heat and cold equally well. For his food, he satisfied need, but never pleasure. His wakefulness and his sleep did not depend upon day and night. When his work was finished, he sought repose neither



HANNIBAL.[2]

[1] See Polybius (ix. 11, and x. 18, 35) on the haughtiness and exactions of the Carthaginian generals. Hasdrubal-Gisco had forced Indibilis, Mandonius, and Edeco to pay him great sums, and to give him their wives and daughters as hostages; and these latter had much to complain of in the conduct of the Carthaginians towards them.

[2] Bust in the Naples Museum. Probably the only thing about it belonging to Hannibal is the name it bears.

on a soft couch nor in silence. Often he was seen, covered with a soldier's cloak, stretched on the earth between the advanced sentinels or in the midst of the camp. His dress did not distinguish him from his companions; his whole luxury was in his horses and arms. At once the best of horsemen and of foot-soldiers, he went into the fray first, and retired from it last. So many good qualities were accompanied by great vices, fierce cruelty, a more than Punic perfidy, no frankness, no modesty, no fear of the gods, no respect for the faith of an oath, no religion. With this mixture of virtues and vices he served three years under Hasdrubal without neglecting anything that a future general of the Carthaginian armies ought to see and hear."[1]

Livy certainly exaggerates Hannibal's vices, and only puts in relief the qualities of the soldier. The history of the Second Punic War will show us the great captain. Heir of the ambition of the Barcas, with more genius and boldness, Hannibal strove to create for himself at Rome's expense an empire which he was not strong enough to create at the expense of Carthage.[2] An Italian war was, moreover, a glorious means of putting an end to the strife which his family and his party were sustaining; and in spite of treaties, in spite of the cautious part of the Senate,[3] he began it. He asked nothing of Carthage, and put trust only in himself and his own; then, bringing over Spaniards and Gauls on his route, he crossed the Alps. His conduct before Saguntum; the choice of the route which he took, so as not to place himself in dependence on the fleets of Carthage; his promises to his troops;[4] his treaty with Philip; the forlorn state in which Carthage left him after Cannae; the almost unlimited power which, when conquered, he yet seized in his own country, — show his secret designs, and what he

[1] [This character seems written by Livy purely from a rhetorical point of view, and determined simply from the Roman view of the great war. Such feelings as justice to a noble foe, or real interest in the character of the wonderful Phoenician, were quite foreign to the vulgar patriotism of the historian. — *Ed.*]

[2] *Juvenem flagrantem cupidine regni.* (Livy, xxi. 10.)

[3] Fabius said: *οὐδένα . . . ἀξιολόγων.* (Polyb., iii. 8.) In Livy (xxx. 22) the ambassadors agreed, after Zama, that the war was only between Rome and Hannibal, and that Carthage had no part in it. The Punic wars are indeed generally a war of races; but the second is essentially the conflict of Hannibal and Rome.

[4] See p. 659. As regards the treaty with Philip, it stated that Italy should belong to Hannibal and the Carthaginians; to Philip all the booty.

would have made of that country's liberty had he returned as victor. The Second Punic War is only a duel between Hannibal and Rome; and in this assertion we do not mean to diminish the importance of the struggle, because it will show what strength and inexhaustible resources there are in the genius of a great man, as in the institutions and manners of a great people.[1]

Before commencing this war it was necessary to secure Spain. The South and East were subdued; but the mountaineers of the centre and the upper valley of the Tagus were still resisting. Hannibal crushed the Oleades in the valley of the Xucar (221), the Vaccaeans in that of the Douro, and the Carpetani on the banks of the Tagus in the environs of Toledo (220). The Lusitanians and the tribes of Galicia continued free, and Hannibal took care of wasting against them his time and forces. As far as the Ebro Spain seemed submissive; this was sufficient for his designs.

In the treaty imposed by Rome on Hasdrubal, the independence of Saguntum to the south of the Ebro had been formally guaranteed. In order to force on war, Hannibal besieged that place, which would have served as an arsenal and a point of support to the legions if he had left them time for arriving in Spain. This conduct was unjust, but clever.[2] Saguntum, a Greek commercial city, halfway between the Ebro and Carthagena, came into competition on this coast with the Carthaginian merchants. Hannibal desired to offer it them as a victim, in exchange for the war which he forced them to accept. By the pillage of one of the largest cities in the peninsula he reckoned also on buying beforehand the devotion of his soldiers. Rome sent some deputies to him; he refused to receive them, under the pretext that he could not answer for their lives if they risked themselves among so many soldiers who were barbarians. The deputies went to Carthage to demand that the audacious general should be delivered up to them.

[1] Polybius says this: "After Cannae, what made Rome triumph was the vitality of its institutions," *τῇ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἰδιότητι* (iii. 118)

[2] [It cannot possibly have been regarded unjust by those who remembered the Roman annexation of Sardinia. All wars are begun by violating treaties imposed by previous necessities. — *Ed.*]

In spite of the just resentment which Carthage had felt respecting the conduct of Rome in the matter of Sardinia, she did not desire war. Her rich merchants, seeing the Romans disdain the profits of commerce, and Marseilles, Syracuse, Naples, and Tarentum prospering under their rule or in alliance with them, were becoming familiarized with the idea of the Roman supremacy. But the people and Senate were ruled by the Barcine faction. In spite of Hanno's efforts, answer was made to the deputies that Saguntum had of itself kindled this war, and that Rome would be acting unjustly if they preferred this city to Carthage, their more ancient ally.[1]

During these embassies, Saguntum was pressed with the utmost rigor. "Situated," says Livy, "about 1,000 feet from the coast,[2] it had not the sea for defence, and Hannibal was able to attack it from three sides at once. His assaults were often renewed; in one of them Hannibal had his thigh pierced by a javelin. When his soldiers saw him fall, there was such confusion and fear among them, that the mantlets were nearly abandoned, and for some days the siege was nothing more than a blockade.

"Hannibal's wound being healed, the attack was obstinately renewed, and the works of approach reached the foot of the wall, which the battering-ram shook in several places. Already the Carthaginians thought themselves masters of the city; but the Saguntines, covering the city, where the wall failed, with their own bodies, checked the enemy in the midst of the rubbish. They used a javelin of spruce-fir with an iron head, three feet long, which could pierce both armor and body. At the place where the iron projects from the handle was some tow steeped in tar, which was set alight at the moment the javelin was hurled, and the rapid movement fanned the flame. Thus the *falarica* — that was its name — caused much fright. Even when it was arrested on the buckler[3] without wounding the soldier, it forced him, from

[1] [This is the account of Livy, probably borrowed from the conservative and patriotic Fabius Pictor, and very untrustworthy. — *Ed.*]

[2] Nearly 480 feet. The rock, 400 feet high, on which Saguntum had been built, is at present 2½ miles from the sea. (Hennebert, *Hist. d'Annibal*, i. 296.)

[3] The buckler of the Roman soldier was of wood.

fear of fire, to throw away his arms and expose himself undefended to the blow of the enemy."

These attacks took place before the arrival of the Roman deputies at the camp of Hannibal and at Carthage. They began again after the breaking off of the negotiations, and to excite the ardor of the soldiers, Hannibal promised them the whole booty of the city. "During the truce the Saguntines had raised a new



REMAINS OF THE THEATRE OF SAGUNTUM.[1]

wall behind the breach, but the assaults became more terrible than ever; the countless Punic army surrounded almost the entire circuit. The besieged being no longer able to defend the approach to their wall, a large opening was made by which the enemy entered the city. But a house-to-house fight began; and the Carthaginians having succeeded in getting hold of a height, surrounded it with a wall, and made it a citadel which they held in the city itself,

[1] De Laborde, *Voyage d'Espagne.*

and which commanded it. The Saguntines on their side covered with a new wall what they still held of their city. Shut up more closely day after day, they saw their destitution increasing and the hope of succor vanishing. Confidence returned for a while when it became known that Hannibal was obliged to march against the Oretans and the Carpetans, who broke out into revolt at the severity of the levies. But Saguntum gained nothing from the absence of the general; Maharbal, charged with the prosecution of the siege, showed such activity, that neither besiegers nor besieged were conscious of their chief's absence. Then two men, Alcon of Saguntum and the Spaniard Alorcus, tried to bring about an accommodation. The conditions demanded by the conqueror were such that Alcon did not even dare to report them. Hannibal left to the inhabitants only life and two garments: they must deliver up arms, riches, leave their city, and withdraw to a place which he would point out. Alorcus, who had formerly been the guest of the Saguntines, offered to carry these hard terms to them. He advanced in open day towards the enemies' sentinels, to whom he gave up his arms, and, having crossed the entrenchments, had himself conducted to the chief magistrate, who introduced him to the senate. He had scarcely finished speaking, when the leading senators caused a funeral pile to be raised in the public place, on it they threw the gold and silver of the public treasury, then their own, and lastly themselves. This sight had already spread consternation in the crowd when cries arose; a tower fell, and a Carthaginian cohort, dashing forwards on the ruins, informed the commander-in-chief that the place was divested of its defenders." Hannibal hastened in with all his troops, and commanded all to be slain who were of an age to carry arms, — "a cruel measure," says Livy, "but its necessity was proved by the event; for how could men be spared who burned themselves in their houses with their wives and children, or who, with arms in their hands, fought to the last breath (219)?"[1]

[1] Livy, xxi. 6-14. He says that all the defenders of the place were killed, *belli jure* (xxi. 13); but he himself relates later on that one of the first cares of the Scipios was to ransom the Saguntines. All, therefore, had not perished. Neither was Saguntum destroyed, for the Scipios took it in 215, and the Romans made a colony of it, which was still existing under

This heroic resistance, of which Spain affords other examples, had lasted eight months. A part of the riches from Saguntum sent to Carthage reduced the numbers of the peace party; and when a second embassy came from Rome to demand a solemn reparation, it was the Romans whom they accused of violating treaties. The discussion was prolonged in the Council of the Ancients. At last Fabius, holding out a fold of his toga, said: "I bring here peace or war; choose!" "Choose yourself!" was the response from all sides. "Well, then, war!" replied Fabius.



FIGURE IN TOGA.

Hannibal hastened his preparations. He sent fifteen thousand Spaniards to keep garrison in the places in Africa, and he called into Spain fifteen thousand Africans; both would serve as hostages for the fidelity of the two countries. His army rose to 90,000 foot, with 12,000 horse and 58 elephants. A naval defeat would have irretrievably ruined his projects, and the fleet of Carthage no longer was mistress on the Mediterranean. He

the Empire. One of its coins, of very coarse workmanship, represents on the face Tiberius; on the reverse a ship's prow. Its ruins may still be seen near Murviedro (*Muri Veteres*), and the Spaniards there sustained a siege in 1811 against Marshal Suchet. The theatre built on the slope of a hill was then partly destroyed, its stones having been used in the fortifications.

resolved to open up a route by land. It was a very bold enterprise to go in search of the Romans in the very heart of Italy, leaving behind the Alps, the Rhone, and Pyrenees. But since the adventurous expedition of Alexander, all seemed possible to audacity. Perhaps Hannibal did not believe Rome to be stronger in Italy than Carthage was in Africa. Emissaries secretly sent with gold to the Gauls and Cisalpine tribes studied the mountain passes and the dispositions of the peoples, and brought back favorable reports. The Boii and Insubres in the Valley of the Po promised to rise *en masse*; and it did not seem difficult to rekindle the hardly quenched hatred of the last Italians whom Rome had conquered. Capua was not resigned to the obscure part of a subject city; the Samnites doubtless would be roused, and Tarentum and Etruria. And besides, there was no other choice than either to receive war or carry it into Italy. The consul Sempronius was already making immense preparations at Lilybaeum for an invasion of Africa, and Scipio was levying troops which he hoped to lead into Spain. It was necessary to forestall them. The example of Regulus showed the advantages of offensive warfare; this system was besides the only one that suited Hannibal's position; and that to which he would be always compelled to return, even after victories in Africa and Spain. If there were difficulties in the march, yet ought they to take into account the prestige which would surround the army, when the Italians should see descending from the summit of the Alps these soldiers who came from the Pillars of Hercules, and were bringing them liberty. Since Pyrrhus, no enemy had penetrated into Central Italy. In the midst of this rich district the war would support itself, and it would be possible to do without Carthage.[1] If reinforcements should be needed, the forces to be left in Spain, under the command of Hasdrubal and Hanno, might follow Hannibal into Italy by the same route which the general himself had taken, recruiting as they advanced from the Gallic nations known to be unfriendly to Rome, and at all times ready for the lucrative service of Carthage.

[1] We shall follow in the main Polybius' narrative. Unfortunately there remains of it, after the battle of Cannae, only some fragments. Livy will then become our guide; he has borrowed much from Cincius Alimentus, who was one of Hannibal's prisoners, and certainly

When he conceived this bold plan, Hannibal was only twenty-seven years of age; the age of Bonaparte at Lodi.[1]

II. Hannibal in Gaul; Crossing of the Alps.

After a solemn sacrifice offered at Gades to Melkart, the great god of the Phoenician race, Hannibal set out from Carthagena in the spring of the year 218, and reached the bank of the Ebro with 102,000 men. On the other side of this river the country is difficult, bristling with mountains, one of which, Montserrat, about 4,200 feet high, is almost impracticable. He passed with the bulk of his forces between it and the sea, in the direction of Emporium, whilst detached corps went towards the north-west to drive back the mountaineers into their high valleys. He was obliged to fight his way through this region, with loss of twenty thousand men. Moreover, many of his Spanish soldiers deserted, and of those who remained, a considerable number openly expressed their discontent. Upon this he voluntarily sent back eleven thousand; and intrusting ten thousand foot and a thousand horse to Hanno, a Carthaginian officer, to keep the passes, he entered Gaul with fifty thousand foot and nine thousand horse, all veteran soldiers devoted to him. Thirty-seven elephants accompanied the army.

On leaving Carthage, the Roman ambassadors went to Gaul to persuade the barbarians to close the Pyrenaean passes against the Carthaginians. "At this proposition to fight for the people who had abandoned Saguntum and oppressed the Italian Gauls, there arose in the assembly of the Bebryces (Roussillon) such laughter," says Livy,[2] "mixed with angry cries, that the old men had difficulty in calming the younger." On their return to Rome, the deputies declared that in all the Transalpine cities,

also from Polybius, whom he so often copies without acknowledgment. Appian has followed Fabius Pictor, also a contemporary. Cornelius Nepos gives very little information in his lives of Hannibal and Amilcar. The lives of Fabius and Marcellus in Plutarch are rich in details. Silius Italicus has put Livy into verse. [Livy's sources often serve to correct Polybius. — *Ed.*]

[1] Clinton (*Fasti Hell.* iii. 20, 52) places his birth in 247. He was then only twenty-six years old when the soldiers made him the successor of Hasdrubal, and twenty-seven when he subdued Spain.

[2] *Tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus.* (Livy, xxi. 20.)



VIEWS OF THE ALPS (MONT CENIS).

except Marseilles, they had not heard one peaceful or hospitable word, and that the hatred for Rome and the money scattered by Hannibal's emissaries were preparing an easy route for the Carthaginian. It was prudent, therefore, to detain him in his own peninsula. The consul Sempronius, who was preparing for an invasion of Africa from Sicily, had orders to redouble his activity, and P. Scipio, his colleague, pressed on his levies for the army of Spain. At that moment the Senate thought that four legions would be sufficient to take satisfaction from Carthage and this daring young chief; there were soon need of twenty-three against Hannibal alone.

They also took precautions against the Cisalpine tribes. To keep them in check two colonies, each of six thousand men, were sent to Cremona and Placentia. But the Boii and Insubres dispersed the colonists, chased them as far as Modena, which they besieged, and surprised in the midst of a forest the praetor Manlius, who was near perishing there. These events retarded the departure of Scipio, and deprived him of a legion which he was obliged to send to the colonies of the Po. However, when his fleet entered the port of Marseilles, he thought Hannibal was still on the other side of the Pyrenees; the Carthaginian was already on the Rhone.[1]

The Bebryces had made a treaty of alliance with him;[2] the Arecomici saw their independence threatened by this large army which was approaching, and withdrew behind the Rhone in order to dispute its passage. Hannibal deceived them; he sent a part of his forces to cross the river secretly, 25 miles above the barbarians' camp, with an order to take them in the rear, while he himself made the attempt to cross. Harassed by this double attack and by the burning of their camp, the barbarians dispersed. Hannibal had put his elephants on immense rafts, and his troops on boats bought of all the tribes living on the river banks; the horses followed by swimming; the Spaniards had crossed on inflated leather skins and their bucklers.[3]

[1] On the passage of the Pyrenees by Hannibal, see the work of Hennebert. (Vol. i. pp. 419–442.)

[2] This treaty referred to their wives the decision of the Carthaginians' claims against the native populations. (Plut., *de Virt. mulier.*)

[3] The passage was made above Roquemaure, nearly 12 miles north of Avignon; that is, at least, the opinion of Letronne, adopted by Hennebert. The widespread use of *utres*,

The next day five hundred Numidians descended the Rhone to reconnoitre the river lower down. They fell in with a reconnoitring party of three hundred Roman knights led by Gallic guides in the pay of Marseilles. The two troops charged. There returned only three hundred Numidians; the Romans had lost a hundred and sixty men, but they had remained masters of the battle-field.

The question may have occurred to Hannibal's mind whether he should pursue his march, or return against the consul, who was raising his camp to come and attack him. But a victory in Gaul would have decided nothing; besides, a Boian chief had just come to the camp, offering guides and the alliance of his people. Hannibal drew farther away from the consul by ascending the river's course.[1] What route did he take? Here Polybius and Livy differ, and after them all modern writers.[2] Polybius had visited

inflated skins, like our fishermen's buoys for nets, is well explained in M. Lenthéric's charming book on the old delta of the Rhone and the Roman remains in Provence.

[1] [He meant evidently to ascend the Valley of the Durance, which is the most southern affluent of the Rhone, and this would have made his journey much shorter. He was obliged to take the next river-course, that of the Isère. —*Ed.*]

[2] Out of 90 dissertations which appeared before 1835, 33 of them are in favor of the Little St. Bernard, which, having only 6,750 feet of elevation, is the easiest passage of the whole chain; 24 are for Mount Genèvre; 19 for the Great St. Bernard; 11 for Mount Cenis; and 3 for Mount Viso. How many others since that date! The passage by the Simplon, which has also been named, Hannibal would have rejected as too far towards the north and east, as it would have made him lose much valuable time; the passage by the Great St. Bernard is very difficult, especially at the beginning of October. His Insubrian guides must have known the shortest route, and this was that of the Little St. Bernard, by which Hannibal arrived in a straight line from the Valley of the Isère to the neighborhood of the Insubres, his allies. The immense *détour* which some propose to gain the River Durance by very difficult country, and where Scipio, whom he was avoiding, would have been able from Marseilles either to hinder him or come up with him, made him debouch by Mount Genèvre or Mount Viso on the lands of Ligures Taurini, the enemies of his allies. From this side he had to fear that the Taurini, directly threatened by his approach, would have summoned to themselves the mass of the Ligurian population of that region. His guides could not have pointed out to him such a route. His aim was to reach Italy as quickly as possible, and to descend into a friendly country in order to have time to refresh his army before fighting. Points of strategy ought to prevail over geographical advantages, — which, moreover, are uncertain. However, the theory of the passage by Mount Genèvre has found again quite lately some clever defenders in M. Desjardins (*Géographie de la Gaule Romaine*, vol. i. pp. 86–94), and Hennebert (*op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 43 *et seq.*). Without wishing to draw any conclusion relative to Hannibal's crossing, I notice the fact that the route by the Little St. Bernard was so much employed from high antiquity, that it had been consecrated by a megalithic monument. On the most elevated point of the pass, at a height of 6,368 feet, exists a cromlech, or circle of raised stones, which is two hundred and thirty feet in diameter, and which the route crosses. There has been found no trace of sepulture or worship, and it could not be a place of meeting for the deputies of the neighboring peoples. What does this monument

the places and questioned the mountaineers who had seen the expedition pass; his narrative ought to be followed; unhappily he does not remove all the difficulties, which will doubtless remain insurmountable.[1] Besides, whether Hannibal crossed by Mount Cenis, Viso, Genèvre, or the Little St. Bernard is of small consequence to history, which is above all interested in the result; namely, the Alps boldly crossed by a large army.

After four days' march, Hannibal entered "Isle of the Allobroges," which is formed by the Rhone and Isère. Two brothers, in this country, were disputing for the supreme power; he took the part of the elder, helped him to conquer, and received in return food and clothing, of which the soldiers would soon have such need. The successful chief, with all his barbarians, accompanied Hannibal across the plain, to the very foot of the mountains. Already were the Alps in sight, with their eternal snows and threatening peaks. But Hannibal had caused the speech of the Boian deputies to be translated to his troops, — their promise of guiding the army by a short and sure route, the picture which they drew of the magnificence and richness of the country beyond the Alps. Thus the sight of these dreaded mountains, far from depressing their spirits, animated the soldiers[2] as if they saw the goal of the war, as if in crossing them they would be, as Hannibal expressed it, scaling the very walls of Rome.

It was in the middle of October that the Carthaginians entered among the Alps.[3] The snow already hid the pastures and paths, and nature seemed struck with torpor. A pale autumn sun only partially dissipated the thick fog which every morning enveloped the army; and the long cold nights, disturbed by the solemn sounds

commemorate? I do not know. M. Al. Bertrand, the learned curator of the Museum of St. Germain, thinks this cromlech very ancient. It is one proof the more that this pass was known and used before Hannibal.

[1] [On the other hand, it is the opinion of Neumann (*Das Zeitalter der Pun. Kriege*, p. 286) that Livy follows better sources, and is our best authority. — *Ed.*]

[2] Polybius makes light beforehand of the declamations written and unwritten about the terrors of the Alps: *moles prope cœlo immixtæ*, etc. The sight of high mountains, far from repelling, attracts. Spain, besides, and the Pyrenees, whence started Hannibal's soldiers, contain peaks as imposing as those of the Alps. The Cerro de Mulhacen, which they had seen in Baetica, is only 3,800 feet less than Mont Blanc.

[3] Ideler., *Chronol.* vol. i. p. 241. Daude de Lavalette (*Recherches sur l'histoire du passage d'Annibal d'Espagne en Italie*) makes him reach the summit of the Alps on the 26th of October.

of distant avalanches and the roar of torrents in chasms far below, chilled the limbs of these men of Africa. Yet the cold and snow, the precipices and the untrodden paths, were not the greatest obstacles; for the mountaineers attempted several times to bar the route against the Carthaginians. One day Hannibal found himself in front of a defile guarded by the Allobroges, and which was commanded in its whole length by perpendicular rocks crowned with enemies. He stopped and had a camp pitched; fortunately the Gallic guides informed him that at night the barbarians would retire to their town. Before the next day he held the defile and heights with light troops. Still there was a bloody fight, and terrible confusion for some hours. Men, horses, beasts of burden rolled down the precipices; a number of Carthaginians perished. However, the army passed, took the town, and found in it victuals and horses, which replaced those they had lost. Farther on another tribe appeared before Hannibal, carrying branches as a sign of peace, and offering hostages and guides. He accepted them, but took care not to be deceived. The cavalry and elephants, the very sight of which frightened the barbarians, formed the advanced guard; the infantry was in the rear, the baggage in the centre. On the second day the army entered a narrow gorge, where the mountaineers attacked it, hidden in the clefts of the rocks. For a night Hannibal was cut off from his advanced guard; it was the last attack. After nine days' marching he reached the summit of the pass, and there stopped two days to give rest to his troops. From thence he pointed out to them the rich plains of the Po, and in the distance the way towards Rome, their promised prey. The descent was difficult; in attempting to cross a glacier covered afresh with snow, men and horses were entangled. Elsewhere the path was so narrow that the elephants could not pass: three days were lost in making a road broad and firm enough for them. At last, fifteen days after his departure from the Rhone, he reached the lands of the Insubres, in the vicinity of the territory of the Taurini.[1] The crossing had cost him, by his own admission, twenty thousand men. He had remaining

[1] . . . εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων ἔθνος. (Polyb., iii. 56.)



VIEWS OF THE ALPS (MONTE VISO)

only twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse.[1] Napoleon, who placed Hannibal higher than any other general of antiquity, said: "He bought his battle-field at the price of half his army."

III. Hannibal in Cisalpine Gaul; Battle of Ticinus; Battle of Trebia (218).

Hannibal had taken five months to do the 400 leagues which separate Carthagena from Tunis; he had, therefore, marched on the average at the rate of only three leagues a day. This slow pace, which is quite explicable, had given the Romans time to strengthen their positions in Cisalpine Gaul so as to restrain Gallic turbulence.[2] So, in spite of the promises of the Boian deputies, no people hastened to join the Carthaginians; besides, faithful even in the presence of the legions to their hereditary hates, these tribes continued naturally hostile. The Taurini, at this very time, attacked the Insubres. Hannibal proposed to form an alliance with them, and on their refusing took their capital by assault; all who were in it were slain. This rapid and sanguinary expedition attracted some volunteers, but the Roman legions were camping on the banks of the Po; the Gauls before joining Hannibal waited for victory to declare in his favor. Satisfied, moreover, with having attracted the Carthaginian army into Italy, they desired to let these two great nations, whose hand weighed so heavily on all the barbarians of the West, engage in the struggle, — perhaps with the secret thought that, as the result of the mutual exhaustion of their enemies, they might be able some day to play that part in Italy which the Galatians, their brethren, were playing in Asia with so much profit.

Hannibal must gain a victory. In order, says Livy, to speak in a language to his soldiers which all might understand, he ranged

[1] He had caused these figures to be cut on a column in the temple of Lacinian Juno: Polybius saw them. In the wars of the ancients, as in our own down to the 17th century, the wounded and sick ran great chance of perishing; in a march like that of Hannibal, those merely lame were lost; he must have had also a good many deserters.

[2] See p. 661.

his army in a circle, and brought into its midst some young mountaineers who had been made prisoners, all covered with wounds, loaded with irons, and weakened by hunger. He showed them some brilliant garments, rich arms, war-horses, and asked them if they were willing to fight together. The conqueror shall have liberty and these presents; death will free the conquered from the horrors of captivity. They joyfully accepted, fought hard, and triumphed or died cheerfully. Hannibal, then addressing himself to his soldiers, showed them in these prisoners, in this fighting, their own case. Shut in between two seas and the Alps, they can never see their native land again, unless they open up the road by victory. Either lead a wretched life in slavery, or die gloriously, or conquer and win the riches of Italy. To the spoils of Rome he will add lands in Spain, Italy, Africa, everywhere where they shall ask them; and he will make them, if they desire it, *citizens of Carthage*.[1] May the gods slay him, if he fail in these promises, as he himself slays this lamb; and, seizing a stone, he crushes the head of the victim against the altar.

The activity of Hannibal had disconcerted the plans of the Senate; the question was no longer of fighting in Spain or of besieging Carthage, but of saving Italy. Sempronius, whose fleet had already gained a naval victory and taken Malta, was recalled; Publius Scipio, after his futile attempt to check Hannibal by a battle on the banks of the Rhone, had voluntarily left his province, sent his brother Cnaeus into Spain with his legions, and took the route to Italy by sea. He hoped to reach the foot of the Alps in time to crush the army in its descent, while distressed by fatigues and privations. This time, again, in spite of his diligence, he arrived too late. From Pisa he had reached Placentia, taken the command of the Roman forces scattered along the Po, and crossed that river in order to place himself behind the Ticinus, between the Carthaginians and Insubres. With its source at the St. Gothard, the Ticinus forms, at the foot of the Alps, Lago

[1] *Agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi, qui accepisset, libe risque . . . qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum.* (Livy, xxi. 45.) Neither Bonaparte nor Caesar would have dared to speak with such disdain of the rights of the real sovereign power, — the people, the senate, and the law. But in Livy's case one always entertains some scruples: were these the words of the general, or of his historian? They tell us, at least, what Livy thought of the Carthaginian hero.

Maggiore, which it leaves, a clear, deep, rapid stream, to fall into the River Po below Pavia; there was the frontier of the Insubrian territory.[1] Scipio hastened thither. But if the Romans were very brave, well armed, and well organized into legions, their generals, renewed yearly, were not experienced tacticians, still less strategists. In place of taking up a position behind the Ticinus, of which he should have made a good line of defence, Scipio passed it with his horse and light infantry. Hannibal pushed forward at the same time a reconnoissance, and a short and sanguinary action took place. The Numidians, by the rapidity of their charge, soon had the advantage over light-armed men, whom they defeated, and also caused the Roman cavalry to give way. The consul himself was wounded: but for his young son, the future conqueror at Zama, he would have perished.

This battle of the Ticinus had been only an affair of the advanced guard; but Scipio, recognizing the Carthaginians' superiority in cavalry, fell back behind the Po, and resolved to avoid fighting on the plain; but he did nothing in the way of disputing with the enemy the passage of the river, which Hannibal easily crossed. One night two thousand Gauls, in the service of the Romans, massacred the guards of the camp and went over to the Carthaginian, who sent them to their homes laden with presents: they were to arouse among their people defections fatal to the Romans. The consul had first made a stand at Placentia. To secure himself from being shut up in this place, he selected a position in a valley behind the town, establishing his camp on the bank of the Trebia, his rear being protected by the Apennines. This torrent, sadly famous in French history[2] as in that of Rome, comes down from the mountains through a narrow valley, which expands into a plain only twelve miles from Placentia. There Scipio awaited the arrival of his colleague Sempronius, whom he had summoned, and who in forty days had come with all his troops from Rhegium to Ariminum.

The Romans had a part of their magazines at Clastidium, a fortified post on the Po, up the stream from Placentia. Hannibal

[1] Breadth at Buffalora, 533 to 660 yards; lower it reaches sometimes 2,000. (Hennebert, *op. cit.* i. 322.)

[2] [Great defeat of the French, under Marshal Macdonald, June 17-19, 1799, by the Austro-Russian forces under Suvaroff.]

surrounded this place, frightened or gained over the commandant, a native of Brundusium, and entered it, — a precious acquisition for him, and a very great loss to the Romans. Sempronius on his arrival was only the more eager to fight, and readily fell into a snare laid for him by the Carthaginian general. One morning the Numidians drew near to provoke the camp before the hour when the soldiers took their meal, and drew them on across the icy waters of the Trebia[1] as far as a plain where Hannibal had hidden, in the bed of a torrent, two thousand men, intrusted to his brother Mago. Weakened by hunger, the cold, and the snow, which the wind beat into their faces, the Romans were at a great disadvantage when they came up with the whole Carthaginian army, who, in good condition, fresh from their tents, stood drawn up in battle array to receive them. They made a gallant resistance, however, and the fortune of the day was still undecided, when Mago with his band burst upon them, and a rout commenced.

Nearly twenty-five thousand Romans perished or disappeared; ten thousand only, with Sempronius, broke through the Gauls of Hannibal[2] and reached Placentia, — where, when night came on,

[1] [A diversity of opinion exists as to the position of the Roman and Carthaginian camps, and the location of the plain on which was fought the battle of the Trebia. It is agreed that the two camps were situated one on each side of the stream, and that the battle took place on the side occupied by the Carthaginians. Livy directly asserts that the Carthaginian camp was on the east bank of the Trebia; but this view of the situation embarrasses the story with considerable difficulties. Of these the most serious seems to be the question how Sempronius was able to effect a junction with Scipio without any opposition from Hannibal, since if the latter was encamped upon the east bank, the Roman consul, in advancing from the Adriatic to join his colleague, must have been compelled to lead his large army "through a country," says Dr. Arnold, "unvaried by a single hill," past the Carthaginian camp, and well within range of the incessant reconnoitring of Hannibal's Numidian cavalry. "But so much in war depends upon trifling accidents," continues Arnold, dismissing the question, "that it is vain to guess where we are without information. We only know that the two consular armies were united in Scipio's position on the left (west) bank of the Trebia." Other difficulties connected with Livy's statement concern the retreat of the Romans after the battle, their crossing and re-crossing the river, and final taking shelter in Placentia. Livy's view has been very generally accepted, however, by the older writers; but the modern school, represented by Mommsen, frankly discard it, and assert that the phrase of Polybius on which Livy founds his topography of the battle-ground was misunderstood by the latter author. Says Mommsen: "Polybius' account of the battle of the Trebia is quite clear. If Placentia lay on the right bank of the Trebia where it falls into the Po, and if the battle was fought on the left bank (both of which points have been disputed, but are nevertheless indisputable)" . . . . And later, "The erroneousness of the view of Livy which transfers the Phœnician camp to the right and the Roman to the left, has been repeatedly pointed out." If the opinion of Mommsen be accepted, the march of Sempronius and the Roman retreat are rendered comprehensible, as will be seen by a reference to the map.]

[2] According to Polybius, almost all the dead on Hannibal's side were Gauls.

Scipio collected some fugitives, those who had been able to regain the camp. This great success was due to the Numidian cavalry, at present three times more numerous than that of the legions,[1] which had thrown the two wings into disorder, while Mago's horse threw the main body into confusion by attacking it in the rear.

The defeat at the Ticinus had repulsed the Romans across the Po; that of the Trebia repulsed them beyond the Apennines. Except Placentia,[2] Cremona, and Modena, Cisalpine Gaul was lost to them.

So far, Hannibal's plan had succeeded; and the fame of the late victory, spreading throughout Cisalpine Gaul, caused the tribes who had remained undecided at once to send in their allegiance, with promise of troops for the spring campaign. But while he was thus opening the route to Rome, Cnæus Scipio in Spain closed against Hasdrubal that into Gaul. Troops sent into Sardinia, Sicily, Tarentum, garrisons put into all the strong places, and a fleet of sixty galleys, cut his communications with Carthage. This caused him little fear, for the Gauls were flocking in crowds to his standard, and the Italian prisoners, treated kindly, then released without ransom, were going, so he thought, to gain over the peoples of the peninsula. Of the two routes which led thither, though he took the more difficult, yet it was shorter; and in spite of the advanced season, he tried to cross the Apennines. A terrible storm, like those which sometimes burst forth in these mountains, drove him back. He returned to Cisalpine Gaul and waited, in the meantime blockading Placentia, for the return of spring.

IV. Thrasimene (217); and Cannæ (216).

Napoleon has said, "If you hold North Italy, the rest of the peninsula falls like a ripe fruit." That was true of his time,

[1] Accustomed to fight in a mountainous country, the Romans had only a small force of cavalry; at the Trebia, 4,000 horse to 36,000 foot, or 1 to 9. Hannibal had more than 10,000 to 20,000 foot, or 1 to 2. Napoleon also greatly increased the proportion of cavalry in the French armies, and military writers agree in laying down the principle that the cavalry ought to be to the infantry as 1 to 4, 5, or 6, according to the nature of the ground where they fight.

[2] Sempronius, shut up in this city, gained, however, some advantages over Hannibal. (Livy, xxi. 57, 59.)

when on both sides of the Apennines all was ripe for a speedy fall; but not so in Hannibal's time, because a brave, disciplined people, resolved on conquest, awaited there the invader behind the triple and impregnable rampart of cities surrounded by cyclopean walls, and connected with each other by good roads.

The Gauls had reckoned on a rapid expedition, on obtaining booty; and it fell to them to feed the army and submit to discipline. This discontent led to many plots, from which Hannibal escaped, so it is said, only by continual disguises, appearing at one time as a young man, at another as an old man, and thus baffling the plots or inspiring in these rude minds a sort of religious respect.[1] As soon as the cold weather broke up he determined to go into Etruria in search of those legions which had not dared to dispute Cisalpine Gaul. To deceive them again, he took the most difficult route, by plunging into the midst of immense marshes, where for four days and three nights the army marched in water and mud. The Africans and Spaniards, placed in the vanguard, passed without serious loss; but the Gauls, who followed on ground already beaten in, kept slipping at every step and falling. Without the cavalry, who followed them close, they would have retreated; many perished. Almost all the baggage and beasts of burden stuck in the marsh. Hannibal himself, mounted on his last elephant, lost an eye by the watchings, fatigues, and dampness of the nights.[2] On leaving these quagmires, which were dried up when the Aemilian Way was afterward laid down, he entered the Apennines, cleared them at the defile of Pontremoli, and descending into the Valley of the Arno, marched by Faesulae on Arretium.

If the Romans, watching all his movements, had come and attacked him on leaving the marshes or the mountains, they might have checked his advance. But they did not know how to make war with this foresight. Encamped under the walls of Arretium and Ariminum, they patiently awaited the appearance of the enemy by the usual routes, forgetting that the Gauls, eight

[1] Ἐδόκουν θειοτέρας φύσεως λαχεῖν. (App. *Bell. Ann.* 6.)

[2] These marshes are generally placed with Livy to the south of the Apennines in the valley of the Arno. Micali maintains (2d part, cap. xv.) that they were on the other side of the mountains, in the territory of Parma and Modena. Polybius' narrative is not opposed to this, and Strabo (V. i. 11) says so expressly

years before, had made use of another, which, without the happy inspiration of the consul Aemilius, would have led them direct to Rome. The legions at Arretium were commanded by Flaminius, who as tribune had passed an agrarian law; as consul, had conquered in spite of the augurs; as censor, had executed some works of public utility, which were paid for out of moneys which the tenants of the state forests, pastures, and mines owed to the treasury, and which, by connivance of the Senate, they often forgot



A HARUSPEX.[1]

to pay. The people had just given him, in spite of the nobles, a second consulate. Recently Flaminius had further increased the hatred of the nobility against himself by supporting a law which prohibited any senator having at sea a ship of more burden than three hundred *amphorae*.[2] So to annul his election, the most sinister presages had appeared; some contrived by those who had

[1] A haruspex consults the entrails and the liver of an ox, which has just been sacrificed, and seems to be giving account of what they presage. The victimarius holds in his right hand the hatchet (*malleus*) with which he has struck the victim, and the vessel where he has received its blood. This bass-relief is perhaps the only one which shows this ceremony. Museum of the Louvre, No. 439 in the Clarac catalogue.

[2] Livy, xxi. 63.

a purpose in producing them, and all accepted by popular credulity, nay, even by the most serious people.

At Lanuvium, Juno had shaken her lance; burning stones had fallen at Praeneste, and meteors had shone at sea. In the country of Amiternum white phantoms had been seen; at Falerii the *lots* had grown thin, and on one of them was read, "Mars brandished his lance." At Caere the waters had rolled with blood; at Capena two moons were seen in the sky. In Sicily there had been seen flames on the points of lances; in Gaul a wolf had snatched away a sentinel's sword; bucklers had sweated blood; ears of corn had fallen covered with blood under the sickle, — foolish fears born of strange beliefs or frights caused by misunderstood phenomena, and which prove that the human mind can bring forth silly fancies even amongst a people the most dispassionate in the world. In the name of the Senate the praetor of the city promised rich offerings to the gods if they would preserve the Republic for ten years in her whilom state; the matrons dedicated a bronze statue to the Aventine Juno; and continual sacrifices, solemn prayers filled the city and army with superstitious fears. The newly-elected consul did not take these into consideration. Certain of being detained at Rome by false auspices,[2] he set out secretly from the city without having been invested at his own house, according to custom, with the *toga praetexta*, the badge of office, without having put on at the Capitol the *paludamentum*, or military robe, or having offered up on the Alban Mount the dutiful sacrifice to Jupiter Latiaris.



JUNO.[1]

[1] After a statue which is at Rome. (Ménard, *la Myth. dans l'art ancien et moderne*, fig. 42.)

[2] *Auspiciisementiendis.* (Livy, xxi. 63.) The tribune Herennius accused the augurs the year after of pious frauds. (Livy, xxii. 34.)

To justify this neglect of the gods and of very old customs, a victory was necessary. Polybius says that he sought one with presumptuous imprudence. Yet we see him awaiting in his camp at Arretium Hannibal's attack, and when the Carthaginian, who, being without siege-train, was able neither to take a city nor storm a camp, had passed by him, the Roman slowly follows his enemy, informs his colleague, who sets forth from Ariminum with all his forces, so that he could hope to renew the campaign so happily terminated lately at Telamon. To conclude, he was not the assailant at Lake Thrasimene. But Flaminius was wrong, and he paid for this with his life, in not making a more cautious march, and in falling blindly into the snare which his clever adversary laid for him. Hannibal had left behind him the high walls of Arretium and Cortona, when, 7 miles south of this latter city, he found himself, by going round a spur of the mountains, on the banks of Lake Thrasimene (*Lago di Perugia*), a sheet of water not deep, but 8 miles broad and 10 miles long. On the side where the road passes, the hills of the Gualandro (*Montes Cortonenses*) form a semicircle, the ends of which gradually fall towards the lake, near two villages,—Borghetto on the north, and Tuore on the south. It is a natural theatre enclosing a little plain, invisible till you enter it. As the route ran by the side of the lake, Flaminius, who was pursuing the Punic army, would of necessity be entangled in this snare without means of escape.[2] Hannibal there awaited him. He placed his heavy infantry at the end of the plain to close the way to the south, dispersed his slingers over the heights and in the hollows of the grounds, and hid his Numi-



PALUDAMENTUM.[1]

[1] After a bas-relief of Trajan's Column.

[2] . . . *loca nata insidiis.* (Livy, xxii. 4.)

dians and the Gauls behind the hills which commanded the northern pass.

Flaminius knew these parts, which he had traversed in order to join the camp at Arretium; but military instinct failed him. There where Hannibal had found a field of battle admirably prepared, he had seen nothing, except water and heights which



LAKE THRASIMENE.

embarrassed his march. At daybreak, without at all suspecting the great movement of men which was taking place around him, he fell into the snare. A thick fog rose from the lake and covered the plain, whilst on the hills, where the air was quite clear, the enemy were making, without being perceived, their final arrangements. Suddenly loud cries resounded in the front, rear, and flank of the Roman army, which was attacked from all sides before the soldiers could take up their arms and the legions change

from their marching order into order of battle. It was a horrible *mêlée*, lasting only three hours, but with such obstinacy, that the combatants were not aware of an earthquake which at the same time shook the mountains. Flaminius was slain by an Insubrian horse-soldier; 15,000 of his men perished; as many were made prisoners; very few escaped.[1] A stream which crosses the fatal plain still preserves the remembrance of this great massacre, the *Sanguinetto*. Hannibal had lost only fifteen hundred men, almost all Gauls.[2] The next day four thousand horse, sent by the other consul, fell besides into the midst of the victorious army, and some days after a fleet of transports, which was carrying munitions of war to the army of Spain, was captured near Cosa by the Carthaginians (217).

From Thrasimene to Rome it is only 35 leagues; the route was free, for the other consular army, which had just lost all its cavalry, was still far in the rear of the Carthaginians, and the Numidians already showed themselves under the walls of Narnia, two days' journey from the Capitol. However, Hannibal did not think himself strong enough, notwithstanding the destruction of two armies, to risk a march on the great city. His good treatment of the Italian prisoners, whom he continued to send back without ransom, had as yet brought him no advantage. Etruria gave no sign of affection to this friend of the Gauls; and the first city that he attacked after Thrasimene, the colony of Spoleto, victoriously repulsed him.[3] Since his departure from Spain, his troops had had no repose; he had in his train many wounded and sick; men and horses were covered with a leprosy caught in the marshy encampments in Cisalpine Gaul. To refresh his troops he led them into the fertile plains of Picenum, had the Numidian horses washed with old wine,[4] took care of his wounded, and gorged

[1] Livy says ten thousand; but Polybius' narrative creates the belief that the army was annihilated.

[2] Ἦσαν οἱ πλείους Κέλτοι. (Polyb., iii. 85.)

[3] The inhabitants of Spoleto have preserved this glorious souvenir in an inscription cut on one of their gates, of which we give a picture, taken from an engraving in the National Library, but which is modern.

[4] Ἐκλούων τοῖς παλαιοῖς οἴνοις. (Polyb., iii. 88). He says elsewhere (ix. 2) that Hannibal owed all his victories to this formidable cavalry, which the Romans never dared to attack on level ground.

his mercenaries with booty. What a singular homage rendered by the conqueror at Thrasimene to the military organization of the Romans: he armed his Libyan infantry with the short sword and large buckler of the legionaries![1]

At Rome, after the battle at Trebia, the extent of the disaster was kept secret; after that of Thrasimene they did not dare to hide anything. "We have been beaten in a great battle." These words, falling on the multitude like an impetuous wind on the wide sea, spread consternation. For two days the Senate deliberated without leaving the senate-house, and provided for everything. The bridges over the Tiber were broken, the gates and walls put into a state of defence, projectiles piled up on the ramparts. Not a soldier was recalled from Sicily, Sardinia, or Spain; but, as in other moments of great public danger, it was resolved to concentrate the whole power in the hands of one chief. The dictator ought lawfully to be nominated by a consul: Flaminius had perished, and it was impossible to communicate with Sempronius. The Senate decided that the people should be asked to name a pro-dictator. In this way, while breaking the letter, they kept the spirit of the law; and as it was the sovereign power itself that made this modification in the custom, the citizens owed obedience to the new magistrate; the gods, their aid. Rome was at that time admirable for political good sense. Before the common danger, party spirit was wiped out; the people elected as pro-dictator the chief of the nobility, a member of one of the most famous Roman families, Fabius Maximus, and the aristocracy accepted, as Master of the Horse, Minucius, one of the favorites of the multitude. There was need to persuade the people that it had been conquered simply from the impiety of Flaminius. Fabius caused the public prayers and sacrifices to be renewed; they celebrated a *lectisternium* in honor of the twelve gods;[2] there was vowed to them a sacred spring, they were promised games, temples; and a praetor

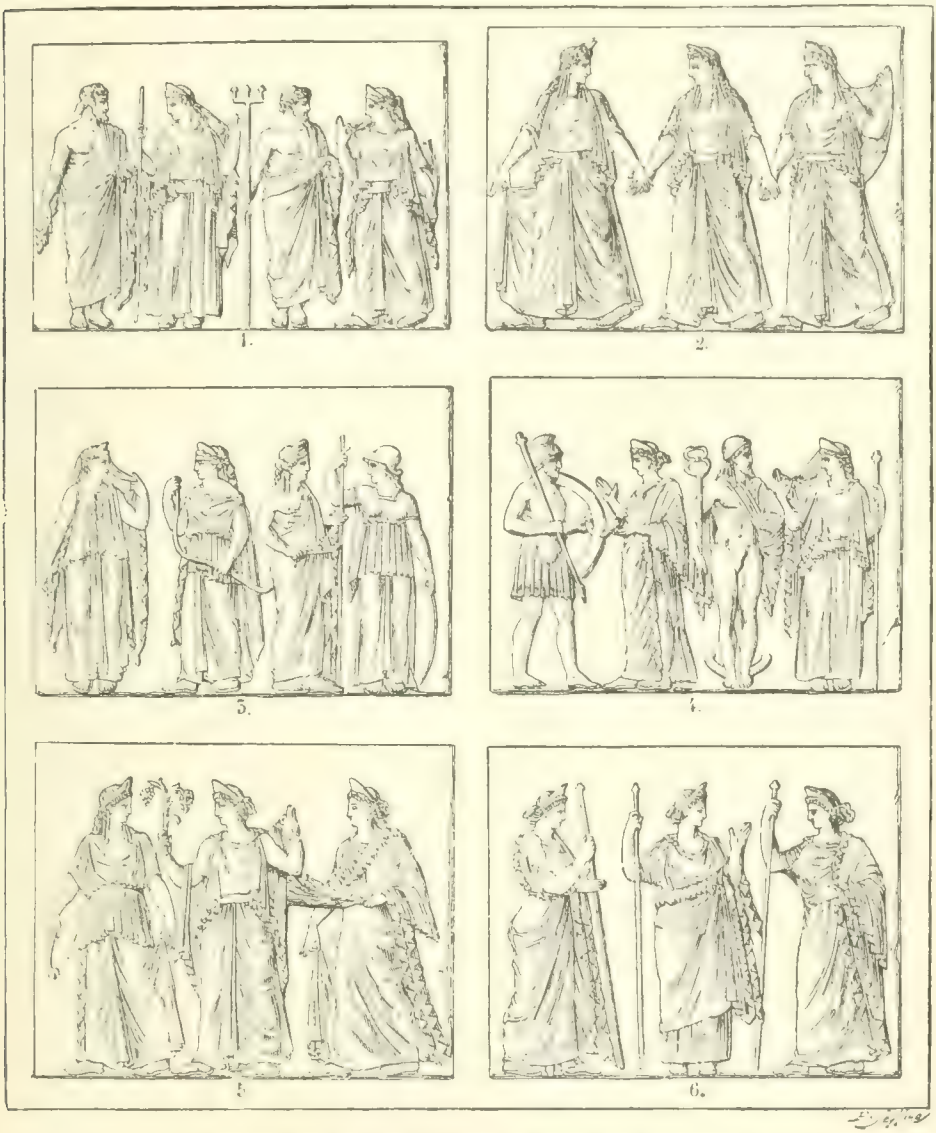
[1] [He probably had no other means of replacing those broken or worn out in Italy. — *Ed.*]

[2] The following is the arrangement of the guests at this divine feast: *Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt: Jovi ac Junoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti et Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio ac Cereri.* (Livy, xxii. 10.) After the example of Roman women, *feminae cum viris cubantibus sedentes coenitabant*, the goddesses being seated *in sellas*, the gods reclining *in lectulum*. (Val. Max., II. i. 2.) See pp. 234 and 387.



VIEW OF SPOLETO.

was charged with an exclusive oversight of these numerous expiations.

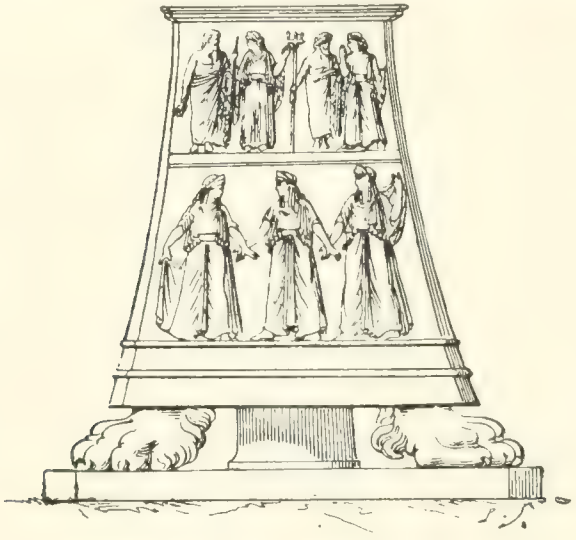


BAS-RELIEF OF THE ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GODS.[1]

For the "sacred spring," which the sibylline books had demanded, the Pontifex Maximus ordered that the following question

[1] We have brought together in one plate the three sides of the monument, in which are represented: in the upper register, the Twelve Months, symbolized by twelve divinities (Nos. 1, 3, 4); in the lower, the Graces, who give the pleasures of life (No. 2); the Seasons, who promise abundance (No. 5); the Eumenides, who assure the execution of the decrees of divine justice (No. 6). The woodcut on p. 678 gives one of these sides. The numbers 1 and 2 are

should be put to the people: "If five years from now the Roman people of the Quirites come prosperously out of this war, are you willing, do you order that there be made to Jupiter an offering of all that the spring shall have produced, — of pigs, sheep, goats, and oxen, to commence from a day fixed by the Senate and people?" The proposition having been accepted, every citizen felt himself legally bound to fulfil this vow at the appointed time. Yet the chief priest took care to enumerate the cases in which the sacrifice would not be "legitimate," in order that the Roman people might not be responsible for any irregularities towards the gods, and that the latter should be obliged to keep the agreement which the priests had just concluded in their name. For them, homage, honor; for Rome, victory; and they would have willingly said to their gods as the Arragonese did to their kings: "If not, no."



ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GODS.[1]

We are surprised that Hannibal after Thrasimene did not attempt to crush the other consular army. On the banks of the Po he had not taken the fortresses by which Rome guarded

there explained. In No. 3 are seen: Apollo, whom one would take, from his costume, for a goddess; Diana with her bow; Vulcan holding his pliers, but having nothing of the character which tradition assigns him; Minerva armed with a lance. In No. 4, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Vesta. In No. 5 are the three Seasons, Spring, Summer, and Autumn, recognizable by the flowering branch, by the vine-stock, and the ear of corn which they are carrying; in No. 6 the Eumenides have the sceptre surmounted by the pomegranate flower, the symbol of their power, and the left hand open to signify that they are always ready to obey Destiny. M. Frohner (*Notice de la Sculpture antique du Musée national du Louvre*) regards this tripod base as a rural calendar. In any case these bass-reliefs form a little mythological poem.

[1] Large triangular base of a tripod, called the Altar of the Twelve Gods, in the Louvre Museum. Above, Jupiter armed with the thunderbolt and the head turned towards Juno; on the left of Juno, Neptune or the ocean, and Ceres or the earth; below the three Graces. See the other faces on the preceding page.

Cisalpine Gaul. Satisfied with crushing whatever attempted to stop his march forwards, he showed no concern for what he left in his rear. The reason is that he was in haste to reach South Italy, in the midst of peoples whom he thought disposed to join him, near Sicily, which he hoped to urge into revolt, not far from Greece, Spain, and Africa, with which he wished to secure easy and sure communications. Whilst he was reaching the Adriatic, whence he despatched a vessel to Carthage which conveyed the first news thither of his astounding successes, Sempronius crossed the Apennines and came down the valley of the Tiber as far as Ocriculum, where he effected a junction with the dictator's army.

Fabius, at the head of four legions, went in search of Hannibal, who had followed the Adriatic coast into Apulia, in the hope of raising revolt in Magna Graecia as he had done in Cisalpine Gaul. On his march he had committed frightful ravages without detaching a single ally from Rome; for, at the head of his numerous Cisalpine auxiliaries, he seemed to be really at the head of one of those Gallic invasions so feared by the Italians. The savage aspect of his Africans frightened the inhabitants. He was accused of feeding his soldiers on human flesh,[1] and he was regarded as making a sacrilegious war[2] against the gods of Italy. Except Tarentum, too humiliated not to desire the abasement of Rome, all the Greeks offered up vows for the defeat of the Carthaginians, their old enemies. Those of Naples and Paestum sent gold from their temples to the Senate, who accepted only a very small part, in order that the public treasure might seem to have inexhaustible resources, and that this confidence might increase the fidelity of their allies. Hiero, sure of Rome's good fortune, even after Thrasimene, offered a gold statue of Victory of 320 lbs. weight, a thousand archers or slingers, three hundred thousand bushels of corn, two hundred thousand bushels of barley, and promised to send

[1] See the picture that Varro paints of this "ferocious and savage army, which makes bridges and ditches with heaps of dead bodies, and feeds on human flesh." But it is Livy (xxiii. 5) who thus speaks. We should therefore believe that he gives us words for facts, if Polybius had not said that one of Hannibal's generals had advised him to habituate his soldiers to this kind of food [which does not make it the least more credible]. We know, besides, with what cruelty the Africans make war. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* III. vi. 36 : *Annibalemque dirum;* and *Epod.* xvi. 8. [The story is worth citing, to show what credulity may be attributed to the historians of the period. — *Ed.*]

[2] *Vastata Poenorum tumultu fana.* (Hor., *Carm.* IV. iv. 47.) Cf. Livy, xxviii. 46; Cicero, *de Divin.* i. 24; Polyb., iii. 33.

victuals in abundance wherever the armies should have need of them. Fabius had struck out a new plan of campaign: to cause all, both men and provisions, to be housed in the fortified places, to lay waste the level country, and refuse everywhere to fight, but follow the enemy, step by step, fall upon his foragers, cut off his provisions, harass him ceaselessly, destroy him in detail. Hannibal,—without place of retreat, without allies, money, sure convoys, and with mercenaries who, seeking in war only for pleasure and the booty of the day after victory, are always ready to cry out: "Discharge or battle!"[1]—could not for long stand against these prudent tactics of Fabius Maximus. Vainly Hannibal ravaged under his eyes Daunia, Samnium, and Campania; Fabius followed him on the mountains, hidden in the clouds and mists, insensible as well to the insults of the enemy as to the raillery of his soldiers.[3] One day, however, Hannibal, deceived by his guides, became involved



VICTORY.[2]

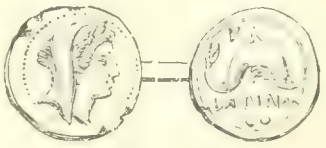
[1] Like the Swiss mercenaries in the Italian wars of Louis XII. and of Francis I.

[2] Statue in the Museum of the Louvre, called the Victory of Brescia.

[3] Cic., *de Senect.* iv. 17 (the expression is from Ennius): *Non rumores ponebat ante salutem.* In a similar spirit Clisson said to Charles V. when, from the top of the towers of the Louvre, he gazed at the ravages of the English: "All this fire and smoke will not cause you to lose your heritage."

near Casilinum, at the bottom of a valley closed by impracticable marshes. Fabius seized the heights, fell on the rear-guard of the Carthaginians, who lost eight hundred men, and held the only entrance with a numerous body of men. Hannibal was caught. In the midst of the night he drove towards the heights two thousand oxen, bearing on their horns burning faggots; and the guard of the defile, thinking that the enemy was fleeing in that direction, left their post, which Hannibal immediately took possession of. This peril was past; but, with the vigilance of the Roman general, it might return. Fortunately for Hannibal, the Romans were indignant at what they called a shameful timidity, and, as the Carthaginians intentionally spared the lands of Fabius, there were suggestions of treason.

In vain did he put his estate up for sale to ransom prisoners; the people, carried away by a slight success which the cavalry general gained in his absence, gave Minucius an authority equal to that of the pro-dictator. Fabius divided the army with him, and Minucius, being too weak, was beaten at the first encounter near Larinum. He would have perished, had not Fabius descended from the heights to save him. "At last the cloud which covered the mountain has burst, then," said Hannibal, "and produced rain and storm."[2] Minucius came of his own accord to place himself again under the orders of his old leader, and when the dictator quitted office at the end of six months, the affairs of the Republic appeared to be in a prosperous condition. At Rome one of his nephews dedicated a temple to a new divinity, Intelligence (*mens*), and Ennius consecrated his memory by the famous verse which Vergil borrowed from him: "Who, alone, by delay retrieved our state."[3]



COIN OF LARINUM.[1]

For a moment a coalition of the whole West had been dreaded. But in Spain a number of tribes passed over to the side of the

[1] On the obverse, veiled head of Juno; on the reverse, LARINON, V. and a dolphin. The two oo's are the mark of the sextans. Small bronze coin of Larinum.

[2] *Nubem . . . cum procella imbrem dedisse.* (Livy, xxii. 30.)

[3] But Vergil does not repeat the second verse (quoted on last page), which he should also have transcribed: "For he did not value rumor above our safety." This verse is more important than the other, for it marks one of the most necessary qualities in a leader.

Romans; in Gallia Cisalpina the Gauls, satisfied at finding themselves free again, forgot Hannibal and Carthage itself, which only sent a few vessels to commit piracies on their coast, whence the fleets of Sicily and Ostia quickly drove them away. A Roman squadron which was returning from pursuing them as far as Africa had taken the Island Cossura (Pantellaria), and levied on Cercina a heavy war contribution. Everywhere, except in front of Hannibal, the Romans assumed the offensive and took bold measures. Otacilius, the praetor of Sicily, had orders to pass over into Africa; the Scipios received succors; Postumius Albinus with an army kept watch over the Cisalpine Gauls; and ambassadors had been sent to Philip of Macedon to require the extradition of Demetrius of Pharos, who was urging him to war; to Pinens, king of Illyria, to claim the tribute which he delayed paying; and to the Ligurians, to demand an account of the help furnished by them to the Carthaginians.[1] There is something grand in this activity of the Senate, paying attention to the most distant countries in the midst of a formidable war carried on at the very gates of the city, and never permitting the fortune or the power of Rome to be doubted for an instant. This Senate, which was so proud towards the foreigner, showed a conciliating temper with the people; it reminded all of the necessity of mutual confidence by raising a new temple to Concord, and placed it within the bounds of the citadel,[2] in order that every one should understand that the strength of Rome depended on the spirit inspired by this divinity.

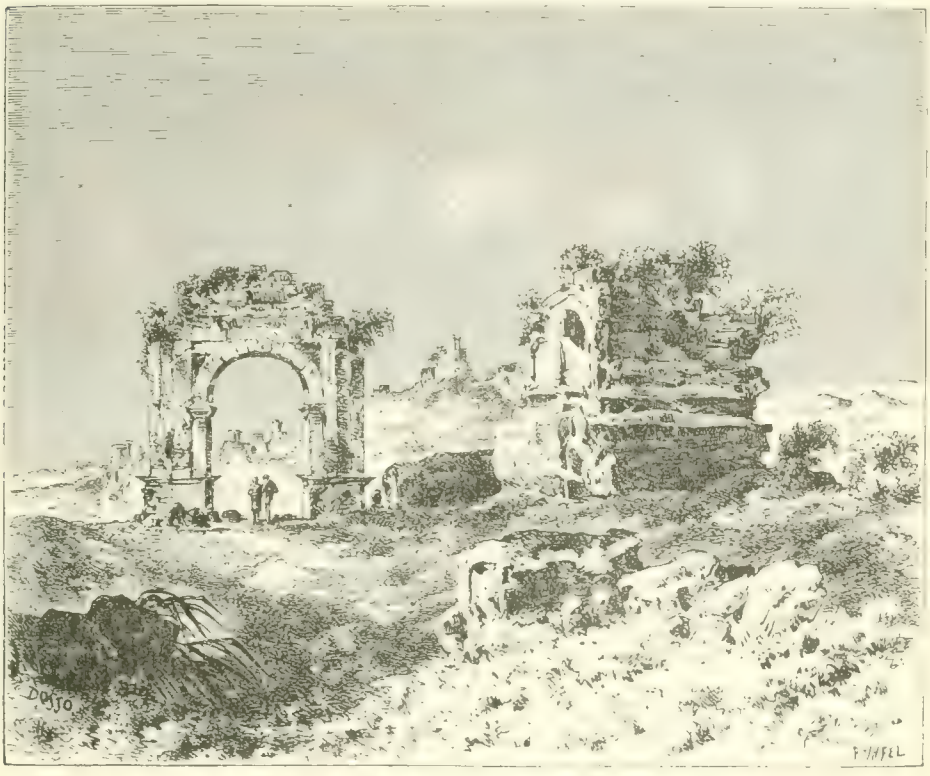
The consuls who commanded the army in the last months of 217, after the abdication of Fabius, followed the dictator's tactics; and this wise delay would doubtless have ruined Hannibal. But could the rulers of Italy, under the eyes of their allies and with superior forces, always decline battle? Sempronius and Varro are condemned after the event. The defeats of Trebia and Cannae weigh upon their memory. Yet the people, the army, and perhaps the true policy[3] demanded a battle. The Senate itself decided upon it. But there was needed an able and ex-

[1] Livy, xxii. 33.

[2] *In arce.* (Livy, xxii. 33.)

[3] Before Cannae the leaders of the army write to the Senate: *τῶν συμμάχων πάντων μετεώρων ὄντων ταῖς διανοίαις.* (Polyb., iii. 107.)

perienced leader; and though the nobility managed to obtain the election of Paulus Aemilius, a pupil of Fabius, who had already distinguished himself in the Illyrian wars, the popular party gave him as colleague its leader, Terentius Varro, the son of a butcher, who had never seen a battle.[1] Union was necessary between the



RUINS OF CANNAE.[2]

leaders, and Paulus Aemilius and Varro, who were political enemies,[3] continued their quarrels in the army, the one always wishing to fight, the other to delay. As the command alternated every day between the two consuls, Varro led the army so near the enemy that retreat was impossible; and on the next day but one, in the morning he had the purple mantle, the signal for the fight, dis-

[1] [Nevertheless, Livy tells us his father had made money, and the consul had reached his consulate through the regular promotion, having been quaestor, aedile, and praetor, without displaying any incompetence. — *Ed.*]

[2] The arch, of which the remains are seen, is wrongly called the Arch of Varro.

[3] I pass over in silence the declamations of Varro and Herennius on the treason of the nobles, who were anxious to spin out the war. At this period the reproach is absurd; twenty years later it is true.

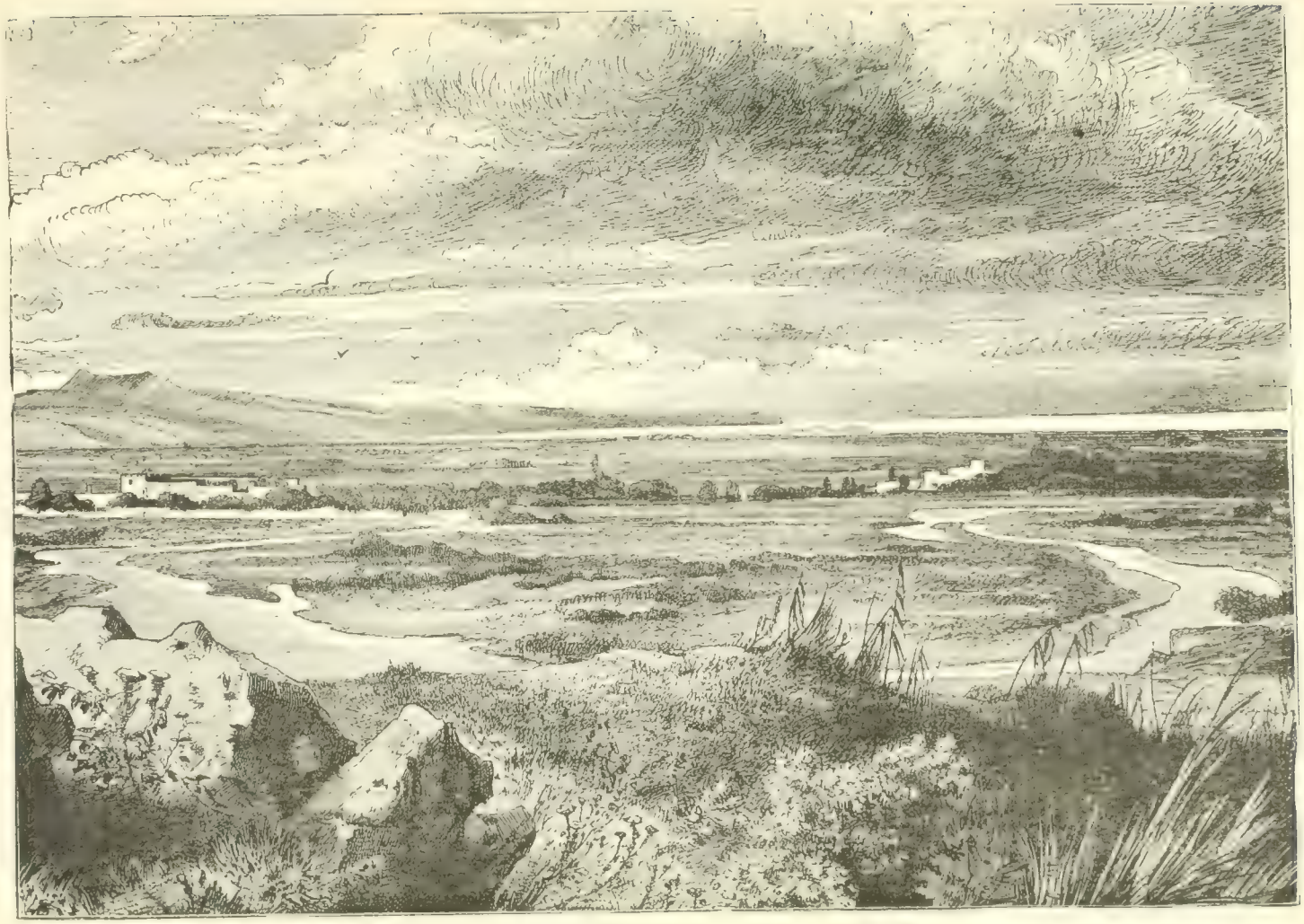
played before his tent. He had eighty thousand infantry,[1] and, notwithstanding the remembrance of the three battles already lost, only six thousand horse. In an army of fifty thousand men, Hannibal had ten thousand.[2] His forces were only half those of the consuls; but he had led them to a battle-field of his own choosing, at Cannæ in Apulia, near the Aufidus, in the middle of an immense plain, which was favorable to his cavalry, and in a position where the sun, shining in the faces of the Romans, and the wind, carrying the dust against their line, fought for him.

In this level plain an ambuscade appeared impossible. But five hundred Numidians presented themselves as deserters, and during the action they fell upon the rear of the Roman army. At Cannæ, as at Thrasimene and at Trebia, the smaller number surrounded the greater. In order to offer more resistance to the cavalry, Varro had diminished the extent of his line and increased its depth. By this arrangement many soldiers became useless. Hannibal, on the contrary, gave his army a front equal to that of the enemy, and drew it up in a crescent, so that the centre, composed of Gauls, projected from his line of battle. Behind them the African veterans were drawn up along the curve, the two extremities of which extended to the cavalry on the two wings. Whilst the Romans attacked the Gauls with fury, and the latter, led by Hannibal himself, were slowly falling back upon the second line, Hasdrubal,[3] with his Gaulish and Spanish horsemen drawn up in deep masses, crushed the legionary cavalry on the left, and Mago with his Numidians routed the allies on the right. Leaving the Numidians to pursue and slay those who had not fallen at the first shock, Hasdrubal attacked in the rear the Roman infantry, which the Africans, by the backward

[1] Ten thousand were left in the two consular camps.

[2] Livy purposely exaggerates the critical position of Hannibal before the battle. He had, says he, only ten days' provisions. The Spaniards, threatened with famine, were ready to betray him, and Hannibal was already thinking how to reach Gaul. There is nothing of all this in Polybius (iii. 107), who speaks of him as making immense magazines at Geronium, of which he had gained possession, and as having taken, a few days before the battle, the castle of Cannæ, in which the Romans had their supplies of provisions, arms, and engines. It was the capture of Cannæ, indeed, which decided the Senate to allow a battle. Moreover, with his cavalry Hannibal would always have found provisions.

[3] [Not Hannibal's brother, who still remained in Spain, but an officer of great ability who at this time had the chief direction of military works.]



BATTLE-FIELD OF CANNAE.

movement of the Gauls, had already taken in flank. The eighty thousand Romans, shut in on all sides, soon formed only a confused mass, on which every blow told, and which could give few in return.[1] By the account of Polybius, seventy-two thousand Romans and allies, with one of the consuls, Paulus Aemilius, who had refused to fly, two quaestors, eighty senators, some ex-consuls, among them Minucius, and one of the consuls of the preceding year, twenty-one legionary tribunes, and finally a whole crowd of knights, were left on the field of battle (Aug. 2, 216). The Roman nobility liberally paid their debt of blood to their country. Hannibal had not lost six thousand men, of whom four thousand were Gauls. This nation was the instrument of all his victories.[2] A prediction of this great defeat was afterward attributed to a famous diviner, Marcius, who lived before the Second Punic War. "Roman, son of Troy, avoid the River Canna; beware lest strangers force thee to join battle in the field of Diomede. But thou wilt not believe me till thou hast filled the country with thy blood; till thy citizens have fallen by thousands, and the river bearing them far from the fruitful land has given them up for food for the fowls of the air, for the wild beasts on its banks and the fishes of the vast sea. Thus has Jupiter spoken to me."

This prophecy, more precise than those which precede the event, satisfied the national pride, and at the same time served the policy of the Senate, whose interest it was that men should believe in oracles. Rome was willing to see in her defeat not a failing in courage, but a decree of destiny; she attributed the victory to the gods much more than to Hannibal, and she strengthened a precious instrument of government, faith in divination, by leading men to think that the diviner had foreseen the future.

[1] These are the figures given by Polybius. Livy only says 48,200 dead, and 24,900 prisoners. He raises to 8,000 the number of Hannibal's dead, which Polybius reduces to 5,700. [This victory, like most others won in a fair field against superior numbers, was won by making the enemy "jam" himself, — a fatal mistake. As soon as troops, however good, get so crowded as to have no room for their evolutions, they become a mere helpless mass. To make an enemy far superior in numbers thus paralyze his forces is the art of a consummate tactician. — *Ed.*]

[2] [Though the Gauls often bore the brunt of the battles, and incurred most loss, there is no doubt that the Spanish infantry and the African veterans were the flower of the army. — *Ed.*]

The battle of Cannae deprived the Romans of more strength than it gave Hannibal. Some tribes of Campania and Magna Graecia declared for him, but on condition of according him fewer men and smaller subsidies than they had furnished to Rome;[1] and Carthage, which looked upon this bold expedition only as a useful diversion, left him to his own resources.[2] Enfeebled even by his victories, he would be obliged to divide his forces if he would protect the towns which had just yielded themselves to him. He would thus have an army too weak to renew the strife of Thrasimene and Cannae. Moreover, the consuls, rendered prudent by experience, would place the safety of the Republic in following Fabius' system. Strange to say, war on a large scale is ended in Italy after the battle of Cannae. Henceforth there is nothing but sieges of towns, stratagems, many attacks and combats without results. In this war of strategy Hannibal shows himself the ablest leader of ancient times. But the contest has no longer more than a secondary interest, except for the grandeur of the spectacle presented by this man, abandoned by his own country, in the midst of a hostile people, face to face with the bravest and best-organized nation then in existence, and who, nevertheless, was able for thirteen years to master the insubordination of his mercenaries, to keep alive the precarious fidelity of his allies, to furnish occupation for Rome's best troops; besides all this, to stir up the world with his negotiations, to excite revolt in Syracuse, Sicily, Sardinia, and to call his brother from Spain, and Philip from Macedon, to join him in Italy, that he might crush Rome with the united weight of Africa and Europe hurled upon her.[3]

[1] . . . *neve civis Campanus invitus militaret munusve faceret.* (Treaty of Capua with Hannibal, Livy, xxiii. 7.) . . . *μήτε φόρους πράξεσθαι κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον, μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν ἐπιτάξειν Ταραντίνοις Καρχηδονίους.* (Treaty of Hannibal with Tarentum, Polybius, viii. 29.)

[2] He received only ten thousand men from it during the whole war.

[3] "If I were asked," says Polybius, "who was the soul of this war, I should say Hannibal." (ix. fr. 7.) Here we unfortunately lose this conscientious historian. After the battle of Cannae there only remain fragments of him.

END OF VOL. I.